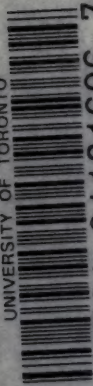



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HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

VOLUME III.

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R.

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

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CONTENTS.

BOOK V.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF SUTRI TO THE DEATH OF POPE
CELESTINE III., A.D. 1046-1198.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS TO THE DEATH OF POPE ADRIAN IV.,
A.D. 1122-1159.

	Page		Page
DEATH of the Emperor Henry V...	1	Abelard at Ruys	35
Election of Lothair	2	His correspondence with Heloisa ..	36
Calixtus II.—Honorius II.	4	His peculiar opinions	37
Rival elections of Innocent II. and Anacletus II.	5	Council at Sens	40
Innocent leaves Rome for France	6	Last days of Abelard	42
Bernard of Clairvaux	<i>ib.</i>	Republicanism in Italy	43
Peter the Venerable, of Cluny ..	12	Arnold of Brescia	44
Innocent gathers strength	13	Republicanism at Rome	46
Meeting with Lothair at Liège ..	15	Celestine II.—Lucius II.	47
Council at Reims	<i>ib.</i>	Eugenius III.	48
Innocent visits Clairvaux	16	The Latins in the East	49
Innocent's return to Italy	17	Edessa taken by the Mussulmans	50
Coronation of Lothair	<i>ib.</i>	A Crusade projected	51
Council of Pisa	18	Second Crusade	56
Bernard at Milan	19	Suger, regent of France	62
William of Aquitaine	20	Divorce of Louis and Eleanor ..	64
Roger II. of Sicily	21	Hildegard	65
Lothair's second visit to Italy, and death	22	Council at Reims	<i>ib.</i>
Conrad, King of the Romans	<i>ib.</i>	Bernard's book 'Of Consideration'	68
Bernard and Peter of Pisa	23	Deaths of Conrad, Eugenius, and Bernard	70
End of the schism	<i>ib.</i>	Frederick Barbarossa	<i>ib.</i>
Second General Council of Lateran	24	His first visit to Italy	72
Roger acknowledged as king ..	25	Adrian IV., pope	73
Intellectual movement of the age	<i>ib.</i>	Death of Arnold of Brescia	75
Nominalism—Roscellin	<i>ib.</i>	Frederick crowned as emperor ..	76
Abelard	27	Affairs of Sicily	77
His amour with Heloisa	30	Eskil of Lund	78
Abelard, a monk at St. Denys ..	32	Question as to "beneficia"	79
He is condemned at Soissons ..	34	Frederick at Roncaglia	81
Foundation of the Paraclete	35	Differences with the pope	83
		Death of Adrian IV.	84

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER III., A.D. 1159-1181.

Rival elections of Victor IV. and Alexander III.	85	Alexander generally acknowledged by other powers	89
Council of Pavia and Frederick are for Victor	87	Surrender and humiliation of Mi- lan	90

CHAPTER IX.—*continued.*

	Page		Page
Alexander in France	91	Pestilence at Rome—Frederick	
Council of Tours	92	forced to leave Italy	97
Death of Victor—Paschal III.,		The Lombard League	98
antipope	93	Murder of Becket	99
Diet at Würzburg	<i>ib.</i>	Treaty of Venice	101
Alexander returns to Rome	95	Third Council of Lateran	104
Battle of Monte Porzio or Tusculum	96	Last years and death of Alexander	105
Frederick crowned by the antipope	97		

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE LUCIUS III. TO THE DEATH OF
CELESTINE III., A.D. 1181-1198.

Lucius III.	106	Richard I. of England	123
Frederick conciliates the Italians	<i>ib.</i>	The kings of France and England	
His sixth visit to Italy	107	join the Crusade	124
Urban III. pope	108	Surrender of Acre	126
Marriage of Henry with Constance		Quarrels of the Crusaders	127
of Sicily	109	A truce concluded	129
Death of Urban	111	Return and Captivity of Richard	<i>ib.</i>
Kingdom of Jerusalem	<i>ib.</i>	Celestine III.	131
Conquests of Saladin	113	Destruction of Tusculum	<i>ib.</i>
A crusade preached	115	Henry VI. in Sicily	132
The emperor goes on the Crusade	118	Project of a new Crusade	133
His death	122	Death of Henry	135

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREEK CHURCH—SPAIN—BRITISH CHURCHES—THE NORTH—MISSIONS.

I. State of the Greek Church ..	137	Claims of York to jurisdiction ..	149
Manuel as a Theologian	138	VI. Ireland	150
Attempts at reconciliation with		Malachy of Armagh	152
Rome	140	English conquest	154
II. Nestorian Missions in Asia ..	141	VII. The Scandinavian kingdoms	158
Prester John	<i>ib.</i>	VIII. Pomerania	161
III. The Spanish Church	143	Otho of Bamberg	162
IV. England, Reign of Stephen ..	144	Rügen	167
V. Scotland—Queen Margaret ..	146	North Germany	<i>ib.</i>
Edmer chosen for St. Andrew's ..	148		

CHAPTER XII.

SECTARIES—VISIONARIES.

I. <i>Sects in the East</i>	170	(4.) Cathari	181
The Bogomiles	<i>ib.</i>	(5.) Pasagini	197
II. <i>Sects in the West</i>	174	(6.) Waldenses	198
(1.) Tanchelm	175	III. <i>Visionaries</i>	206
(2.) Eon de Stella	<i>ib.</i>	Hildegard	<i>ib.</i>
(3.) Peter of Bruis	176	Elizabeth of Schönau	<i>ib.</i>
Henry	178	Joachim of Fiore	207

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

	Page		Page
I. THE HIERARCHY	213	Christchurch, Canterbury ..	251
(1.) Increase of the papal power ..	<i>ib.</i>	Monks and Canons	254
Legates	215	Decay of Monastic spirit ..	255
Papal claims as to councils ..	217	(4.) Templars and Hospitallers ..	<i>ib.</i>
Infallibility	<i>ib.</i>	Teutonic order	256
(2.) Election of bishops	218	Order of St. Thomas of Acre,	
Foundation of sees	219	Trinitarians, Spanish mili-	
Investiture	<i>ib.</i>	tary orders	<i>ib.</i>
Precistæ	220	(5.) White Hoods	257
Increase of royal power and		III. RITES AND USAGES	258
rise of communes in France	221	(1.) Number of the Sacraments ..	<i>ib.</i>
(3.) Judicature	222	(2.) Doctrine of the Eucharist ..	259
(4.) Archdeacons, officials, &c. ..	223	(3.) Administration in one kind ..	260
(5.) Wealth of the church	225	(4.) Disuse of Infant-communion ..	262
Advocates and other officers ..	227	(5.) The Lord's Day	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Regale</i> and <i>Jus Exuviarum</i> ..	228	(6.) Trinity Sunday	263
Taxation of the clergy	229	(7.) The Blessed Virgin	264
(6.) Morals of the clergy	230	Festival of the Conception ..	<i>ib.</i>
Lay-patronage—Pluralities ..	231	(8.) Burlesque Festivals	266
Simony	232	(9.) Relics	<i>ib.</i>
Warlike bishops	233	(10.) Pilgrimage	268
(7.) Celibacy and marriage of the		(11.) Miracles	269
clergy	234	(12.) Penance—Indulgences ..	270
(8.) Canons	239	Confession	271
II. MONASTICISM—RELIGIOUS AS-		IV. STATE OF LEARNING	272
SOCIATIONS	240	Universities	<i>ib.</i>
(1.) Carmelites	<i>ib.</i>	Study of Roman Law	273
Humiliati	242	Canon Law—Gratian	274
Orders of Fiore and Sempring-		University of Paris	276
ham	<i>ib.</i>	Oxford—Vacarius	277
(2.) Rivalry of Cluniacs and Cister-		Cambridge	278
tercians	<i>ib.</i>	Ignorance of Greek	<i>ib.</i>
Degeneracy of the Cistercians	246	Theology—Peter Lombard	279
(3.) Monastic exemptions	247	School of St. Victor	280
St. Augustine's, Canterbury ..	248	Faulty methods of study	281

BOOK VI.

FROM THE ELECTION OF INNOCENT III. TO THE DEATH OF
BONIFACE VIII., A.D. 1198-1303.

CHAPTER I.

INNOCENT III., A.D. 1198-1216.

I. Election of Innocent	282	Innocent, guardian of Frederick II.	288
His earlier history and character ..	<i>ib.</i>	Walter, bishop of Troia	<i>ib.</i>
Reformation of the Court	285	Walter of Brienne	289
Establishment of his power over		Marriage of Frederick	290
Rome	286	III. Germany	<i>ib.</i>
II. Affairs of Sicily	<i>ib.</i>	Rival elections of Philip and Otho	291

CHAPTER I.—*continued.*

	Page		Page
Innocent favours Otho	293	Election of Baldwin as emperor ..	333
Discords of Germany	295	Thomas Morosini, patriarch ..	<i>ib.</i>
Philip increases in strength ..	297	Capture and death of Baldwin ..	338
His murder	299	Venetian gains in the East ..	339
Otho crowned as emperor	300	Another Crusade projected ..	<i>ib.</i>
He quarrels with the pope and is excommunicated	301	Children's Crusade	340
Frederick invited to Germany ..	302	VIII. Heresy	342
Battle of Bouvines	304	Amalric of Bene	<i>ib.</i>
Frederick crowned at Aix	<i>ib.</i>	Waldenses	343
IV. France	305	Cathari	344
Philip's marriage with Ingeburga and divorce	<i>ib.</i>	Their prevalence in southern France	346
Marriage with Agnes of Merania ..	306	Mission of Cistercians	347
Interdict on France	307	Diego of Osma—Dominic	348
Council at Soissons	308	Durand of Huesca	<i>ib.</i>
Death of Agnes	309	Murder of Peter of Castelnau ..	349
Restoration of Ingeburga	310	Albigensian Crusade	350
V. England—King John	311	Penance of Count Raymond ..	351
Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury	312	Taking of Béziers	352
Interdict on England	314	Siege of Carcassonne	353
Submission of John to Rome ..	317	Simon de Montfort, Viscount of Béziers	354
Discontent of the barons	319	Continuation of the war	355
Magna Charta	320	Battle of Muret	358
French invasion	321	Barbarity of the war	<i>ib.</i>
VI. Hungary	322	Further successes of Simon ..	361
Spain	<i>ib.</i>	Council of Lateran	362
Portugal, Scotland, &c.	323	Triumph of Simon	<i>ib.</i>
Russia, Armenia	324	IX. Mendicant orders	363
VII. A Crusade projected	<i>ib.</i>	(1.) St. Dominic	<i>ib.</i>
Fulk of Neuilly	325	His order	365
Agreement between Crusaders and Venetians	327	His death	367
Taking of Zara	330	(2.) St. Francis	<i>ib.</i>
The Crusaders go on to Constanti- nople	331	St. Clare	371
Restoration of Isaac Angelus ..	332	Francis in Egypt	374
Usurpation of Murzuflus	334	Progress of the order	<i>ib.</i>
The Crusaders take Constantinople	<i>ib.</i>	The Stigmata	<i>ib.</i>
		Death of St. Francis	375
		X. Fourth Lateran Council ..	376
		Death of Innocent III.	377

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE HONORIUS III. TO THE DEATH OF
INNOCENT IV., A.D. 1216-1254.

Honorius III.	380	His Crusade	392
A Crusade projected	<i>ib.</i>	Treaty of Ceperano	395
Taking of Damietta	383	Legislation of Frederick and of Gregory	396
Failure of the Expedition	<i>ib.</i>	Rebellion of Henry	398
Death of Otho IV.	384	Victory of Corte Nuova	400
Election of Henry VII. of Ger- many	<i>ib.</i>	Frederick again excommunicated ..	401
Frederick crowned as Emperor ..	385	He is charged with infidelity ..	402
His delays as to going on Crusade	386	A General Council summoned ..	406
Differences with Honorius	387	Death of Gregory	407
Gregory IX.	389	Celestine IV.	<i>ib.</i>
Character of Frederick	<i>ib.</i>	The Tartars invade Europe ..	408
He is excommunicated	391	Innocent IV.	409

CHAPTER II.—*continued.*

	Page		Page
He takes refuge at Lyons	411	Brancaleone	427
First Council of Lyons	412	II. England—Papal Exactions ..	<i>ib.</i>
Condemnation of Frederick	414	Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury	429
Frederick's measures against the		Boniface succeeds him	430
clergy	416	Grossetête, bishop of Lincoln ..	431
Henry of Thuringia	417	III. Languedoc	433
William of Holland	418	Death of Simon de Montfort ..	434
Revolt of Parma	419	Cession to the French crown ..	435
Disgrace and death of Peter delle		Crusade and death of Louis VIII.	436
Vigne	420	Suppression of heresy	437
Death of Frederick	421	IV. Louis IX.	438
Conrad IV.	423	A Crusade projected	442
Sicily offered to Edmund of Eng-		Louis sets out	443
land	424	Louis in Egypt	445
Innocent returns to Italy	<i>ib.</i>	His captivity	446
Death of Conrad	425	Louis in the Holy Land	447
Manfred	426	The Pastoureaux	<i>ib.</i>
Death of Innocent	<i>ib.</i>	Return of Louis	449

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE ALEXANDER IV. TO THE DEATH OF
LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE, A.D. 1254-1270.

Alexander IV.	450	Charles, senator of Rome	458
Manfred, king of Sicily	451	Clement IV.	<i>ib.</i>
Edmund of England	<i>ib.</i>	Defeat and death of Manfred ..	461
Germany—Rivalry of Richard of		Expedition of Conradin	462
Cornwall and Alfonso of Aragon	452	His execution	464
Eccelino da Romano	453	Government of Louis IX. of France	<i>ib.</i>
The Flagellants	454	His second Crusade	466
Constantinople regained by the		His death	467
Greeks	456	Return of the survivors	468
Urban IV.	<i>ib.</i>	Edward of England	469
Sicily offered to Charles of Anjou	457		

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE GREGORY X. TO THE DEATH OF
NICOLAS IV., A.D. 1271-1292.

Election of Gregory X.	470	Rudolf's concessions to the Pope ..	483
Power and ambition of Charles of		Martin IV.	485
Sicily	471	Breach between the Greeks and	
Rudolf of Hapsburg, king of the		the Latins	486
Romans	472	Oppression of Sicily	488
Negotiations with the Greek		The Sicilian Vespers	489
church	473	Peter of Aragon in Sicily	491
Michael Palæologus	474	Reverses and death of Charles ..	492
Second Council of Lyons	476	Honorius IV.	493
Reconciliation of the Greeks ..	477	Philip the Bold in Spain	<i>ib.</i>
Canon for election of Popes	478	Nicolas IV.	494
Gregory and Rudolf at Lausanne	479	Charles II. of Naples	<i>ib.</i>
Fresh difficulties with the Greeks	480	Acre taken by the Mussulmans ..	496
Innocent V.—Adrian V.—John		Adolphus of Nassau, king of the	
XXI.	481	Romans	497
Nicolas III.	482	Death of Nicolas IV.	498

CHAPTER V.

CELESTINE V. AND BONIFACE VIII., A.D. 1292-1303.

	Page		Page
Vacancy of the papacy	499	Scotland	524
Celestine V.	500	Affair of the bishop of Pamiers ..	527
His incapacity	501	Four Bulls—"Ausculta Fili" ..	529
His resignation	503	The Lesser Bull	530
Boniface VIII.	504	Meeting of the States-General ..	531
Last days of Celestine	505	Letters of the estates, and answers	532
Sicilian affairs	507	Consistory at Rome	533
Boniface and the Colonnas	508	French reverses in Flanders ..	534
Adolphus superseded by Albert in		Council at Rome	<i>ib.</i>
Germany	511	Mission of Card. Le Moine	535
England and France	513	Boniface reconciled to Albert ..	<i>ib.</i>
"Clericis Laicos"	515	Second assembly of States-General	537
Edward I. and the English clergy	516	Fresh Bulls—Bull for deposition	
Letters of Philip IV. and Boniface	517	of Philip	539
The pope arbitrates between France		Seizure, deliverance, and death of	
and England	520	Boniface	<i>ib.</i>
The Jubilee	521		

CHAPTER VI.

PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

I. North-eastern Asia	544	Brethren of the Sword	551
Missions to the Tartars	545	V. Prussia	554
William of Rubruquis	546	Teutonic Knights	555
Marco Polo—John of Mte. Corvino	548	VI. Russia	556
II. Nestorians and Jacobites ..	549	VII. Controversy with Jews and	
III. Armenia	<i>ib.</i>	Mahometans	557
IV. Livonia, Esthonia, &c. ..	550	Raymond Lully	<i>ib.</i>

CHAPTER VII.

SECTARIES.

I. Persecution of sectaries	560	IV. Brethren of the Free Spirit ..	569
Conrad of Marburg	562	V. Apostolics	570
Prohibition of reading Scripture ..	564	Gerard Segarello	<i>ib.</i>
II. The Stedingers	565	Dolcino	571
III. Beghards and Beguines	566	Extinction of the sect	575

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. THE HIERARCHY	576	Claims of immunity from se-	
Papal pretensions	<i>ib.</i>	cular justice	585
Encroachment of patronage ..	578	Claims to oversight of justice ..	586
Legates	580	Ecclesiastical censures	587
Forgery of bulls, &c.	581	Bishops <i>in partibus infidelium</i>	588
Canon Law—The Decretals ..	<i>ib.</i>	Restraint of bequests to the	
Chapters	582	church	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Jus Primarum Precum</i>	583	Advocates	589
Feudal duties of bishops ..	584	Celibacy	<i>ib.</i>
Claims of immunity from taxa-		II. MONASTICISM	590
tion	<i>ib.</i>	The Mendicant orders	<i>ib.</i>

CHAPTER VIII.—*continued.*

	Page		Page
Contest with the University of Paris	593	(7.) Excess of reverence for the	
Differences between Dominicans		Blessed Virgin	614
and Franciscans	595	The "holy house" of Loreto	616
Parties among the Franciscans ..	<i>ib.</i>	(8.) Hymns	617
William of St. Amour	597	(9.) Religious plays	<i>ib.</i>
The 'Introduction to the Everlast-		(10.) Burlesque Festivals	618
ing Gospel'	599	(11.) Architecture and other arts	<i>ib.</i>
Peter John of Olivi	600	(12.) Interdicts	620
III. RITES AND USAGES.	603	IV. STATE OF LEARNING.	621
(1.) Doctrine of the Eucharist ..	<i>ib.</i>	Universities	<i>ib.</i>
Withdrawal of the Chalice ..	605	Study of Aristotle's works ..	622
Elevation of the Host	606	Eminent Schoolmen	624
Communion once a year ..	607	Alexander of Hales—William of	
(2.) Number of the sacraments ..	608	Auvergne	<i>ib.</i>
<i>Opus Operatum</i>	<i>ib.</i>	Albert the Great	<i>ib.</i>
(3.) Indulgences	<i>ib.</i>	Thomas of Aquino	625
(4.) Confession and absolution ..	611	Bonaventura	626
(5.) Relics	612	Duns Scotus	627
(6.) Legendary writers	613	Roger Bacon	628
Durandus	<i>ib.</i>	Scholastic Philosophy	629

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[*This List is supplementary to those given in the third edition of Vol. I. and in the second edition of Vol. II.*]

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 Wadding, *Annales Minorum, Romæ, &c.*, 1731, seqq.

The references to the first volume of this work are made to the third edition.

In references to the second volume, where two numbers are given, it is to be understood that the higher number denotes the page of the second edition, and the lower that of the first. Where only one number is given, the passage will be found in the second edition only.

Sept. 8, 1866.

LIST OF POPES, SOVEREIGNS, ETC.

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(The names and dates of Archbishops of Canterbury are taken from Godwin 'De Præsulibus,' ed. Richardson; the rest from 'L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.')

### POPES.

(The names in brackets are those of antipopes.)

| A.D.  |                            | A.D. | A.D.  |                            | A.D. |
|-------|----------------------------|------|-------|----------------------------|------|
| 1119. | Calixtus II. .. ..         | 1124 | 1216. | Honorius III. .. ..        | 1227 |
| 1124. | Honorius II. .. ..         | 1130 | 1227. | Gregory IX. .. ..          | 1241 |
| 1130. | Innocent II. .. ..         | 1143 | 1241. | Celestine IV.* (Oct. 26—   |      |
|       | [Anacletus II. 1130-1138.] |      |       | Nov. 17.) .. ..            | 1241 |
| 1143. | Celestine II. .. ..        | 1144 | 1243. | Innocent IV. .. ..         | 1254 |
| 1144. | Lucius II. .. ..           | 1145 | 1254. | Alexander IV. .. ..        | 1261 |
| 1145. | Eugenius III. .. ..        | 1153 | 1261. | Urban IV. .. ..            | 1264 |
| 1153. | Anastasius IV. .. ..       | 1154 | 1265. | Clement IV. .. ..          | 1268 |
| 1154. | Adrian IV. .. ..           | 1159 | 1271. | Gregory X. .. ..           | 1276 |
| 1159. | Alexander III. .. ..       | 1181 | 1276. | Innocent V. (Feb. 21—June  |      |
|       | [Victor IV. 1159-1164.]    |      |       | 22) .. ..                  | 1276 |
|       | [Paschal III. 1164-1168.]  |      | 1276. | Adrian V.* (July 11—Aug.   |      |
|       | [Calixtus III. 1168-1178.] |      |       | 5) .. ..                   | 1276 |
|       | [Innocent III. 1178-1180.] |      | 1276. | John XXI. .. ..            | 1277 |
| 1181. | Lucius III. .. ..          | 1185 | 1277. | Nicolas III. .. ..         | 1280 |
| 1185. | Urban III. .. ..           | 1187 | 1281. | Martin IV. .. ..           | 1285 |
| 1187. | Gregory VIII. (Oct. 20—    |      | 1285. | Honorius IV. .. ..         | 1287 |
|       | Dec. 17) .. ..             | 1187 | 1288. | Nicolas IV. .. ..          | 1292 |
| 1187. | Clement III. .. ..         | 1191 | 1294. | Celestine V. (July 5.—Dec. |      |
| 1191. | Celestine III. .. ..       | 1198 |       | 13) .. ..                  | 1294 |
| 1198. | Innocent III. .. ..        | 1216 | 1294. | Boniface VIII. .. ..       | 1303 |

### EASTERN EMPERORS.

|       |                              |      |                                          |                                  |      |
|-------|------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|
| 1118. | John .. ..                   | 1143 | <i>Latin Emperors of Constantinople.</i> |                                  |      |
| 1143. | Manuel .. ..                 | 1180 | 1204.                                    | Baldwin I. .. ..                 | 1205 |
| 1180. | Alexius II. .. ..            | 1183 | 1206.                                    | Henry I. .. ..                   | 1216 |
| 1183. | Andronicus I. .. ..          | 1185 | 1216.                                    | Peter de Courtenay .. ..         | 1218 |
| 1185. | Isaac Angelus .. ..          | 1195 | 1219.                                    | Robert de Courtenay .. ..        | 1228 |
| 1195. | Alexius III. .. ..           | 1203 | 1228.                                    | { Baldwin II. .. ..              |      |
| 1203. | Isaac Angelus (restored) ..  | 1204 |                                          | { John of Brienne .. ..          | 1237 |
| —     | Alexius IV. .. ..            | 1204 | 1261.                                    | <i>Reconquest by the Greeks.</i> |      |
| 1204. | Alexius Ducas (Murzuffus) .. | 1204 |                                          | Michael Palæologus .. ..         | 1282 |
|       |                              |      | 1282.                                    | Andronicus II. .. ..             | 1332 |

### EMPERORS AND KINGS OF THE ROMANS.

(The date in the first column is that of election or succession as independent king—election as colleague of a reigning emperor not being noticed. The date in the second column is that of coronation as emperor.)

| A.D. | A.D.                         | A.D. | A.D. | A.D.                       | A.D. |
|------|------------------------------|------|------|----------------------------|------|
| 1106 | 1111. Henry V. .. ..         | 1125 | 1152 | 1155. Frederick I. (Barba- |      |
| 1125 | 1133. Lothair II. or III. .. | 1137 |      | rossa) .. ..               | 1190 |
| 1138 | Conrad III. .. ..            | 1152 | 1190 | 1191. Henry VI. .. ..      | 1197 |

\* These died without consecration.



| A.D.   | A.D.                     | A.D.  | A.D.   | A.D.                        | A.D. |
|--------|--------------------------|-------|--------|-----------------------------|------|
| *{1198 | Philip II. .. ..         | 1208  | *{1257 | Richard of Corn-            |      |
| {1198  | 1209. Otho IV. .. ..     | 1218  |        | wall .. ..                  | 1271 |
| 1211   | 1220. Frederick II. ..   | 1250  | {1257  | Alfonso X. of Cas-          |      |
| †[1246 | Henry of Thuringia .. .. | 1247] |        | tille (withdrew)            | 1273 |
| †[1247 | William of Holland .. .. | 1256] | 1273   | Rudolf of Hapsburg          | 1291 |
|        |                          |       | 1292   | Adolphus of Nassau, deposed |      |
| 1250   | Conrad IV. ... ..        | 1254  |        | 1298, killed                | 1299 |
|        |                          |       | 1298   | Albert I. .. ..             | 1308 |

## KINGS OF FRANCE.

|                                 |      |                                 |      |
|---------------------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|
| 1108. Louis VI. (the Fat) .. .. | 1137 | 1226. Louis IX. (St. Louis) ..  | 1270 |
| 1137. Louis VII. (the Young) .. | 1180 | 1270. Philip III. (the Bold) .. | 1285 |
| 1180. Philip II. (Augustus) ..  | 1223 | 1285. Philip IV. (the Fair) ..  | 1314 |
| 1223. Louis VIII. (the Lion) .. | 1226 |                                 |      |

## KINGS OF ENGLAND.

|                        |      |                        |      |
|------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| 1100. Henry I. .. ..   | 1135 | 1199. John .. ..       | 1216 |
| 1135. Stephen .. ..    | 1154 | 1216. Henry III. .. .. | 1272 |
| 1154. Henry II. .. ..  | 1189 | 1272. Edward I. .. ..  | 1307 |
| 1189. Richard I. .. .. | 1199 |                        |      |

## KINGS OF SCOTLAND.

|                              |      |                            |      |
|------------------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| 1107. Alexander I. .. ..     | 1124 | 1214. Alexander II. .. ..  | 1249 |
| 1124. David I. .. ..         | 1153 | 1249. Alexander III. .. .. | 1286 |
| 1153. Malcolm IV. .. ..      | 1165 | 1292. John Baliol .. ..    | 1297 |
| 1165. William the Lion .. .. | 1214 |                            |      |

## KINGS OF ARAGON.

|                         |      |                          |      |
|-------------------------|------|--------------------------|------|
| 1104. Alfonso I. .. ..  | 1134 | 1213. James I. .. ..     | 1276 |
| 1134. Ramiro II. .. ..  | 1137 | 1276. Peter III. .. ..   | 1285 |
| 1137. Petronilla .. ..  | 1162 | 1285. Alfonso III. .. .. | 1291 |
| 1162. Alfonso II. .. .. | 1196 | 1291. James II. .. ..    | 1327 |
| 1196. Peter II. .. ..   | 1213 |                          |      |

## KINGS OF CASTILLE.

|                                  |      |                            |      |
|----------------------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| 1109. Urraca and Alfonso VII. .. | 1126 | 1217. Ferdinand III. .. .. | 1252 |
| 1126. Alfonso VIII. .. ..        | 1157 | 1252. Alfonso X. ... ..    | 1284 |
| 1157. Sancho III. .. ..          | 1158 | 1284. Sancho IV. .. ..     | 1295 |
| 1158. Alfonso IX. .. ..          | 1214 | 1295. Ferdinand IV. .. ..  | 1312 |
| 1214. Henry I. .. ..             | 1217 |                            |      |

## KINGS OF DENMARK.

|                         |      |                            |      |
|-------------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| 1105. Nicolas .. ..     | 1134 | 1202. Waldemar II. .. ..   | 1241 |
| 1135. Eric II. .. ..    | 1137 | 1241. Eric IV. .. ..       | 1250 |
| 1137. Eric III. .. ..   | 1147 | 1250. Abel .. ..           | 1252 |
| 1147. Sweyn III. .. ..  | 1157 | 1252. Christopher I. .. .. | 1259 |
| 1157. Waldemar I. .. .. | 1182 | 1259. Eric V. .. ..        | 1286 |
| 1182. Canute VI. ... .. | 1202 | 1286. Eric VI. .. ..       | 1319 |

\* Rival elections.

† Set up in opposition to Frederick II.

## KINGS OF SICILY.

| A.D.  |                           | A.D. |  | A.D.  |                            | A.D. |
|-------|---------------------------|------|--|-------|----------------------------|------|
| 1101. | Roger II. .. ..           | 1154 |  | 1250. | Conrad I. (IV. of Ger-     |      |
| 1154. | William I. .. ..          | 1166 |  |       | many) .. ..                | 1254 |
| 1166. | William II. .. ..         | 1189 |  | 1254. | Conrad II. (Conradin).     |      |
| 1189. | Tancred .. ..             | 1194 |  | 1258. | Manfred .. ..              | 1266 |
| 1194. | William III. .. ..        | 1194 |  | 1266. | Charles I. .. ..           | 1285 |
| 1194. | Henry I. (Emperor Henry   |      |  | 1282. | Peter I. [III. of Aragon.] | 1285 |
|       | VI.) .. ..                | 1197 |  | 1285. | James .. ..                | 1295 |
| 1197. | Frederick (Emperor Frede- |      |  | 1296. | Frederick II. .. ..        | 1337 |
|       | rick II.) .. ..           | 1250 |  |       |                            |      |

## ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

|       |                          |      |       |                          |      |
|-------|--------------------------|------|-------|--------------------------|------|
| 1127. | William of Corbeil .. .. | 1136 | 1207. | Stephen Langton .. ..    | 1228 |
| 1138. | Theobald .. ..           | 1161 | 1229. | Richard of Wethershed .. | 1231 |
| 1162. | Thomas Becket .. ..      | 1170 | 1234. | Edmund Rich .. ..        | 1242 |
| 1173. | Richard .. ..            | 1184 | 1244. | Boniface .. ..           | 1270 |
| 1184. | Baldwin .. ..            | 1190 | 1272. | Robert Kilwardby .. ..   | 1277 |
| 1191. | Reginald * (Nov. 27—Dec. |      | 1278. | John Peckham .. ..       | 1292 |
|       | 26) .. ..                | 1191 | 1293. | Robert Winchelsey .. ..  | 1313 |
| 1193. | Hubert Walter .. ..      | 1205 |       |                          |      |

\* Died without inthronisation.

## ERRATA.

P. 82, line 29, *for* "Nicolas I.," *read* "Leo IV."

" " note <sup>u</sup> *add* "See vol. ii. p. 301 (283)."

" 156, " <sup>d</sup> *add* "Compare Cæsar as to the habits of the Britons, De Bello Gall. v. 14."



# A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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## BOOK V.<sup>a</sup>

FROM THE COUNCIL OF SUTRI TO THE DEATH OF POPE  
CELESTINE III., A.D. 1046-1198.

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### CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS TO THE DEATH OF POPE ADRIAN IV.,  
A.D. 1122-1159.

ALTHOUGH the Concordat of Worms had been welcome both to the papal and to the imperialist parties as putting an end to the contest which had long raged between them, the terms of the compromise embodied in it did not remain in force beyond the death of Henry V., which took place at Utrecht in May, 1125.<sup>b</sup> By this event the empire and the German kingdom were left without a natural heir, nor had Henry provided any successor; and the princes of Germany saw in the circumstances of the vacancy an opportunity for gaining advantages at the expense of the crown. A letter is extant, addressed by such of them as had assembled for the emperor's funeral at Spires to their absent brethren, whom they exhort to remember

<sup>a</sup> In this volume the books are numbered from the beginning of the work; those which in the first edition of Vol. II. were styled Books I., II., III., being now reckoned as III., IV., and V. respectively.

<sup>b</sup> Ekkehard in ann. (Patrol. cliv.). There are stories which represent Henry as withdrawing from the world in penitence. William of Nangis says that he entered a hospital at Angers, and mentions a pretender who rose up in his

name (Chron. A.D. 1126, in Dachery, Spicileg. iii.). Giraldus Cambrensis makes him turn hermit in Cheshire—Works, i. 186, ed. Brewer (Chron. and Mem.)—and hence infers that Henry II. of England was illegitimate, inasmuch as his mother was not a widow when she married Geoffrey of Anjou. The Premonstratensian continuator of Sigebert mentions another pretender who appeared in 1138, and, on being detected, became a monk at Cluny. Patrol. clx. 372.

the oppressions under which both the church and the kingdom had suffered, and to take care that the future sovereign should be one under whom both church and kingdom might be free from "so heavy a yoke of slavery."<sup>c</sup> It is supposed that this letter was drawn up by Archbishop Adalbert of Mentz, the bitter and vindictive enemy of the late emperor;<sup>d</sup> and in the election of a new king this prelate's influence was exerted in the spirit which the document had indicated. For this election sixty thousand men of the four chief nations of Germany—the Franconians, the Saxons, the Swabians, and the Bavarians— assembled near Mentz, in the month of August, encamping on both sides of the Rhine, while the conferences of their leaders were held within the city. The attendance of prelates and nobles was such as had not been seen within the memory of living men; and under the direction of a papal legate, who was present, it was settled that the election should be conducted in a form analogous to that of a pope—that, as the pope was chosen by the cardinals, and the choice was ratified by the inferior clergy, so the king should be elected by ten representatives from each of the four chief nations, and their choice should be confirmed by the rest.<sup>e</sup> Three candidates were proposed—Frederick, Duke of Swabia; Lothair, Duke of Saxony; and Leopold, Marquis of Austria; to whom some authorities add the name of a fourth—Charles "the Good," Count of Flanders.<sup>f</sup> Both Lothair and Leopold, however, professed, with strong protestations, a wish to decline the honour; and it appeared as if the election were about to fall on Frederick, the son of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, who in the reign of Henry IV. had suddenly emerged from the undistinguished crowd of German nobles, and had been rewarded for his services with the dukedom of Swabia and the hand of the emperor's daughter.<sup>g</sup> But the younger Frederick was obnoxious to the hierarchical party on account of his connexion with the Franconian emperors, whose family

<sup>c</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 79. Henry in his last days had rendered himself very unpopular by intending, in accordance with a suggestion of Henry I. of England, to tax the whole kingdom. Otto Frising. vii. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Schmidt, ii. 531; Luden, x. n. 13. As to Adalbert, see vol. ii. p. 746 (686).

<sup>e</sup> Anon. de Electione Lotharii, ap. Pertz, xiii. 510-2; Order. Vital. xii. 20; Raumer, i. 210.

<sup>f</sup> Godefr. Viterb. in *Patrol.* cxcviii.

986. The anonymous writer who is the chief authority for the election omits Charles (See Wattenbach's note in Pertz; Busk, i. 175); and one of his biographers states that he declined to become a candidate (*Patrol.* clxvi. 947-8). He was murdered in 1127.

<sup>g</sup> Raumer, i. 186. Otto of Freising says that Frederick drew his origin "ex nobilissimis Sueviæ comitibus." De Gestis Frederici, i. 8, in *Urstis*.; Cf. *Chron. Ursperg.* 209.



estates he had inherited; while many of the lay princes, as well as the clergy, were unwilling to give themselves a king who was likely to assert too much of independence. Through Adalbert's artful policy, it was contrived that the elec-  
Aug. 24.  
tion should fall on Lothair, who, while he still protested, struggled, and threatened, was raised on the shoulders of his partisans and proclaimed as king.<sup>h</sup>

Lothair, who was already advanced in life,<sup>1</sup> had been conspicuous for the steadiness of his opposition to the late dynasty, and on that account was popular with its enemies; he was respected for his courage and honesty; and, after a slight display of opposition in some quarters, his election was received with general acquiescence.<sup>k</sup> But, although he had always professed himself a champion of the church, the clerical party, which had borne so large a part in his advancement, held it necessary to bind him by new conditions. It was stipulated that the church should have full liberty of election to bishopricks, without being controlled, "as formerly," by the presence of the sovereign, or restrained by any recommendation;<sup>1</sup> and that the emperor, after the consecration of any prelate so elected, should, without any payment, invest him with the regalia by the sceptre, and should receive of him an oath of fidelity "saving his order"—a phrase which was interpreted as excluding the ancient feudal form of homage.<sup>m</sup> No mention was made of the Concordat of Worms, by which the presence of the prince at elections had been allowed, and while the formality of homage had been left untouched, it had been provided that, in the case of German bishops, investiture should precede consecration;<sup>n</sup> and this disregard of its reservations in behalf of the crown was justified by the hierarchical party under the pretence that they had been granted to Henry V. alone, and not to his successors.<sup>o</sup> And a further proof of the change which had taken place in the relations of the papal and the imperial powers is furnished by the circumstance that two bishops were sent to Rome, with

<sup>h</sup> *Electio Lotharii*, l. c.; Schmidt, ii. 534-7; Sismondi, *Hist. des Fr.*, v. 213; Luden, x. 4-16; Raumer, i. 210-1. Cf. Albert. Stadens. A.D. 1126. (Pertz, xvi.).

<sup>i</sup> Peter, the chronicler of Monte Cassino, who had seen much of him in his last days, describes him as a hundred years old at the time of his death (iv. 124, *Patrol.* clxxiii. 168 A.). If so, he was now eighty-eight; but others make

him much younger. See Raumer, i. 232.

<sup>k</sup> Ekkehard, A.D. 1123-4; Order. Vital. xii. 20; Luden, x. 6.

<sup>1</sup> "Petitione."

<sup>m</sup> *Electio Loth.* c. 6. (Cf. c. 7. "A nullo tamen spiritualium, ut moris erat, hominum vel accepit vel coëgit.") Schmidt, ii. 538-9; Luden, x. 18.

<sup>n</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 757-8 (695-7).

<sup>o</sup> Otto Frising. vii. 16.

a prayer that the pope would confirm the election of the king.<sup>p</sup>

The pontificate of Calixtus II. was distinguished by the vigour of his home administration. At the Lateran Council of 1123,<sup>q</sup> he enacted canons against the invasion of Mar. 1123.

ecclesiastical property and the conversion of churches into fortresses.<sup>r</sup> He suppressed the practice of carrying arms within the city, which had grown up during the long contest with the empire, and had become the provocation to continual and bloody affrays; and in other ways he exerted himself successfully against the lawlessness and disorder which had prevailed among the Romans.<sup>s</sup> On the death of Calixtus, in December, 1124, a cardinal named Theobald Buccapecus or Boccadipecora, was chosen as his successor, and assumed the name of Celestine; but, after he had been invested with the papal robe, and while the cardinals were engaged in singing the *Te Deum* for the election, Robert Frangipani, the most powerful of the Roman nobles,<sup>t</sup> burst with a band of armed men into the church where they were assembled, and insisted that Lambert, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, (a prudent and learned man,<sup>u</sup> who had acted as the late pope's legate at Worms) should be chosen. Theobald, although his election was unimpeachable, and although he had received the vote of Lambert himself, thought it well to prevent a schism by voluntarily withdrawing from the contest; and Lambert, having some days later been elected in a more regular manner, held the papacy under the name of Honorius II. until Feb. 14, 1130.<sup>x</sup> But on his death, a serious schism arose, 1130.

through the rival elections of Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo,<sup>y</sup> and Peter Leonis, cardinal of St. Mary in the Trastevere, the grandson of a wealthy Jew, who had been baptized under the pontificate and by the name of Leo IX. The "Leonine family," or Pierleoni (as they were called), had since risen to great power in Rome;<sup>z</sup> their wealth had been increased by the continued practice of those national arts which they had

<sup>p</sup> Annal. S. Disibod. A.D. 1125 (Pertz, xvii.); Schmidt, ii. 539; Planck, iv. 334-6.

<sup>q</sup> See vol. ii. p. 757 (696).

<sup>r</sup> Cc. 8, 9, 11, 15.

<sup>s</sup> Will. Malmes. 667; Gibbon, vi. 335.

<sup>t</sup> For the origin of the family, see Gregorovius, iv. 383-4.

<sup>u</sup> Oderisius, abbot of Monte Cassino, on being asked by his monks as to the pope's parentage, answered "Ignorare

se, cujus filius esset; unum tamen pro certo scire, quod plenus esset litteris a capite usque ad pedes." Chron. Casin. iv. 83.

<sup>x</sup> Pandulph. Pisan. Muratori, Annali VI. ii. 190; Jaffé, 549-50; Milman, iii. 324; Gregorov. iv. 386.

<sup>y</sup> As to his family, see Gregorovius, iv. 401.

<sup>z</sup> Chron. Mauriniac. in Patrol. clxxx. 157.



not renounced with the faith of their forefathers; while their political ability had been displayed in high offices, and in the conduct of important negotiations. For a time the Jewish pedigree seems to have been almost forgotten, and their genealogy (like that of other great mediæval families, and probably with equal truth) was afterwards deduced from the illustrious Anicii and the imperial Julii of ancient Rome.<sup>a</sup> The future antipope himself had studied at Paris, had been a monk of Cluny, had been raised to the dignity of cardinal by Paschal II., and had been employed as a legate in England and in France—on one occasion as the colleague of his future rival, Gregory.<sup>b</sup> The circumstances of the election are variously reported; but, from a comparison of the reports it would appear that Gregory (who styled himself Innocent II.), was chosen in the church of St. Gregory on the Cœlian, immediately after the death of Honorius, with such haste that the proper formalities were neglected; whereas the election of Peter, which took place in St. Mark's at a later hour of the same day, was more regular, and was supported by a majority of the cardinals.<sup>c</sup> And the inference in favour of Peter (or Anacletus II.) is strengthened by the circumstance that his opponent's partisans, while they continually insist on the question of personal merit, are studious to avoid that of legality as to the circumstances of the election.

The rival popes were not, as in former cases, representatives of opposite principles, but merely of the rival interests of the Frangipani and the Leonine factions.<sup>d</sup> Each of them, at his election, had gone through the pretence of professing unwillingness to accept the elevation;<sup>e</sup> and each of them now endeavoured to strengthen himself for the assertion of his title to the papacy. In Rome, itself, Anacletus prevailed. His enemies tell us that he was not only supported by the power and wealth of his family, but that he had formerly swelled his treasures by all the corrupt means which were open to him as a cardinal or a legate; that he plundered the treasury, that he compelled pilgrims by imprisonment and hunger to submit to merciless exactions, that

<sup>a</sup> Gregorov. iv. 393-6. Ciaconius derives them from the Julii. i. 1005.

<sup>b</sup> Eadmer. Hist. Novorum, l. vi.; Mabilion in Patrol. clxxxii. 33-4.

<sup>c</sup> See the letters in Patrol. clxxix. 37, seqq.; Card. de Aragon. ib. 31; Anon. Vatican. ap. Baron. 1130-3; Suger, in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1330; Chron. Maurin.

l. c.; Will. Malmesb. 695; Muratori, Annali, VI. ii. 212-3. Neander's 'Bernard,' 87; Luden, x. 52; Raumer, i. 221; Milman, iii. 326; Gregorov. iv. 398-9.

<sup>d</sup> Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 290.

<sup>e</sup> See Innoc. Ep. 4 (Patrol. clxxix.); Neander's 'Bernard,' 88.

he melted down the plate of churches, even employing Jews to break up chalices and crucifixes when Christian tradesmen shrank from such impiety.<sup>f</sup> His connection with the hated and unbelieving race is eagerly caught up as matter of reproach; and he is charged with scandalous and even revolting dissoluteness.<sup>g</sup> That Innocent is not assailed by similar reproaches, may have been the effect either of superior character in himself, or of greater forbearance in the party which opposed him. The wealth of Anacletus was employed in raising soldiers and in corrupting the venal Romans; he got possession of St. Peter's by force; and in no long time the nobles who had adhered to Innocent, and had sheltered his partisans in their fortified houses—even the Frangipani themselves—were gained over by the rival pope or were terrified into submission. Finding himself without support in his own city, Innocent resolved to throw himself on that kingdom which had lately afforded a refuge to his predecessor Gelasius; he therefore left Conrad, Cardinal Bishop of Sabino, as his representative at Rome, sailed down the Tiber in the end of May, and after having spent some time at Pisa and at Genoa, he landed in September at St. Gilles in Provence.<sup>h</sup> The course which the king and the church of France were to take in the dispute as to the papacy was mainly determined by two abbots, who stood in the highest repute for sanctity, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Peter of Cluny.

Bernard, the third son of a knight named Tesselin, was born at Fontaines, near Dijon, in 1091.<sup>i</sup> His mother, Aletha, or

<sup>f</sup> *Henr. ep. Lucensis*, in *Patrol.* clxxix. 40-2; *Pandulf. Pisan.* *ib.* 31; *Bernard. Guidonis*, *ib.* 27; *Innoc. epp.* 4, 5 (*ib.*); *Vita Bernardi*, ii. 1 (*ib.* clxxv.); *Codex Udalr.* *ep.* 345.

<sup>g</sup> *Arnulf. Lexov.* in *Patrol.* cci. 181-3. In the controversies of that age, such charges were matters of course, so that the mere statement of them carries no weight. There are three letters of earlier date from St. Bernard (*epp.* 9) to a cardinal named Peter, whom Dean Milman, notwithstanding Mabillon's doubts (*Patrol.* clxxxii. 35), supposes to be Peter Leonis; and, in addition to the laudatory language of these letters, the fact of the confidence placed in him by Calixtus II. tells in his favour (see *Luden*, x. 50; *Milman* iii. 327). It is said that in his youth Peter was supposed to be the anti-Christ (who was traditionally expected to be of Jewish origin), and even that he prided himself on this (*Arnulf*, 180; *Chron. Maurini-*

*ac. Patrol.* clxxx. 157). *Arnulf* describes him as "qui Judaicam facie repræsentet imaginem" (l. c.); but M. Le Prevost is mistaken in identifying him with a son of the elder Peter Leonis, described by *Orderic* as having been a hostage at Reims in 1119—"nigrum et pallidum adolescentem, magis Judæo vel Agareno quam Christiano similem, vestibus quidem optimis indutum, sed corpore deformem"—whom the French derided out of hatred for his father, "that most wicked usurer." *Ord. Vital.*, ed. Le Prevost, iv. 384-5.

<sup>h</sup> *Pand. Pisan.* in *Patrol.* clxxix. 31; *Card. Aragon.*, *ib.*, 31-3; *Anacl. ep.* 9, *ib.*; *Vita Bernardi*, ii. 1, 3; *ib.* clxxxv; *Jaffé*, 561-2.

<sup>i</sup> *Alan. Altissiod. Vita Bern.*, 1 (*Patrol.* clxxxv.); *Vita Prima*, i. 1 (*ib.*); *Chifflet*, 'S. Bernardi Genus illustre assertum,' *ib.*; *Acta Sanctorum*, *ib.*, 643; *Neander's 'Bernard*,' 5.



Alice, was a woman of devout character, and dedicated her children—six sons and one daughter—in their infancy, to God; but Bernard—a gentle, thoughtful, studious, and silent boy—was the one in whom she placed the strongest hope of seeing her desire fulfilled.<sup>k</sup> As he was entering on youth, Aletha died, taking part to the last moment of her life in the devotions of the clergy who were gathered around her bed;<sup>l</sup> but her influence remained with him. The earnestness of his resistance to the temptations of youth was shown by standing for hours up to the neck in chilling water; and other stories to the same purpose are related of him. He believed that his mother often appeared to him in visions, for the purpose of warning him lest his studies (like those of many others in that time) should degenerate into a mere pursuit of literature, apart from the cultivation of religion; and, after much mental distress, the crisis of his life took place as he was on his way to visit his brothers, who were engaged in a military expedition under the Duke of Burgundy. Entering a church by the wayside, he “poured out his heart like water before the sight of God;” he resolved to devote himself to the monastic state, and forthwith endeavoured to bring his nearest relations to join in the resolution.<sup>m</sup> The first of his converts was his uncle Waldric, a distinguished and powerful warrior; and one by one his five brothers also yielded. The eldest, Guy, who was married and had children, was restrained for a time by his wife’s unwillingness; but a sudden illness convinced her that it “was hard for her to kick against the pricks.” To another brother, Gerard, who was strenuous in his refusal, Bernard declared that nothing but affliction would bring him to a right mind, and, laying his finger on a certain place in his side, he told him that even there a lance should penetrate. The prophecy was fulfilled by Gerard’s being wounded and made prisoner; and, on recovering his liberty (not without the assistance of a miracle) he joined the company which Bernard was forming.<sup>n</sup> As Bernard at the head of his converts was leaving the family mansion in order to fulfil their resolution, the eldest brother observed the youngest, Nivard, at play, and told him that the inheritance

<sup>k</sup> Vita I<sup>ma</sup>, i. 2, 3; Alan, 1.

<sup>l</sup> “Obdormivit psallentibus clericis qui convenerant, et ipsa pariter psallens, ut in extremis quoque, cum jam vox ejus auliri non posset, adhuc moveri labia viderentur, et lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri. Demum inter lita-

niæ supplicationes, cum diceretur, ‘Per passionem et crucem tuam libera eam, Domine,’ elevans manum signavit se, et emisit spiritum, ita ut manum non posset deponere quam levaverat.” Vita I<sup>ma</sup>, i. 5. Cf. Alan. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Vita I., i. 6-9.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. 10-1.

would now all fall to him;—"Is it then heaven for you and earth for me?" said the boy, "that is no fair division;" and he too, after a time, broke away from his father to join the rest.<sup>o</sup> The old man himself followed, and at length the devotion of the family to the monastic life was completed by the adhesion of the sister, who renounced the married state, with the wealth and the vanities in which she had delighted.<sup>p</sup> For six months the brothers resided in a house at Châtillon, for the purpose of settling their worldly affairs before entering the cloister.<sup>q</sup> Others in the mean time were induced to join them, and in 1113, Bernard, with more than thirty companions, presented himself for admission at Cîteaux—a monastery which he chose for the sake of its rigour, and as offering the best hope of escaping the notice of men.<sup>r</sup> The progress of the Cistercian order had been slow, on account of the severity of its discipline, so that Stephen Harding, the third abbot, had almost despaired of spiritual offspring to carry on his system. But the vision by which he had been consoled, of a multitude washing their white garments in a fountain,<sup>s</sup> was now to be rapidly fulfilled. By the accession of Bernard<sup>t</sup> and his company, the original monastery became too narrow to contain its inmates, and in the same year the "eldest daughter," the monastery of La Ferté, was founded. This was followed in 1114 by the foundation of Pontigny; and in 1115, Bernard himself was chosen to lead forth a fresh colony to a place which had been the haunt of a band of robbers, and known as "The Valley of Wormwood,"<sup>u</sup> but which now exchanged its name for that of Clairvaux—The Bright Valley. For a time, the hardships which the little community had to bear were excessive. They suffered from cold and from want of clothing; they were obliged to live on porridge made of beech-leaves;<sup>\*</sup> and when the season of necessity was past, their voluntary mortifications were such as to strike all who saw them with astonishment. Their bread, wrung by their labour from an ungracious soil, was "not so much

<sup>o</sup> Vita I., i. 1-17; Alan, 14.

<sup>p</sup> Vita I., i. 30; Alan, 22.

<sup>q</sup> This is noted as a singularity—"Hoc enim illis temporibus, et in illis erat partibus inauditum, ut alicujus adhuc in sæculo commorantis conversio præsciretur." Vita, i. 15.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. i. 8, 15, 19.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 18.

<sup>t</sup> The Cistercians were often called Bernardines; but any member of the order who spoke of it by any other than

its proper name was liable to a day's penance on bread and water. Stat. General, A.D. 1197, in Martene Thes. iv. 1289.

<sup>u</sup> This name is referred both to its production of that herb and to the fact of its having been inhabited by robbers. See Vita, i. 25.

<sup>\*</sup> Ib.; Joh. Eremita, Patrol. clxxxv. 670. See Mabillon, Præf. 34.



branny as earthy ;” their food (it is said) had no savour but what was given to it by hunger or by the love of God ; everything that could afford pleasure to the appetite was regarded as poison.<sup>y</sup> A monk of another order, who visited Clairvaux, carried off a piece of the bread as a curiosity, and used to show it with expressions of wonder that men, and yet more, that such men, could live on such provisions.<sup>z</sup> But we are told that miracles came to the aid of the monks. When they were in the extremity of need, opportune supplies of money unexpectedly arrived ; in a famine, when they undertook to feed the poor of the neighbourhood, their corn was miraculously multiplied ; and from these assistances they drew a confidence in the Divine protection, so that they ceased to disturb their abbot with anxieties about worldly things.<sup>a</sup>

Bernard himself carried his mortifications to an extreme of rigour. He prayed standing, until his knees and his feet failed him through weariness ; he fasted until his digestion was so deranged that to eat was a torture to him ; he grudged the scanty time which he allowed himself for sleep, as being wasted in a state of death.<sup>b</sup> He shared beyond his strength in the ruder labours of the monks, such as the work of the fields and the carrying of wood. “It was,” says one of his biographers, “as if a lamb were yoked to the plough and compelled to drag it.”<sup>c</sup> Much of his time was spent in study ; but, although he read the orthodox expositors, he declared that he preferred to learn the sense of Scripture from itself, that his best teachers were the oaks and beeches among which he meditated in solitude.<sup>d</sup> By the severity of his exercises, it is said that he had extinguished his bodily senses ; for many days together, he ate blood, supposing it to be butter ; he drank oil, without knowing it from water ; after having spent a year at Cîteaux, he could not tell whether the roof of the novices’ chamber was vaulted or not, nor whether the east end of the church had two windows or three ; and for a whole day he walked along the shore of the Lemane lake without being aware that any water was near.<sup>e</sup> Hearing that his life was in danger from his excessive mortifications, William of Champeaux, Bishop of Châlons on the Marne, by whom he had been ordained, repaired to Cîteaux,

<sup>y</sup> Vita, i. 36.<sup>z</sup> Ib. 25.<sup>c</sup> Vita, i. 39.<sup>a</sup> Ib. 27, 49.<sup>d</sup> Ib. 23 ; see Mabillon in Patrol.<sup>b</sup> Ib. 5, 21, 22, 23, 39. Rob. Antisiod in Bouquet, xii. 290.

clxxxii. 27.

<sup>e</sup> Vita, i. 20, 33 ; iii. 2, 4.

and, prostrating himself before the abbots of the order, who were assembled in a general chapter, requested that Bernard might be committed to his care for a year. The request was granted, and the bishop placed the abbot in a small hut outside his monastery, "like those usually made for lepers at the crossings of the highways,"<sup>f</sup> with orders that he should not be disquieted with business or allowed to indulge in his usual austerities. By this (although the bishop's orders were but imperfectly obeyed) Bernard's life was probably saved; but, when the year was at an end, he plunged into ascetic exercises more violently than before, as if to compensate for his forced relaxations.<sup>g</sup> In later years, Bernard expressed disapprobation of such excess in mortification as that by which he had weakened his own body and impaired his vigour;<sup>h</sup> yet the appearance of his pale face and macerated form, the contrast of bodily weakness with inward strength, contributed greatly to enhance the effect of his powerful voice and his gushing flow of language, his strong conviction, and the burning fervour with which he spoke.<sup>i</sup> To persons of every class he knew how to address himself in the style most suitable to their understanding and feelings;<sup>m</sup> and over all kinds of men, from the sovereign to the serf, he exercised an irresistible power. Whenever he went forth from his solitude, says a biographer, he carried with him, like Moses, from his intercourse with heaven, a glory of more than mortal purity, so that men looked on him with awe, and his words sounded to them as the voice of an angel.<sup>n</sup> To his other means of influence over men was added the reputation of prophetic visions, and of miraculous gifts. Not only is it said that he healed by his touch, but there are many such stories as that

<sup>f</sup> Vita i. 33. Meglinger, a monk of Wettingen, in Switzerland, who visited Clairvaux in 1667, tells us that this hut was preserved with reverence, as was also the original monastery, having its chapel, its dormitory, and its refectory, with a bare earthen floor, all under one roof. Patrol. clxxxv. 1605-8.

<sup>g</sup> Vita I., i. 31-3, 38. See Maitland 'Dark Ages,' 406.

<sup>h</sup> De Consideratione, i. c. 8. Yet when his pupil, Bernard of Pisa (to whom, as Pope Eugenius III., that treatise is addressed), consulted him at an earlier time as to the use of medicine, in order to counteract the unwholesome air of the Tre Fontane near Rome, the

abbot of Clairvaux replied by forbidding all other remedies than such simple herbs as were within the reach of the poor (Ep. 345). Mabillon, in his note on the passage, and also in his Annals, professes himself unable to enter into such scruples. "Hæc communem mortalium captum adeo superant, ut homines cœlestes fuisse oporteat qui sic se gesserint." Annal. Bened. vi. 323.

<sup>i</sup> Wibald. Ep. 147, in Patrol. clxxxix. 1255; Odo de Deogilo, ib. clxxxv. 1207; Anselm. Havelberg. 'Apol. pro Clericis Regularibus,' Patrol. clxxxviii. 1128.

<sup>m</sup> Vita i. 29; iii. 6.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. i. 28.



bread which he had blessed produced supernatural effects both on the bodies and on the minds of those who ate it; that water in which he had washed his hands cured the ailment of a man who had been charged in a vision to drink it; that his stole cast out a devil; and that a blind man recovered his sight by placing himself in a spot where the saintly abbot had stood.<sup>o</sup> Of the reality of his miracles Bernard himself appears to have been convinced, and we are told that they were a matter of perplexity to him; but that, after much consideration, he concluded that they were granted for the good of others, and were no ground for supposing himself to be holier or more favoured than other men.<sup>p</sup> When recommended by such a man, the rigour which at first had deterred from the Cistercian order became a powerful attraction; Clairvaux was beset by candidates for admission; the number of its inmates rose to seven hundred, among whom the king's brother Henry, afterward Archbishop of Reims, was to be seen submitting to the same severe discipline as the rest; and the number of monasteries founded by Bernard in person, or through his disciples, amounted to a hundred and sixty, scattered over every country of the west, but subject, as was believed, to a preternatural knowledge of their affairs which enabled him to watch over all.<sup>q</sup> Wives were afraid for their husbands, and mothers hid their sons, lest they should fall under the fascination of Bernard's eloquence, and desert the world for the cloister.<sup>r</sup> As the chief representative of the age's feelings, the chief model of the character which it most revered, he found himself, apparently without design, and even unconsciously, elevated to a position of such influence as no ecclesiastic, either before or since his time, has attained. Declining the ecclesiastical dignities to which he saw a multitude of his followers promoted,<sup>s</sup> the Abbot of Clairvaux was for a quarter of a century the real soul and director of the papacy; he guided the policy of emperors and kings, and swayed the deliberations of councils;

<sup>o</sup> Vita i. 43, seqq., 55; ii. 46; iii. 17; iv. 24-5, 30, 37; vii. 27, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. iii. 20. On the miracles, see Schröckh, xxvii. 263-9; Neander's 'Bernard,' 110-3; Ch. Hist., vii. 355-7. Bernard himself says, in preaching on St. Mark, xvi. 17-8, "Quis, inquam, dæmonia ejecit, linguis novis loquitur, serpentes tollit? Quid ergo? Si nemo hæc habet, aut perpauci nostris videntur habere temporibus.".....' Sermo in Ascensione Domini, i. 2). But this passage

does not warrant the statement which has been founded on it, that he supposed "miracles to be no longer wrought in the Church" (Robins, on 'The Claims of the Rom. Ch.,' 469), as he evidently speaks of one class of miracles only, and even as to that makes the reservation "aut perpauci."

<sup>q</sup> Vita, i. 62-3; v. 13; Neander, vii. 352.

<sup>r</sup> Vita, i. 15, 61; Alan, 12.

<sup>s</sup> Alan, i. 25; Vita, ii. 27.

may, however little his character and the training of his own mind might have fitted him for such a work, the authority of his sanctity was such as even to control the intellectual development of the age which owned him as its master.

In the schism which had now arisen, Bernard zealously espoused the interest of Innocent.<sup>t</sup> At a council which king Louis summoned at Étampes for the consideration of the question, the abbot of Clairvaux is said to have spoken as if by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and the assembly, in accordance with his opinion, pronounced in favour of Innocent—not, apparently, as having been the most regularly elected (for it is said that the notorious disorderliness of Roman elections led them to pay little regard to this point),<sup>u</sup> but mainly on the ground of his superior personal merit.<sup>x</sup>

Unequalled as Bernard's influence became, however, perhaps that of Peter "the Venerable" was at this time yet more important to Innocent. For Anacletus had himself been a monk of Cluny, and had reckoned on the support of his order; so that the ready and spontaneous declaration of the abbot in behalf of Innocent inflicted the severest blow on the rival claimant of the papacy.<sup>y</sup> And the character of Peter was such as to give all weight to his decision. Elected to the headship of his order at the age of thirty, he had recovered Cluny from the effects of the disorders caused by his predecessor, Pontius,<sup>z</sup> and had once more established its reputation as a seat of piety, learning, and arts.<sup>a</sup> In him the monastic spirit had not extinguished the human affections, but was combined with a mildness, a tolerance, and a charity which he was able to reconcile with the strictest orthodoxy.<sup>b</sup> The reputation of the "venerable" abbot was such that emperors, kings, and high ecclesiastical personages revered his judgment; and when it became known that Innocent had reached Cluny with a train of sixty horses, provided by the abbot for his conveyance, the effect of this signal declaration

<sup>t</sup> See his Epistle, 124, to Hildebert of Tours, who for a time was undecided.

<sup>u</sup> Suger, *Patrol.* clxxxv. 1351.

<sup>x</sup> *Vita Bern.* ii. 3; Arnulf. *Lexov.* de Schismate, 5 (*Patrol.* cci.); Chron. Maurin. ap. Bouquet, xii. 79; Hefele, v. 363. The date of this council is supposed to have been before May 1, 1130. See Luden, x. 563.

<sup>y</sup> See Anacl. Ep. 6 (*Patrol.* clxxix.);

Pet. Ep. ii. 3 (*ib.* clxxxix.); *Vita Pet. Ven.*, c. 4 (*ib.*); Order. Vital. xiii. 3; Daunou in *Hist. Litt.* xiii. 243.

<sup>z</sup> See vol. ii. p. 761 (699).

<sup>a</sup> See Ord. Vital. in *Patrol.* clxxxviii. 935, as to his reforms in discipline.

<sup>b</sup> See Schröckh, xxvii. 242-3; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vii. 346-7, and 'Bernard,' 71-2.



against the Cluniac antipope was widely and strongly felt.<sup>c</sup> At Cluny Innocent spent eleven days, and on the 25th of October, the anniversary of the dedication of the high altar by Urban II., he consecrated the new church of the monastery.<sup>d</sup> There he was welcomed in the name of the French king by Suger, abbot of St. Denys; and in the beginning of 1131 he was received by Louis himself at Fleury, with the deepest demonstrations of respect.<sup>e</sup>

With a view of enlisting Henry of England in the same cause, Bernard had undertaken a journey into his continental territory; and, notwithstanding the opposition of many prelates, who are said to have represented that Innocent, as a fugitive, would be a burden to the king and to his people,<sup>f</sup> the abbot had met with his wonted success. On Henry's hesitating,—"Are you afraid," asked Bernard, "that you may sin by giving your obedience to Innocent? Think how you may answer for your other sins, and let this rest on me!" The king's reluctance was overcome, and he accompanied Bernard to Chartres, where Innocent received his assurances of support, with the magnificent presents which accom-  
Jan. 13.  
panied them.<sup>g</sup>

Anacletus had proposed that the question between himself and his rival should be decided by an ecclesiastical council or by the emperor; but the proposal was declined by Innocent, on the ground that he was already rightful pope.<sup>h</sup> Each party continued, by strenuous exertions, to endeavour to enlist adherents. The cardinals who supported Innocent wrote to Lothair, that, after their election had been made at the third hour, the Jewish antipope was chosen at the sixth—the hour when the Redeemer was crucified by the Jews, and when a thick darkness overspread the world. They dwell on his alleged impieties and other misdeeds; they assure Lothair that the whole East joins in anathematising the pretender, and they entreat the king of the Romans himself to support their cause.<sup>i</sup>

With no less eagerness and confidence, Anacletus endeavoured to make interest in all quarters. He insisted on the validity of

<sup>c</sup> Vita Pet., 4; Ord. Vit. xiii. 2; Mabill. Annal. Bened. vi. 171.

<sup>d</sup> Epp. 89, 91 (Patrol. clxxix.); Pagi, xviii. 439; Jaffé, 568.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. Maurin., Patrol. clxxx. 158; Suger, ib. clxxix. 1331.

<sup>f</sup> Arnulf. Lexov. de Schism. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Vita Bern. ii. 4; Suger, 1331.

<sup>h</sup> See Ord. Vit. xiii. 4; Neander's 'Bernard,' 95-6.

<sup>i</sup> Patrol. clxxix. 37.

his election, which he described as unanimous,<sup>k</sup> although he admitted that he was opposed by a few sons of Belial, on whom he lavishes all the treasures of ecclesiastical abuse.<sup>l</sup> He reminds some to whom he writes of their ancient friendship with his father;<sup>m</sup> to others he recalls his own friendly relations with them; to the Cluniacs, his connexion with their order and its chief monastery.<sup>n</sup> He too boasts of his powerful supporters—that he is acknowledged throughout the whole of Rome, and that the East is with him;<sup>o</sup> and it would seem that he endeavoured to verify this boast by a letter to the king of Jerusalem, in which he vaguely promises to do great things for the holy city.<sup>p</sup> But the success of these endeavours was very small. For a time bishops of the opposite parties contended in dioceses, and rival abbots disputed the headship of monasteries;<sup>q</sup> but the great orders all declared in favour of Innocent.<sup>r</sup> The letters which Anacletus addressed to princes and prelates remained without acknowledgment,<sup>s</sup> and the only secular power which he was able to secure to his side was that of the southern Normans. The position of the rivals was expressed by a verse which spoke of Peter as having Rome, while Gregory had the whole world.<sup>t</sup>

Although Anacletus had declared himself in favour of Lothair, instead of throwing himself into the interest of the Hohenstaufen family,<sup>u</sup> and although Lothair had been importuned in his

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 10, ib.

<sup>l</sup> E. g. "Verum quidam falsi fratres, filii Belial, filii pestilentiae, filii Agar, sapientiam quæ de terra est exquirentes, inebriati calice iræ Domini, Dei dispositioni et constitutioni ecclesiasticæ cursu improbo visi sunt contraire. Quorum caput est Aimericus, quondam cancellarius, avaritiæ servus, histrionum et scurrarum delirus incentor, ecclesiarum expoliator [*al.* expilator], servorum Dei improbus exactor, alter Giezi, qui simoniis publicis et privatis lepram Naaman et maledictionem Dei est vere sortitus.... Latrant in nos canes impudentissimi, et ore vipereo detrahunt, et fetentem crapulam eructantes, in Dei ecclesia de sua pessima conscientia multa ore foetidissimo evomunt." (Ep. 6.) The Hebrew Pope even ventures to speak of one opponent as "uncircumcised." Ep. 9.

<sup>m</sup> Ep. 5.

<sup>o</sup> Ep. 9, 40.

<sup>q</sup> Ord. Vit. xiii. 3.

<sup>r</sup> See his complaints, Epp. 10-2, 18, 47.

<sup>n</sup> Epp. 6, 9.

<sup>p</sup> Ep. 22.

<sup>s</sup> Arnulf. Lexov., in Patrol. cci. 193-4; Bern. Ep. cxxvi. 9, 10.

<sup>t</sup> "Romam Petrus habet, totum Gregorius orbem."—*Rob. de Monte*, A.D. 1130.

It has been very commonly said that Scotland was with Anacletus (Mosh. ii. 448; Grub, i. 262; E. W. Robertson, i. 10). But the only authority for this seems to be a passage in Richard of Hexham—"Illi [Scoti] vero diu a Cisalpina, imo fere ab universa ecclesia discordantes, exosæ memoriæ Petroleoni et apostasiæ ejus *nimum favisse videbantur*" (Twysden, 325)—where, with the strongest wish to make out his hated neighbours to have been schismatics, the chronicler does not go so far as to state positively that they were such. On the other hand the chronicle of Melrose mentions Innocent as the successor of Honorius (A.D. 1130), and records the death of Anacletus thus—"Obiit Petrus Leo antipapa" (1138); and St. Bernard expressly mentions Scotland as adhering to Innocent. Ep. cxxv. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Anaclet. Epp. i. 2, 18 (Patrol. clxxix.).



behalf by a letter written in the name of the Romans,<sup>w</sup> Germany was won to the side of Innocent by legates who appeared before a diet at Würzburg, and it was arranged that the king should meet the pope at Liége. The assemblage collected in that city for the occasion was imposing from the number of prelates and nobles who attended. Lothair received the pope with the greatest reverence, held the bridle of his horse March 22-9, while he rode through the streets,<sup>x</sup> and, with his wife 1131.

Richenza, was crowned by his hands in the cathedral.<sup>y</sup> The king promised to go into Italy, and to seat Innocent in St. Peter's chair; but when, in consideration of this aid, he desired that the privilege of investiture should be restored to him,—representing, it is said, that the weakening of the imperial power by the cession of this was a weakening of the papacy itself,<sup>z</sup>—a serious difference arose. To the Romans who were present, the proposal appeared to involve evils even worse than the ascendancy of the antipope in Rome;<sup>a</sup> but their repugnance might have been unavailing if it had not been reinforced by the authority of Bernard, to whose firm opposition Lothair found himself obliged to yield.<sup>b</sup> But in questions which soon after arose as to various sees—especially those of Treves and Verdun—he showed that he was no longer disposed, as at the time of his election, to give up the privileges which had been reserved to the crown by the concordat of Worms, but, agreeably to the terms of that treaty, he insisted that the bishops should receive investiture before consecration.<sup>c</sup>

Returning into France, Innocent spent the Easter season at Paris and St. Denys, where he was received with splendid hospitality;<sup>d</sup> and in October he held a council at Reims, which was

<sup>w</sup> Baron. 1130. 24.

<sup>x</sup> Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, Patrol. clxxxvi. 1331.

<sup>y</sup> Anselm. Gemblac., A.D. 1131 (Patrol. clx.).

<sup>z</sup> Otto Frising. vii. 18; Chron. Ursperg., 212.

<sup>a</sup> Vita Bern. ii. 5.

<sup>b</sup> The amount of what Lothair asked is variously stated. Some, as Hefeles and Luden, think that he did not wish to get rid of the terms agreed on at Worms, but only to be released from the further concessions which he had made at his election; but that his object was really nothing less than to recover the power of investiture seems probable from Bernard's language, Ep. 150—"Sed nec Leodii cervicibus imminens mucro bar-

baricus compulit acquiescere importunis improbisque postulationibus iracundi atque irascentis regis." But Peter of Monte Cassino is certainly wrong in saying that the pope granted to Lothair "virgam et annulum juxta morem antiquum," and also the inheritance of the Countess Matilda (Patrol. clxxiii. 919). See Card. de Aragon., 33 (ib. clxxix.); Schröckh, xxvii. 101; Planck, iv. 336-8; Patrol. clxxxv. 727; Luden, x. 67-8, 79; Gieseler, II., ii. 67; Hefeles, v. 367.

<sup>c</sup> Gesta Alberonis Trevir. Patrol. cliv. 1317-22; Gesta Epp. Virdun., ib. cciv. 955-6; Planck, iv. 339; Gieseler, II. ii. 68.

<sup>d</sup> Suger, in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1332. Orderic says that the expense of enter-

attended by thirteen archbishops and two hundred and sixty-three bishops.<sup>e</sup> Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians,

and now archbishop of Magdeburg, appeared on the Oct. 18.

part of the German king, to renew his promises of support, and to efface the remembrance of the late disputes.<sup>f</sup> The kings of England, of Aragon, and of Castile were also represented by prelates who tendered in their names assurances of obedience and support. Louis of France was present in person; and, as his son and colleague, Philip, had lately been killed by a fall from his horse in a street of Paris,<sup>g</sup> a younger son, Louis, at that time ten years of age, was crowned in his stead.<sup>h</sup>

Bernard had by his personal intercourse acquired an unbounded influence over Innocent, so that although the pope still appeared to consult in public with his cardinals, it was known that he was really under the guidance of the abbot of Clairvaux, to whom all who desired any favour from the pope addressed themselves.<sup>i</sup> From Reims Innocent proceeded to visit Clairvaux, where he was the more deeply impressed by the austerity of the Cistercian system from its contrast with the magnificence of Cluny. The "poor of Christ," according to Bernard's biographer, received him, not in purple and fine linen, not with the display of gilded books and splendid furniture, not with the loud blare of trumpets, but their coarsely-attired procession carried a cross of stone, and greeted him with a low chant of psalms. The pope and his attendant bishops were moved to tears at the sight, while the monks, with their eyes fixed on the ground, would not allow themselves to look at their visitors. It was with awe that these beheld the simple oratory with its naked walls, and the refectory with its bare earthen floor, the rude and scanty provisions of the brotherhood

taining the pope was severely felt—"Immensam gravedinem ecclesiis Gallicarum ingessit, utpote qui Romanos officiales cum multis clientibus secum habuit, et de redditibus apostolicæ sedis in Italia nihil adipisci potuit." xiii. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Ord. Vital. l. c. By some writers this council is placed before the meeting at Liège. But see Mabillon, *Præf.* in Bern. c. 43; Pagi, xviii. 476.

<sup>f</sup> Chron. Maurin., *Patrol.* clxxx. 162.

<sup>g</sup> Suger, 1333; Ord. Vit. xiii. 3; Chron. Sithiens. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 469. This is said to have been the consequence of a threat which Bernard had uttered on account of the king's misbe-

haviour in some ecclesiastical affairs. (*Vita Bern.* iv. 11.) Robert of Dreux, who was older than Philip, had been set aside on account of incapacity. Joh. Iper. in *Mart. Thes.* iii. 635.

<sup>h</sup> A sermon on the faults of bishops and clergy, said to have been delivered by Bernard before this council, is printed in *Patrol.* clxxxiv. 1079, seqq., but appears to be a reminiscence of what he really said, written down by a hearer fifteen years after (see Pez, VI. i. 337). Mabillon (not in loc.) thinks it too insolent and coarse to be genuine. See Theiner, ii. 346; Hefele, v. 369.

<sup>i</sup> *Vita Bern.* ii. 5.



—even fish being served up for the pope's table only. The solemnities of the choir were painfully disturbed by a monk who suddenly exclaimed, "I am the Christ!" but we are told that the demon who had prompted this outbreak was immediately quelled by the prayers of Bernard and his brethren.<sup>1</sup>

In April, 1132, Innocent crossed the Alps on his return to Italy, having addressed from Lyons a letter to Bernard, by which, in acknowledgment of his services, the pope bestowed exemptions and other privileges on Clairvaux and on the whole Cistercian order.<sup>k</sup> After having spent the summer in Lombardy, he met Lothair in the plains of Roncaglia in November.<sup>1</sup> Since the election of the German king, the interest of the Hohenstaufen had been strengthened by the return of Frederick's brother Conrad from the Holy Land; and as Conrad had taken no oath of fealty to Lothair, he was now set up as the head of the party.<sup>m</sup> In 1128 he was crowned as king of Italy at Monza by Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, who on the ground of his church's independence, had refused the pall from Pope Honorius. In consequence of having officiated at the coronation, Anselm had been declared by Honorius to be deposed, and having afterwards accepted the pall from Anacletus, he was excommunicated by Innocent and driven from his city,<sup>n</sup> while Conrad was excommunicated by both the claimants of the papacy.<sup>o</sup> Yet the opposition of the Hohenstaufen was still so formidable in Germany that Lothair, when he proceeded into Italy, in fulfilment of the promise which he had made at Liége, could only take with him a body of 1500 or 2000 horse, which excited the mockery of the Italians.<sup>p</sup> With this small force, however, he conducted the pope to Rome, where they arrived on the 30th of April, 1133.

Attempts were made by Anacletus (who still held possession of a great part of the city) to obtain an inquiry into his pretensions; but Lothair, under the influence of the opposite party, rejected his overtures, and issued an edict in condemnation of him.<sup>q</sup> On the 4th of June, Lothair and Richenza were crowned in the Lateran by Innocent; for St. Peter's, the usual scene of the imperial coronations, was in the hands of the antipope. Before entering the church, the emperor swore, in the presence

<sup>1</sup> Vita, ii. 6.<sup>k</sup> Bern. Ep. 352.

39-44; Giesel. II. ii. 223.

<sup>1</sup> Jaffé, 568-570. <sup>m</sup> Luden, x. 21, 27.<sup>o</sup> Innoc. Ep. 1.; Anaclet. Ep. 18.<sup>n</sup> Landulf. jun. 38-40 (Patrol. clxxiii.).<sup>p</sup> Otto Fris. vii. 18; Raumer, i. 225;

Muratori, Ann. VI. ii. 205; Luden, x.

Luden, x. 570. <sup>q</sup> Patrol. clxxix. 47-8.

of the Roman nobles, to defend the pope's person and dignity, to maintain those royalties of St. Peter which Innocent already possessed, and to aid him with all his power towards the recovery of the rest.<sup>r</sup> A compromise was arranged as to the inheritance of the Countess Matilda, which, in consequence of Henry V.'s refusal to admit her donation,<sup>s</sup> had become a subject of dispute between the papacy and the empire. Lothair was invested with the lands by the ceremony of the ring, and was to hold them under the Roman see on payment of a hundred pounds of silver yearly; and after him they were to be held on like terms by his son-in-law Henry, Duke of Bavaria, at whose death they were to revert to the papacy.<sup>t</sup> In this arrangement it is evident that Lothair was more eager to secure the interest of his own family than that of the elective imperial crown. But beyond the temporary settlement of this question and his formal acknowledgment as emperor, Lothair's expedition to Italy had no results. His declaration in favour of Innocent was not supported either by the force which would have suppressed opposition, or by the wealth which would have bought over the Romans; and he found himself obliged to retire before the dangers of the climate, leaving Rome a prey to its exasperated factions.<sup>u</sup> Innocent was speedily again driven out, and withdrew to Pisa, where he remained until the beginning of 1137.<sup>v</sup>

At Pisa a great council was held in May, 1136,<sup>w</sup> when Anacletus was excommunicated, and the sentence of deposition, without hope of restoration, was pronounced against his partisans.<sup>x</sup> At this assembly Bernard was the person most remarkable for the influence which he exerted, and for the reverence which was paid to him, but we are assured by his biographer that he remained unmoved by all the honours which were pressed on him.<sup>y</sup> From Pisa he proceeded to Milan, in order to complete the work of reclaiming the citizens from their adhesion to the antipope and Conrad. When his approach was known, almost the whole population poured forth to meet him at a distance of some miles. They thronged to touch him; they pulled out threads from his clothes, to be treasured as

<sup>r</sup> Patrol. clxxix. 50.; Card. Aragon. ib. 34.; Otto Fris. vii. 18.; Chron. Maurin. ap. Bouquet, xii. 84.; Gregorov. iv. 409.

<sup>s</sup> See vol. ii. p. 747 (687).

<sup>t</sup> Innoc. Ep. 145.; Planck, IV. i. 339.; Luden, x. 571.

<sup>u</sup> Card. Arag., Patrol. clxxix. 34.; Anselm. Gemblac. A.D. 1133 (ib. clx.).

<sup>v</sup> Ib.; Jaffé; Innoc. Ep. 155.; Anaclet. Ep. 47.

<sup>w</sup> Chron. Pisan. in Murat. Rer. Ital. Scriptores, vi. 170. The date 1134 is often wrongly given. See Jaffé, 573.

<sup>x</sup> Hardouin, VI. ii. 1197-8.

<sup>y</sup> Vita, ii. 8.



relics or employed for the cure of the sick. Bread and water were brought from a distance for his blessing, from which they were believed to derive a sacramental virtue; and a vast number of miracles was wrought, which were ascribed by the Milanese to his sanctity, and by himself to the willing and eager faith of the people. The turbulent city submitted implicitly to his words; the ornaments of the churches were put away, sackcloth and coarse woollen garments were generally worn, and women as well as men manifested their repentance by submitting to be shorn of their hair. Bernard was entreated to accept the archbishoprick, which he did not absolutely refuse; but he declared that he would leave the matter to be decided by the course which his palfrey should take on the morrow, and in obedience to this sign he rode away from Milan.<sup>z</sup> A new archbishop, Robald, was soon afterwards elected, and, at Bernard's persuasion, the Milanese consented to his accepting the pall from Innocent, and taking an oath to the pope by which, in the words of the chronicler Landulf, "he turned the liberty of the church of Milan into the contrary."<sup>a</sup> The jurisdiction of the see had lately been diminished by the erection of an archbishoprick of Genoa, with metropolitan authority over some dioceses which were withdrawn from the province of Milan.<sup>b</sup>

On Bernard's return to France, his influence was again remarkably manifested. Gerard, Bishop of Angoulême, who had taken a prominent part in forcing Pope Paschal to recall his compact with Henry V.,<sup>c</sup> had been employed by successive popes as legate for Aquitaine and the adjoining provinces of Spain. He had written to the Council of Étampes a letter in favour of Innocent, but on being refused by that pope a renewal of his legation, he had espoused the party of Anacletus, and had received from him a fresh commission.<sup>d</sup> It was in vain that he attempted to draw Henry of England and some princes of Spain and Brittany into the antipope's interest; but he was

<sup>z</sup> Vita, ii. 9-15; vii. 25; Epp. 131-3, 137, 314; Landulf. jun. 42 (Patrol. clxxiii.); Alan. 51.

<sup>a</sup> Bern. Ep. 141; Land. jun. 42-3.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 1133. At the same time Pisa was made an archbishoprick, with the primacy of Sardinia annexed. Bern. Giudonis, 29; Pand. Pisan. in Patrol. clxxix. 32; Card. Arag. ib. 34.

<sup>c</sup> Will. Malmesb. 427-8; Ekkehard, A.D. 1112. See vol. ii. p. 745 (686).

<sup>d</sup> Vulgrinus Bituric. in Patrol. clxxix. 41-6; Bern. Epp. 126-8; Anaclet. Epp. 7-9; Vita Bern. ii. 32; Arnulf. Lexov. de Schismate [a violent invective against Gerard], 5 (Patrol. cci.); Chron. Maurin., ib., clxxx. 167-9. Gerard's remains are in the Patrologia, vol. clxxii., with an account of him from the 'Gallia Christiana,' in which it is supposed that he has been too hardly treated by Innocent's partisans. Col. 1311.

able to secure the adherence of William IX., Count of Aquitaine,<sup>e</sup> and relying on the Count's support, he seized on the see of Bourges, and ejected several bishops and abbots, filling their places with men whose birth is said to have been their only qualification for such office.<sup>f</sup> Peter of Cluny had endeavoured to reclaim the Count of Aquitaine, but without success; but at the request of Innocent's legate, Geoffrey Bishop of Chartres, Bernard undertook the task. After having listened to his arguments, the count, who was really indifferent as to the claims of the rival popes, professed himself willing to join the party of Innocent. But as to the deprived bishops, he declared that he would not and could not restore them, because they had offended him beyond forgiveness, and he had bound himself by an oath to the contrary; nor could he be persuaded by Bernard's assurances that such oaths were not to be regarded as valid.<sup>g</sup> The abbot proceeded to the celebration of mass, while William, as an excommunicate person, remained without the church-door, until Bernard again came forth, with a sternness of countenance, a fire in his eyes, and an awful solemnity in his whole demeanour, which appeared as if it were more than human,<sup>h</sup> bearing the consecrated host in his hands. "Often," he said, "have we entreated thee, and thou hast despised us, the servants of God. Lo, here cometh to thee the Son of the Virgin, the Lord and Head of the church which thou persecutest. Here is thy Judge, at whose name every knee shall bow of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth—thy Judge, into whose hands thy soul will fall. Wilt thou despise Him too, as thou hast despised his servants?" At these words, while all around were in trembling expectation of the event, the count fell on the earth, foaming at the mouth, and apparently senseless. He was raised up by some soldiers of his guard, but his limbs refused to support him, until Bernard, touching him with his foot, desired him to stand up, and hear God's sentence. The demand that he should restore the ejected prelates was immediately obeyed, and his reconciliation with the church was signed with the kiss of peace. Gerard of Angoulême still resisted all attempts to gain him; but it is said that he was soon after found lifeless in his bed, having died

<sup>e</sup> Arnulf styles William "*voluptatum vir, animalis homo, arcana spiritualium non attingens, ob repulsam petitionis illicitæ mancipatus errori.*" *Patrol. cci.* 193.

<sup>f</sup> Arnulf. 5-8; Bern. Ep. cxxvi. 3, 7; Vita Bern. ii. 33, 36.

<sup>g</sup> Vita Bern. ii. 34-7.

<sup>h</sup> "Jam non se agens ut hominem." Ib. 38.



excommunicate and without the last sacraments. His body was torn from the grave by order of the legate Geoffrey of Chartres, the altars which he had consecrated were thrown down, all who had been promoted by him to ecclesiastical offices were ejected, and the schism was suppressed in France.<sup>1</sup>

In 1137, Bernard, in compliance with a request from Innocent and his cardinals, undertook a fresh journey into Italy, for the purpose of labouring against the Antipope. The interest of Anacletus had by this time greatly declined; his money was exhausted, his state was diminished, even the service of his table had fallen into a condition of meanness and neglect; and Bernard, on arriving at Rome, discovered that most of the Antipope's adherents were inclined to a reconciliation with Innocent, although many of them were withheld by oaths, by family ties, or by other private considerations.<sup>k</sup> The whole strength of the party now rested on Roger II. of Sicily.

Roger, an able, stern, and ambitious prince, had undertaken, on the extinction of Robert Guiscard's line by the death of William of Apulia, in 1127, to unite under his own power the whole of the Norman acquisitions in Italy,<sup>m</sup> and, in addition to the possessions both of the Hauteville family and of the earlier settlers in Campania, he had seized on the duchy of Naples, which until then had been connected with the Greek Empire.<sup>n</sup> Pope Honorius, after having thrice denounced him excommunicate, and after having vainly endeavoured to resist his progress by an armed alliance, was compelled in 1228 to invest him in his new conquests with the title of duke;<sup>o</sup> and two years later, Roger, having assumed the title of King, received a confirmation of it from Anacletus, by whom he was crowned at Palermo.<sup>p</sup>

The Pope had joined with the dispossessed princes of the south in entreating the Emperor's intervention; and Lothair,

<sup>1</sup> Vita Bern. ii. 39; Chron. Maurin. 167-9. See Pet. Cluniac. Ep. ii. 30. It is said, however, in the 'Gesta Episcoporum Engolismensium,' that Gerard repented, confessed, and died Christianly. N. in Bern. Patrol. clxxxii. 272.

<sup>k</sup> Vita Bern. ii. 41.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Casin. iv. 96-7; Falco Benev. in Patrol. clxxiii. 1194-5; Gibbon, v. 358. On Roger's cruelty, see Falco, 1223-6; Order. Vital. ib. 938. Arnulf of Lisieux styles him "Tyranus ille quem altrix tyrannorum Sicilia sustinet, Dionysii

successor," &c. (ib. cci. 193). Giannone, in consideration of his anti-papalism, boldly justifies him in all points, ii. 428-431.

<sup>n</sup> Falco, 1195; Giannone, l. x. c. 10.

<sup>o</sup> Falco, 1201-2; Muratori, Ann. VI. ii. 199-204; Sismondi, R. I. ii. 18-9.

<sup>p</sup> Anaclet. Ep. 39; Falco, 1204. On the question whether Roger was crowned once or twice, see note on Falco; also Giannone, ii. 326; Pagi and Mansi, in Baron. xviii. 452-3; note in Fazello, ii. 378; Raumer, i. 377.

after having established peace in Germany by a reconciliation with Frederick and Conrad of Hohenstaufen (in which A.D. 1135. Bernard's mediation was added to that of the Empress Richenza),<sup>a</sup> again crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful force. In a single campaign, with the aid of the fleets of Genoa and Pisa, he deprived Roger of all his late acquisitions on the mainland.<sup>r</sup> But dissensions arose between the allies. In a question as to the reconciliation of the abbey of Monte Cassino, which had been drawn by the Sicilian power into the Antipope's interest, the Emperor bitterly reproached the Pope's representatives for their master's ingratitude to him, and even threatened to forsake his party;<sup>s</sup> and when a new prince, Rainulf, was to be invested at Salerno, after a month's discussion whether the suzerainty belonged to the Pope or to the Emperor, the difficulty was for the time overcome by an arrangement that both should at the ceremony hold the banner, by means of which the investiture was performed.<sup>t</sup> Having restored Innocent to Rome, and apparently pacified Italy, Lothair set out homewards; but at Trent he fell sick, and on the 3rd of December he died at Breitenwang, an obscure place between the rivers Inn and Lech.<sup>u</sup> A Diet was summoned to meet at Whitsuntide, 1138, for the election of a successor, and it was expected that the choice of the Germans would fall on Henry, Duke of Bavaria, the son-in-law and representative of the late Emperor. But Henry, by conduct which had gained for him the epithet of "The Proud," had offended many of the electors, and the influence of the Pope, who dreaded a too powerful Emperor, was exerted in opposition to the family which had restored him to the possession of his capital. Without waiting, therefore, for the appointed Diet, a small party of the electors, headed by the Archbishops of Treves and Cologne (Mentz being vacant in consequence of the death of Adalbert) chose Conrad of Hohenstaufen—once an excommunicated pretender to the Italian Kingdom—as King of Germany, and he was crowned by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Theotwin, at Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>x</sup> For some years which followed,

<sup>a</sup> Otto Frising. vii. 19; Annal. Magdeb. A.D. 1134, ap. Pertz, xvi.; Chron. Ursperg. 211.

<sup>r</sup> Falco, 1234-6; Otto Frising. vii. 19; Card. de Aragonia, in Patrol. clxxix. 35; Chron. Pisan, in Murat. vi. 170.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Casin. iv. 112, 115, 124. See vol. ii. p. 783 (716).

<sup>t</sup> Chron. Casin. iv. 117; Otto Frising.

vii. 22; Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 189.

<sup>u</sup> Otto Fris. vii. 4; Luden, x. 576; Raumer, i. 232. Lothair is highly eulogised by the Cologne annalist. Eccard, i. 930.

<sup>x</sup> Otto Fris. de Gestis Frederici, i. 22; Gesta Alberonis Trevir. 15 (Patrol. cliv.); Luden, x. 133-9; Raumer, i. 233-6.



Germany was again a party to the contests of parties struggling for supremacy, and it is said that in the course of these contests—at the battle of Weinsberg in 1140—the names of Welf and Waiblingen (Guelf and Ghibelline), afterwards so notorious in the feuds of Italy, were first heard as the rallying cries of the opposite parties.<sup>y</sup>

While Lothair was yet on his way towards the Alps, Roger again appeared in Italy, and speedily recovered a large portion of his conquests. In answer to overtures from Innocent, through Bernard, he proposed a conference between representatives of the rival Popes,—in the hope, it is said, that Peter of Pisa,<sup>z</sup> one of the ablest partisans of Anacletus, would by his learning and rhetorical skill prove superior to the Abbot of Clairvaux. After Peter had stated the claims of Anacletus, Bernard began his reply by insisting on the unity of the Church, and then proceeded to apply the doctrine by asking whether it could be thought that Roger alone was in the one ark of salvation, while all other Christian nations, and all the holy orders of monks, were to perish? Then, seeing the impression which his words had made on his hearers, “Let us,” he said to Peter, taking him by the hand, “enter into a safer ark.” The anti-papal champion, whether really convinced, or gained by a promise that his dignities should be secured to him, yielded to the appeal, and returned with Bernard to Rome, where he professed his submission to Innocent; but Roger still held out with a view of making conditions as to some property of the Roman see which he had seized.<sup>a</sup>

The death of Lothair was followed within a few weeks by that of Anacletus, who, notwithstanding the decay of his power, had to the last kept possession of the Vatican.<sup>b</sup>

Jan. 25,  
1138.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. Weingart. in Leibnitz, i. 789. See Muratori, Dissert. 51 (Antiq. Ital. t. iv.); Luden, x. 587; Raumer, i. 241; Herzog, xvii. 667. It seems to be doubtful from which of two places named Waiblingen the cry of the Hohenstaufen party was taken (Raum. l. c.). The names were at a later time supposed by the Italians to have been derived from two brothers who took opposite sides (Ptolom. Lucensis, in Murat. xi. 1133). Muratori remarks that it is no wonder if writers even of the 14th century were at a loss for the origin of them, “quum unde Hugonottæ sectæ nomen prodierit, vix ipsi Galli noverint, et unde nomina *Wighs* et *Torris*, Angli

vix intelligant.” iv. 900.

<sup>z</sup> Chron. Maurin. ap. Bouquet, xii. 79; Giannone, ii. 350. Peter was the author of the Life of Paschal II., which is commonly quoted as the work of his countryman Pandulf. Gregorov. iv. 604; Potthast, Bibl. Hist. 422.

<sup>a</sup> Vita Bern. ii. 43-6; Cf. Falc. Berner. 1243-4. Bernard afterwards wrote to Innocent, in behalf of Peter, complaining that the promises made to him had not been fully kept. Ep. 213.

<sup>b</sup> “Ille ille iniquus, qui peccare fecit Israel,” writes Bernard to Peter of Cluny, “morte absorptus est, et traductus in ventrem inferi.” (Ep. 144.) Cf. Baron. 1038-1; Gregorov. iv. 417.

His body was secretly buried, lest it should be treated like that of Pope Formosus;<sup>c</sup> and, although a successor was set up, under the name of Victor the Fourth, this was rather with a view to making favourable terms of reconciliation, than with any serious hope of prolonging the schism. Innocent spent large sums in buying over the adherents of Anacletus, — among them the members of the late pope's own family,<sup>d</sup> who humbled themselves at his feet, and took the oath of fealty to him; and such was Bernard's influence that the new anti-pope May 29, went to his lodging by night, renounced his claims, 1138. stripped off his insignia, and was led by the abbot in triumph to prostrate himself at the feet of Innocent. The joy of the Romans at the restoration of peace was unbounded; but Bernard, to whom they ascribed the merit of it, escaped with all speed from their demonstrations of gratitude, and returned to resume in the quiet seclusion of Clairvaux his mystical exposition of the Canticles.<sup>e</sup>

In April 1139, Innocent, now undisputed master of Rome, assembled at the Lateran a general council, which was attended by a thousand archbishops and bishops. The Pope in his opening speech, asserted the feudal authority of St. Peter's successor over all other members of the hierarchy, as the superior under whom all ecclesiastical power is held.<sup>f</sup> The ordinations and other acts of Anacletus and his partisans, such as Gerard of Angoulême, were annulled, and some bishops who had received schismatic consecration were severely rebuked by the pope, who forcibly snatched their pastoral staves from their hands, plucked off their robes, and took from them their episcopal rings.<sup>g</sup> Roger of Sicily, although he had given in his adhesion to Innocent, was denounced excommunicate, with all his followers;<sup>h</sup> canons relating to discipline were passed; and the Truce of God, in its fullest extent, was re-enacted.<sup>i</sup> Yet the remainder of the pope's own life was almost entirely spent in war — partly against his immediate neighbours, and partly against the Sicilian king. Roger was carrying on the war in the south with great barbarity — slaughtering defenceless people, plundering, destroying trees and crops, tearing from the grave

<sup>c</sup> See vol. ii. p. 412 (385); Card. de Arag. clxxix. 36; Order. Vital. xiii. 17; Vita Bern. ii. 47.

<sup>d</sup> Bern. Ep. 317; Chron. Casin. iv. 130; Gregorov. iv. 417.

<sup>e</sup> Serm. 24, in Cantic.; Vita, ii. 47.

<sup>f</sup> Chron. Maurin., Patrol. clxxx. 168.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 169; Conc. Lat. II. c. 30.

<sup>h</sup> Falco, 1249.

<sup>i</sup> Can. 11. See vol. ii. p. 545 (505).



and treating with the basest indignities the bodies of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who had died in Lothair's last expedition, and that of Duke Rainulf, of Salerno, who had died at Troja about the time of the Lateran council.<sup>k</sup> In June 1139, Innocent set out against the invader, at the head of an armed force, accompanied by Robert, Prince of Capua, who had been again dispossessed of his territories. But, like Leo IX., the Pope fell into the hands of the Normans, <sup>Aug. 22-5,</sup> and, as in Leo's case, the victors contented themselves <sup>1139.</sup> with exacting the papal sanction for their conquests, with the confirmation of Roger's kingly title.<sup>m</sup>

The contest for the papacy had long diverted Bernard's attention from the studies in which he most delighted. We shall next find him engaged in a conflict of a different kind; but before proceeding to this, it is necessary to trace in some degree the intellectual movements of the age, and the history of the celebrated man to whom Bernard was now to be opposed.

During the latter part of the eleventh century, a fresh impulse had been given to intellectual activity by the labours of Lanfranc, Berengar, Anselm, and other eminent teachers. The old cathedral schools were developing into seminaries of general learning, frequented by numbers beyond the example of former times, and exercising an important influence. And the monastic discipline, which for some was merely a mechanical rule, and for spirits of a mystical tendency offered the attractions of contemplation and devotion, stimulated minds of a different character to exercise themselves in speculations which often passed the boundaries of orthodoxy.<sup>n</sup>

The question as to the existence of universals—such as *genus*, *species*, *difference*, *proprium*, *accidens*—which had divided the schools of ancient philosophy, had been generally ruled in the Church by the authority of St. Augustine, who held with Plato the real existence of universals; yet there had been some who, with Aristotle, asserted that they were mere names or ideas.<sup>o</sup> This *nominalism* was now taken up by Roscellin,

<sup>k</sup> Falco, 1254; Chron. Casin. iv. 126.

<sup>m</sup> Innoc. Ep. 416 (Patrol. clxxix.);  
Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 190;  
Falco, 1251-3; Godef. Viterb. in Patrol.

mondi, Rép. Ital. ii. 198-9. See vol. ii.  
p. 567 (525-6).

<sup>n</sup> Milman, iii. 240-2.  
<sup>o</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 355-6; Ritter, vii.  
110. See Gunzo (about A.D. 960) in  
Patrol. cxxxvi. 1294.

a canon of Compiègne, and perhaps a Breton by birth,<sup>p</sup> who is said to have taught that universals were nothing more than words,<sup>q</sup> and to have denied the existence of anything but individuals—of collective wholes, because they are made up of individuals; of parts, because they are not entire individuals.<sup>r</sup> It was, however, by the application of his system to the doctrine of the Trinity, that Roscellin became most famous. If, he said, we would avoid the error of supposing the Father and the Holy Ghost to have been incarnate with the Son, we must believe the divine Persons to be three real beings, as distinct from each other as three angels or three souls, although the same in power and in will.<sup>s</sup> This proposition, although advanced not in opposition to the doctrine of the Church, but with a view to explain and support it,<sup>t</sup> naturally gave rise to a charge of tritheism, for which Roscellin was cited to answer before a council at Soissons, in 1092. Anselm, then Abbot of Bec, on being informed by a monk named John,<sup>u</sup> that Roscellin claimed for his opinion the authority of Lanfranc and his own, strongly denied the imputation, declaring that Roscellin either was a tritheist, or did not understand his own words;<sup>x</sup> and he requested Fulk, Bishop of Beauvais, who was about to attend the council, to clear both himself and Lanfranc from the charge.<sup>y</sup> He also began a treatise on the subject, but broke it off on hearing that Roscellin had retracted at Soissons; although he afterwards completed it on being informed that Roscellin, like Berengar, had only yielded for a time out of fear, and had since resumed the profession of his old opinions.<sup>z</sup> Finding himself unsafe in France, Roscellin withdrew into England;

<sup>p</sup> See Hauréau, i. 187. Aventinus, in the 15th century, is said to be the first writer who calls him a Breton. (Annal. Boiorum, l. vi. p. 496, ed. Basil. 1580; Herzog, xiii. 117.)

<sup>q</sup> "Flatus vocis," Anselm. de Fide Trin. 2 (Patrol. clviii. 265).

<sup>r</sup> Ib.; Abelard. Ep. 14; Ritter, vii. 313; Rémusat, Abelard, ii. 15. Abelard calls this "magistri nostri R[oscellini] tam insana sententia." Dialectica, in 'Œuvres Inédits,' ed. Cousin, p. 471. Thus, says M. de Rémusat, according to Roscellin, real individuals composed imaginary wholes, and imaginary parts composed real individuals. But M. Hauréau thinks that he has been misrepresented (i. 185 seqq.). See also the elaborate article *Roscellin*, in Herzog's Encyclopædia. His works (if he wrote

any, which M. Hauréau doubts, i. 177) are lost, with the exception of one letter which will be mentioned hereafter.

<sup>s</sup> "Tres res." Joannes, ap. Baluz. Miscellanea, iv. 478, ed. 8vo. *Angulos* (which Schröckh, xxviii. 395, translates by *Winkel*) seems to be a mistake for *Angelos*. See Anselm. de Fide Trin., coll. 262, 268, 270 (who justly says that perhaps the illustration may not be Roscellin's own, but may have been added by the reporter); Roscellin. in Patrol. clxxviii. 365.

<sup>t</sup> Ritter, ii. 315.

<sup>u</sup> The same who was afterwards abbot of Telese (vol. ii. 730 = 672), and eventually a cardinal. Herzog, xiii. 117.

<sup>x</sup> Ep. ii. 35; De Fide Trin. c. 3, col. 266.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. ii. 41.

<sup>z</sup> Anselm. de Fide Trin. c. 1.



but his opposition to Anselm, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury, and his maintenance of the strict Hildebrandine view as to the unfitness of the sons of clergy for ordination, combined to render him unpopular, so that in 1097 he was compelled to leave the country.<sup>a</sup> He was, however, kindly received by Ivo of Chartres, who appears to have reconciled him with the Church, and, probably through his interest, he became a canon of St. Martin's at Tours;<sup>b</sup> but his unfortunate application of nominalism to theology had excited such a prejudice against the theory altogether, that John of Salisbury speaks of it as having almost disappeared with Roscellin.<sup>c</sup>

Among Roscellin's pupils was Peter Abelard,<sup>d</sup> born in 1079 at Palais or Le Pallet, near Nantes.<sup>e</sup> In the "History of his Misfortunes," (an autobiographical epistle which abundantly displays his vanity and indiscretion), he tells us that, although the eldest son of his father, Berengar, who was lord of the place, he very early preferred "the conflicts of disputation to the trophies of arms," and, resigning the family inheritance to his brothers, he betook himself to the life of a scholar.<sup>f</sup> He had already travelled over many provinces of France, displaying his dialectical skill in disputes with all who chose to encounter him, when, at the age of twenty-one, he became a pupil of William of Champeaux, archdeacon of Paris and master of the cathedral school, who was in enjoyment of the highest reputation as a teacher. William was at first charmed

<sup>a</sup> Theobald. Stampens. in Patrol. clxiii. 767; Abelard, Ep. 14 (who says that he was banished by the English king for insolence ["contumelias"] to Anselm). See Herzog, xiii. 118.

<sup>b</sup> Ivo, Ep. 7 (Patrol. clxii.); Roscell. ib. clxxviii. 359; Herz. 118.

<sup>c</sup> Metalog. ii. 17 (ib. excix.); Polycr. vii. 12, col. 665.

<sup>d</sup> The statement that Abelard studied under Roscellin was formerly supposed to rest on the authority of Otho of Freising alone (De Gestis Friderici, i. 47), and therefore was denied by some (as by Schröckh, xxiv. 368). But it is now established by the publication of Abelard's 'Dialectica,' where he speaks of Roscellin as his master (see above, p. 26, n. 2), and of Roscellin's letter, in which he reproaches Abelard as ungrateful for kindnesses, "quæ tibi tot et tanta a puero usque ad juvenem sub magistri nomine et actu exhibui." (Patrol. clxxviii. 357.) This letter, discovered by Schmeller in the Royal Library at Munich, and

reprinted with Abelard's works (Ep. 15), throws light on a letter against Roscellin, addressed to the bishop and clergy of Paris by "P." (ib. Ep. 14), who is thus proved to be Peter Abelard (Comp. Rémusat i. 81; Herzog, 118). For the history of Abelard I have used the edition of his works in Migne's 'Patrologia' (vol. clxxviii.), with occasional references to that by MM. Cousin and Jourdain (2 vols. 4to. Paris, 1849-59) and to Cousin's 'Œuvres Inéd. d'Abelard (1836);' Lettres d'Abailard et d'Héloïse, précédées d'un Essai par M. et M<sup>me</sup> Guizot (ib. 1839); Ch. de Rémusat, 'Abelard' (ib. 1845); Tosti, 'Storia di Abélardo e dei suoi Tempi,' Napoli, 1851.

As to the origin of the name Abelard, see Rémusat, i. 13-4.

<sup>e</sup> Abæl. Historia Calamitatum, 1; Tosti, 36. From his birthplace, John of Salisbury styles him "peripateticus Palatinus" (Metalog. ii. 10, 17). For an account of Le Pallet, see Rémusat, i. 1-2.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Calam., 1.

with the pupil's abilities; but when Abelard began to question his doctrines, to argue with him, and sometimes to triumph over him, both the master and the other scholars were not unnaturally disgusted.<sup>g</sup> Notwithstanding the endeavours of William to prevent him, Abelard opened a school of his own at Melun, then a royal residence, and, after a time, removed to Corbeil, with a view of being nearer to the capital. The fame and the popularity of William began to wane before the new teacher, whose eloquence, boldness, clearness of expression, and wit drew crowds of admiring hearers.<sup>h</sup> An illness brought on by study compelled Abelard to withdraw to his native province; and, on returning to Paris, after an absence of some years, he found that William of Champeaux had resigned his archdeaconry and school, and had become a canon regular at the Abbey of St. Victor, without the city walls, where, however, he had resumed his occupation as a teacher.<sup>i</sup> Notwithstanding their former rivalry, Abelard became a pupil of William in rhetoric; but the old scenes were renewed; for Abelard not only controverted an opinion of his master on the subject of universals, but obliged him to renounce it, or, at least, the form in which it was expressed.<sup>k</sup> By this defeat William's credit was greatly impaired; many of his pupils deserted to Abelard, who now gained a more regular position, being invited by William's successor to teach in the cathedral school; but through the envy of William (as the case is represented to us), this master was ejected, and Abelard was again driven to teach independently at Melun. After a time, William retired to the country, and Abelard thereupon returned to Paris, where (in his own language) he "pitched his camp on the Mount of St. Geneviève, without the city, as if to besiege the teacher who had taken possession of his place." On hearing of this, William again

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Calam., 1-2.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 2; Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid. 47; Rémus. i. 15; Ritter, vii. 406.

<sup>i</sup> Hist. Calam., 2; Hildebert. Ep. 8 (Patrol. clxxi.); Bouquet, xiii. 729; Crevier, i. 117; Rémusat, i. 17. For the foundation of St. Victor's, see an Essay by Hugonin in Patrol. clxxv. M. de Rémusat's conjecture that Abelard's connection with Roscellin was during this absence from Paris (i. 16), seems inconsistent with the quotation given above from Roscellin's letter (which was unknown when M. de Rémusat wrote).

<sup>k</sup> "Erat autem in ea sententia de

communitate universalium, ut eandem essentialiter rem totam singulis suis inesse astrueret individuus; quorum quidem nulla esset in essentia diversitas, sed sola multitudine accidentium varietas. Sic autem istam suam correxit sententiam, ut deinceps rem eandem non essentialiter, sed indifferenter diceret." (Hist. Calam. 2, col. 119. See Bayle, art. *Abelard*; Hist. Litt. vii. 88; Ritter, vii. 356-8 (who thinks little of the change); Rémusat, i. 19; Hauréau, i. 222, 224, seqq., who vindicates Abelard against the censures of M. Cousin.



began to lecture at Paris; the cathedral school was deserted; and the students were divided between William and Abelard, while both the masters and the pupils of the rival schools engaged in frequent conflicts. Abelard, however, was again obliged to go into Brittany, in order to take leave of his mother, who was about to enter a cloister, as her husband had done before; and on his return to Paris, as the old rivalry had been ended by the promotion of William to the <sup>A.D. 1112-3.</sup> bishoprick of Châlons on the Marne, he resolved to turn from the study of philosophy to that of theology.<sup>1</sup>

For this purpose he repaired to the school of Laon, which had long flourished under Anselm, a pupil of Anselm of Canterbury. It was said of Anselm of Laon that he had argued a greater number of men into the Catholic faith than any heresiarch of his time had been able to seduce from it;<sup>m</sup> pupils flocked to him, not only from all parts of France but from foreign countries; and among them were many who, like Abelard, had themselves been teachers of philosophy before placing themselves at the feet of the theologian of Laon.<sup>n</sup> But to Abelard the plain, solid, and traditional method of Anselm appeared tame and empty. It seemed to him that the old man's fame was founded rather on his long practice than on ability or knowledge; that he had more of smoke than of light; that if any one came to him in uncertainty as to any question, the uncertainty was only increased by Anselm's answer; that he was like the barren figtree which the Saviour cursed. "Having made this discovery," he adds, "I did not idle away many days in lying under his shadow," and the rareness of his attendance at Anselm's lectures began to be noted as disrespectful towards the teacher. In consequence of having expressed contempt for the traditional glosses on Scripture, he was challenged by some of his fellow-students to attempt a better style of exposition; whereupon he undertook the book of Ezekiel, as being especially obscure, and, declining the offer of time for preparation, began his course of lectures next day. The first lecture found but few hearers; but the report which these spread as to its brilliancy drew a greater

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Calam. 2. There is a somewhat apocryphal story that a young logician named Goswin, afterwards abbot of Anchin, in Flanders, challenged Abelard when surrounded by his scholars on Mont Ste. Geneviève, and beat him in disputation. Bouquet, xiv. 443. See

Rémusat, i. 24-6.

<sup>m</sup> Guib. Novig. Procem. in Genes. (Patrol. clvi. 20.) He was the author of the "Glossa Interlinearis" on the whole of the Scriptures. Patrol. clxii. 180.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. Litt. in Patrol. clxii. 1176.

audience to the second, and the few soon became an eager multitude.<sup>o</sup> Anselm, on receiving reports as to the lectures from two of his chief pupils, Alberic<sup>p</sup> and Letulf, was alarmed lest he should be held accountable for any errors which might be vented in them, and made use of a privilege which belonged to his office by forbidding Abelard to teach at Laon; whereupon Abelard once more returned to Paris. He now got uncontrolled possession of the principal school, from which he had formerly been ejected, and his theological lectures became no less popular than those which he had before delivered in philosophy.<sup>q</sup> Even Rome, it is said, sent him pupils.<sup>r</sup> Wealth as well as fame flowed in on him; his personal graces, his brilliant conversation, his poetical and musical talents, enhanced the admiration which was excited by his public teaching; but now, when all went prosperously with him, the passions which he represents himself as having before kept under strict control,<sup>s</sup> began to awake. He tells us that he might have won the favour of any lady whom he might have chosen;<sup>t</sup> but he coolly resolved on the seduction of Heloisa, a beautiful maiden of eighteen, whose extraordinary learning and accomplishments were already famous.<sup>u</sup> With a view to this, he insinuated himself into the confidence of her uncle, with whom she lived, a canon named Fulbert; and, by lamenting to Fulbert the troubles of house-keeping, he drew him into an arrangement agreeable both to the canon's love of money and to his affection for his niece—that Abelard should board in Fulbert's house, and should devote his spare hours to the culture of Heloisa's mind, for which purpose

<sup>o</sup> Hist. Calam. 3.

<sup>p</sup> For Alberic, see Joh. Sarisb. *Meta-log.* ii. 10; *Enthetic.* 55. There is, however, some doubt as to the identity. He eventually became archbishop of Bourges. *Hist. Litt.* xii. 74.

<sup>q</sup> Hist. Cal. 4, 5.

<sup>r</sup> Fulco ap. Abel. Ep. 16, col. 371.

<sup>s</sup> Hist. Cal. i. 5. An opposite account of his earlier life is, however, given, not only by Roscellin, (ap. Abel. Ep. 15), but by Fulk of Deuil (ib. Ep. 16, coll. 372-3). See Bayle, art. *Foulques*, note D; Rémusat, i. 46; Guizot, *Introd.* xlv.; Morison's *Life of St. Bernard*, 296.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. Cal. 6, col. 127; Helois. ap. Abel. col. 186. His ecclesiastical position at this time is not clear. He was a clerk and canon (col. 132, B); but whether his canonry was at Paris, Sens, or Tours, is uncertain. The office did not involve the necessity of his being in any of the higher orders of the ministry;

but it appears from his 'Epitome' (c. 31), that he would not have considered priesthood as a bar to marriage. See *Hist. Litt.* xii. 91; Rémusat, i. 39, 40, 64; Cousin in Abel. i. 46.

<sup>u</sup> Hist. Cal. 6; Pet. Cluniac. Ep. 21 (*Patrol.* clxxxix.). She is said to have been "apprime erudita," not only in Latin, but in Greek and Hebrew (Rob. Antissiod. in Bouquet, xii. 294). Abelard, however, says more moderately—"Non solum Latinæ, verum etiam tam Hebraicæ quam Græcæ non *expers* litteraturæ, sola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adeptam peritiam" (Ep. 9, col. 333). It is probable that she knew no more of Greek and Hebrew than the letters, and such words as were commonly cited in Latin writings; nor did Abelard himself know more. See below c. xiii. sect. iv.; Bayle, art. *Héloise*, note B; Rémusat, i. 30, 48; Ritter, vii. 407; Tosti, 73.



he was authorized to use even bodily chastisement. "I was no less astonished at his simplicity," says Abelard, "than if he were to entrust a tender lamb to a famished wolf;"<sup>v</sup> and the result was as might have been expected.

In the mean time, Abelard's scholars could not but remark a change in their master. The freshness and life of his teaching were gone; he contented himself with listlessly repeating old lectures; and his mental activity was shown only in the production of amatory verses, which, as he complacently tells us, were long afterwards circulated and popular.<sup>w</sup> At length the rumours which had been generally current reached Fulbert himself. The lovers were separated; but on Heloisa's announcing to Abelard, "with the greatest exultation," that she was pregnant, he contrived to steal her from her uncle's house, and sent her to his sister in Brittany, where she gave birth to a son, Astrolabius.<sup>x</sup> Fulbert furiously insisted on a marriage, to which Abelard consented, on the condition that, for the sake of his reputation and of his prospects, it should be kept secret. But against this Heloisa remonstrated vehemently and in an unexpected strain. She assured Abelard that her uncle would never be really appeased. She entreated her lover not to sacrifice his fame, in which she considered herself to have an interest. She strongly put before him the troubles of married life—the inconveniences which children must cause in the modest dwelling of a philosopher—fortifying her argument with a host of quotations from writers both sacred and profane. For herself, she said, she would rather be his friend, having no hold on him except by favour, than connected with him by the bonds of wedlock. She was, however, brought back to Paris, and the marriage was secretly performed. But no sooner was the ceremony over, than Fulbert broke his promise of secrecy, while Heloisa with oaths and even with curses denied the marriage; and Abelard, in order to withdraw his wife from her uncle's cruelty, placed her in the convent of Argenteuil, where she had been brought up. Here he continued to carry on his intercourse

<sup>v</sup> Hist. Cal. 6; Ep. 5, col. 206.

<sup>w</sup> Hist. Cal. 6; Cf. Helois. ap. Abæl. Ep. 2, col. 186.

<sup>x</sup> Hist. Calam. 6. This remarkable name occurs at a suitable date among the abbots of Hauterive, a Cistercian monastery in Switzerland (Cousin i. 46). But there was also a canon of Nantes named Astrolabius, in 1150, and this

was probably the son of Heloisa, who had asked Peter of Cluny to assist her in the endeavour to obtain a canonry for him. (Pet. Clun. Epp. vi. 21-2; Rémusat, i. 269.) A poem ascribed to Abelard, "Monita ad Astrolabium," is reprinted in the Patrologia, clxxviii. 1699 sqq., from Messrs. Wright and Halliwell's "Reliquiæ Antiquæ."

with her;<sup>y</sup> but as she wore the monastic dress, Fulbert began to fear that Abelard might rid himself of her by persuading her to take the vows, and resolved on a barbarous revenge. A.D. 1119. Abelard's servant was bribed to admit into his lodging some ruffians whom the canon had hired; and entering his chamber at night, they inflicted on him a cruel and disgraceful mutilation.<sup>z</sup>

The report of this atrocity excited a general feeling of indignation. Two of the agents in it, who were caught, were subjected to a like penalty, with the addition of the loss of their eyes, and Fulbert was deprived of his preferments, although sheltered by his clerical character from further punishment.<sup>a</sup> Abelard, overwhelmed with shame and grief, retired to St. Denys, where—more, as he confesses, from such feelings than from devotion—he took the monastic vows; Heloisa having at his command already put on the veil at Argenteuil.<sup>b</sup>

But although Abelard profited by the opportunities of study which his monastic retirement afforded,<sup>c</sup> it was not to give him peace. He soon made himself unpopular by censuring the laxity of the abbot and his brethren,<sup>d</sup> and by their contrivance he was removed to a dependent cell, where he resumed his occupation of teaching both in philosophy and in theology, with such success that, as he tells us, “neither the place sufficed for their lodging, nor the land for their support.” The audiences of other professors were thinned; their envy was aroused, and they beset bishops, abbots, and other important persons with complaints against their successful rival—that the cultivation of

<sup>y</sup> Ep. 5, col. 205.

<sup>z</sup> Hist. Cal. 7. Dean Milman says (iii. 365) that this was meant to disqualify him for ecclesiastical honours. But surely the first Nicene canon, which makes exceptions in favour of those whose mutilation has not been voluntary, would have protected Abelard; and see what he himself says as to the difference between his own case and Origen's (see vol. i. p. 105, ed. 3). Ep. 5, col. 208. Heloisa afterwards calls him “monk and priest” (Ep. 4, init.); and it would seem that his ordination to the priesthood was after this time—probably when he became Abbot of Ruys.

<sup>a</sup> See Abal. Ep. 16, col. 375—a letter written by Fulk, prior of Deuil, to Abelard, for the purpose of consoling him, and of dissuading him from going to Rome in order to solicit further vengeance against Fulbert. M. Migne,

whose Ultramontane feelings become more squeamish as his ‘Patrologia’ draws towards an end, omits some remarkable words — “O miserum valde consilium, et omni destitutum utilitate! Numquid non audisti aliquando de Romanorum avaritia et impuritate? Quis unquam suis potuit opibus meretricum voraginem satiare? Quis potuit sacculis cupiditatis earum sufficere crumenis?” p. 222, ed. 1616.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Cal. 8; Helois. ap. Abæl. Ep. 2, col. 186; Ep. 4, col. 195; Hist. Litt. xii. 632; Rémusat, i. 70, 144.

<sup>c</sup> His pupil Otho of Freising says that at St. Denys he became “de acuto acutior, de literato literatior.”—De Gestis Frid. i. 47.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Calam. 8. Duchesne (not. in loc.) questions the truth of such charges; but see Cousin, i. 47; Rémus. i. 72.



secular learning was inconsistent with his duty as a monk, and that, by teaching theology without the sanction of some accredited master,<sup>e</sup> he was likely to lead his pupils into error. And in no long time an opportunity for attacking him was given by an "Introduction to Theology," drawn up at the desire of his pupils, who had requested him to illustrate the mystery of the Trinity in words which might not only be pronounced, but understood.<sup>f</sup> Roscellin, who had made his own peace with the Church, denounced Abelard as a Sabellian, and in the grossest terms reflected on him for the errors and misfortunes of his life, while Abelard in his turn reproached his former master as alike infamous for his opinions and for his character.<sup>g</sup> At the instance of his old opponents, Alberic and Letulf, who were now established as teachers at Reims,<sup>h</sup> he was cited by the archbishop of that city before a council at Soissons. At this assembly he delivered his book<sup>i</sup> to the legate Conon of Palestrina, who presided, and professed himself willing to retract anything in it which might be regarded as contrary to the Catholic faith. The book was handed to his accusers for examination, and in the mean time Abelard daily expounded his opinions in public, with such effect that, although he and his disciples, on their arrival, had been in danger of being stoned as tritheists, a great reaction took place in his favour.

On the last day of the council, to which the further consideration of the case had been deferred, Geoffrey of Chartres, the most eminent of the bishops present, after having reminded the assembly of Abelard's fame, and of the necessity of dealing

<sup>e</sup> "Quod sine magistro ad magistrum divinæ lectionis accedere præsumpserim." (Hist. Cal. 8.) In the University of Paris, somewhat later, a bachelor, after having been licensed to teach, gave his lectures for a time under the superintendence of a doctor; and from this passage it appears that a similar rule was already in force. Abelard had had no master in Theology except Anselm of Laon, with whom, after a very short connexion, he had quarrelled; and he now taught without any superintendence. See Crevier, i. 135-6; Hist. Litt. xii. 89; Rémusat, i. 21, 74; Tosti, 55.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Cal. 9; Prolog. in Introd. ad Theologiam; Rémusat, i. 75.

<sup>g</sup> Abæl. Ep. 14; Rosc. ap. Abæl. Ep. 15. As to these letters, see above, p.

27, note <sup>d</sup>; Cousin, ii. 150; Rémusat, i. 14, 81-3; Neander's 'Bernard,' 118; Tosti, 104; Herzog, xiii. 119; M. de Rémusat refers to this time Ep. 13, addressed "To one ignorant of Dialectics" (i. 78); but see below, p. 43, note <sup>i</sup>. Abelard differed from Roscellin in being a conceptualist—i. e., holding the real existence of universals as matters of conception—a middle view, but rather inclining to nominalism. (Rémusat, ii. 15, 34; Tosti, 62; Hauréau, i. 270.) M. Hauréau seems to think that this was really Roscellin's own opinion.

<sup>h</sup> Abelard had provoked Alberic by speaking of him, although without naming him, as a master who taught that God had generated Himself. Introd. ad Theol. ii. 6; Tosti, 107-8.

<sup>i</sup> See Hefele, v. 321.

cautiously, proposed that the charge against him should be clearly stated, and that he should be allowed to reply. On this an outcry was raised that no one could withstand such a sophist; that his book deserved condemnation, if it were only that he had allowed it to be copied without the sanction of Rome. He was condemned, not for tritheism, but for the opposite error of Sabellianism; he was required to read aloud the Athanasian Creed, which he did with a profusion of tears, and to throw his book into the fire. The bishop of Chartres in vain endeavoured to obtain that he might be sent back to St. Denys; the accusers insisted that he should be detained within the jurisdiction of Reims, and he was committed to the custody of Goswin, abbot of St. Medard's, at Soissons. But the severity of this judgment excited such general reprobation, that those who had shared in it endeavoured to throw the blame on each other, and after a time Abelard was allowed to return to St. Denys.<sup>k</sup>

It was not long, however, before he again brought himself into trouble by denying, on the authority of a passage in Bede's works,<sup>m</sup> the identity of Dionysius the Areopagite with the patron saint of the monastery. Such an opinion, after the labours of abbot Hilduin, who was supposed to have settled the matter by long inquiries in Greece,<sup>n</sup> was regarded as not only profane but treasonable; for St. Denys was the patron of the whole kingdom, and Abelard was even denounced to the king. It was in vain that he addressed to the abbot a letter intended to reconcile the different accounts:<sup>o</sup> he was placed under guard, and, "almost in desperation, as if the whole world had conspired against him," he escaped from the abbey by night, and found refuge with a friend, who was prior of a cell near Provins. Abbot Adam Jan. 19, refused to release him from his monastic obedience; 1122.<sup>p</sup> but, as the old man died soon after, a release was obtained from his successor, Suger, on condition that Abelard should not attach himself to any other monastery; for St.

<sup>k</sup> Hist. Calam. 9-10: Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid., i. 47; Bouquet, xiv. 445; Rémusat, i. 92, sqq. For the doubtful story of an earlier collision with Goswin, see p. 29, n. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Comment. in Acta Apost. Patrol. xcii. 981. Bede, however, confounded the Areopagite with Dionysius, bishop of Corinth.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. Cal. 10, col. 154. See vol. i. p. 158; vol. ii. p. 313 (293). There

is a curious letter of Innocent III. to the monks of St. Denys, A.D. 1215. He declines to decide whether the bishop of Paris was the same with the Areopagite, but sends them a relic of the Areopagite lately brought from Greece, that, having "utrasque reliquias," they may be sure of having something of the scriptural Dionysius. Patrol. cxvii. 241.

<sup>o</sup> Ep. 12.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Litt. xii. 365.



Denys was proud of so famous a member, and wished to retain the credit of reckoning him as its own.<sup>a</sup>

He now fixed himself, in company with a single clerk, in the neighbourhood of Nogent on the Seine, where, on a site granted to him by Count Theobald of Champagne, he built himself an oratory of reeds and straw. But even in this retreat he soon found himself surrounded by disciples, who, for the sake of his instructions, were willing to endure all manner of hardships. By their labour the little oratory was enlarged into a monastery with its church, to which he gave the name of the Divine Comforter or Paraclete—a novelty which, in addition to his popularity as a teacher, excited his enemies afresh, as it had not been usual to dedicate churches to any other person of the Trinity than the Second.<sup>r</sup> Among those enemies he mentions two “new apostles, in whom the world very greatly trusted”—Bernard and Norbert. These, he says, talked and preached against him everywhere, and such was the obloquy raised, that, whenever he heard of a synod, he apprehended that it might be summoned for his own condemnation. He declared that he often thought even of withdrawing into some country of unbelievers, in the hope of finding that toleration which was denied him by his fellow Christians.<sup>s</sup>

At this time he was chosen abbot of the ancient monastery of St. Gildas, at Ruys, on the coast of Morbihan,<sup>t</sup> and, with the consent of Suger of St. Denys, he accepted <sup>A.D. 1125-6.</sup> the office as promising him a quiet refuge. But his hopes were bitterly disappointed. The country was wild and desolate, and with the ocean filling the whole view beyond it, appeared to be the extremity of the world. The very language of the people was unintelligible; the monks were utterly disobedient and unruly, and met his attempts at reform by mixing poison for him, even in

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Cal. 10.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 11; Rémusat, i. 113. M. de Rémusat remarks (131) that within a few years Innocent II. is found using the name without scruple. Ep. 504. (Patrol. clxxix.)

<sup>s</sup> Hist. Cal. 12. It was about this time that Walter of Mortagne (de Mauretania) addressed to him a letter of remonstrance (Dachery, iii. 524-6), grounded partly on passages in the ‘Introductio,’ and partly on the rumours spread by Abelard’s disciples, that he professed thoroughly to understand the mystery of the Trinity, and that he de-

nied the merits of Christ. See Tosti, 140; Neander’s ‘Bernard,’ 209; and for Walter (who eventually became bishop of Laon), Hist. Litt. xiii.; Hauréau, i. 252.

<sup>t</sup> There is a question as to the identity of the Gildas to whom this abbey was dedicated, with the author of the book ‘De Excidio Britanniae.’ See T. Innes, ed. Spalding Club, 120-1; Hardy, Pref. to Mon. Hist. Brit. 59, and Catal. of Materials for British History, i. 146. For an account of the present state of the monastery, see Jephson’s Tour in Brittany, Lond. 1859.

the eucharistic cup, and by setting ruffians in ambush to murder him. There were quarrels, too, with a rude and powerful neighbour, who had invaded the property of the monastery; and such was the lawlessness of the country that no redress of wrongs was to be had. In such circumstances, moreover, Abelard could not but feel that his intellectual gifts were altogether useless and wasted.<sup>u</sup>

Abbot Suger, of St. Denys, on the authority of old documents, brought forward a claim to the nunnery of Argenteuil, A.D. 1129. which was also denounced as a place of gross licentiousness; and his claim was admitted by a council held at Paris under a legate, whose decision was confirmed by Honorius II., and also by his successor Innocent.<sup>x</sup> The charges against the nuns, however, do not appear to have extended to Heloisa, who had become prioress, and was held in general veneration; and Abelard, on hearing that she was about to lose her home, offered the deserted Paraclete to her and such of her sisters as she might choose for companions. The gift was confirmed by Innocent II., and the Paraclete received privileges from other popes, and became the mother of a small order.<sup>y</sup>

Abelard had drawn up the "History of his Calamities," in the form of a letter to a (perhaps imaginary) friend;<sup>z</sup> and it fell into the hands of Heloisa, who was thus induced to write to him. Her letters are full of the most intense and undisguised passion; the worship of genius mingles in them with the glow of carnal love. In the freest language she reminds her husband of their former intercourse; she declares that by him she and all her family had been raised to eminence;<sup>a</sup> she charges herself with having caused his ruin, and declares that she would rather be his friend than his wife—rather his concubine, his harlot, than an empress.<sup>b</sup> She avows that, however those who know her not may think of her, she is at heart a hypocrite; that she still cares more for her lover than for God; that beneath the monastic dress, there burns in her an unabated and unquenchable passion, which disturbs her in her dreams, at her prayers, even at the most

<sup>u</sup> Hist. Cal. 13, 15.

<sup>x</sup> Suger de Rebus in Administ. sua gestis, 3 (Patrol. clxxxvi.); Vita Lud. Grossi, ib. 1317; Testamentum, ib. 1443; Ludov. VI. ib. 1463; Hard. vi. 1145-8; Innoc. II. Ep. 15 (Patrol. clxxxix.); Rémusat, i. 124-7; Tosti, 144-5.

<sup>y</sup> Innoc. Epp. 70, 188, 504; Patrol. clxxviii., 1847; Abæl. Hist. Cal. 13; Tosti, 147-8.

<sup>z</sup> Rémusat, i. 137.

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Abæl. Ep. 4, col. 195.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 2, coll. 184-5. Pope, however, has grievously misrepresented her in his poetical Epistle. See Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 44.



solemn devotion of the mass.<sup>c</sup> Abelard's replies are in a very different strain; he coldly points out to her the sinfulness of her former life, and urges her to seek for pardon and peace in the duties of the cloister.<sup>d</sup> He furnished her and her sisterhood with prayers and hymns, with a rule which as to externals was conceived in a spirit of Cistercian severity, and with directions for their studies borrowed in a great part from St. Jerome.<sup>e</sup> From time to time he visited the Paraclete; but as even these visits excited scandal, they became infrequent.<sup>f</sup> In 1134, apparently, he finally quitted Ruys,<sup>g</sup> although he still retained the abbacy; and once more he taught on the Mount of St. Geneviève, where John of Salisbury, afterwards famous both for his achievements in literature and for his connexion with Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of his pupils.<sup>h</sup>

On many important subjects—the mutual relations of the Divine Persons and other points connected with the doctrine of the Trinity; the Divine attributes; the work and merits of the Saviour;<sup>i</sup> the operations of the Holy Ghost; the sinfulness of man; the gift of prophecy;<sup>k</sup> the inspiration and the integrity of the Scriptures; the eucharistic presence; the character of miracles altogether, and the reality of those which were reported as of his own time;<sup>m</sup> the relations of faith, reason, and Church authority; the penitential system, and the absolving powers of the priesthood—Abelard had vented opinions which were likely to draw suspicion on him.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 4, coll. 196-7.    <sup>d</sup> Ep. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Epp. 7-9.    <sup>f</sup> Hist. Cal. 14.

<sup>g</sup> Chron. Rug. ap. Bouq. xii. 564; Rémus. i. 139.

<sup>h</sup> Joh. Sarisb. Metalog. ii. 10, 17; iii. 1; Rémus. i. 141; Schaarschmidt, 'Johannes Saresberiensis,' Leipz. 1862, p. 13.

<sup>i</sup> Helinand (Patrol. cexii. 1035) quotes as follows from Godfrey of Auxerre, who, after having been a disciple of Abelard, became secretary to St. Bernard, one of the saint's biographers, and abbot of Clairvaux (see Hist. Litt. xiv. 432)—"Pretium redemptionis evacuans, nil aliud nobis in sacrificio passionis Dominicæ (Petrus Abaelardus) commendabat nisi virtutis exemplum et amoris incentivum. Quod enim Scripturæ perhibent, de potestate diaboli pretioso illo sanguine humanum genus esse redemptum, in eo solo constare dicebat, quod exemplum nobis exhibitum est usque ad mortem pro veritate et justitia certandi; et adhibitum est velut quoddam incentivum

ameris, cum ex impenso amore occasio data est redamandi." On the other hand, Godfrey's later master, Bernard, is described as "Sic imitandum prædicans dominum patientem, et sic redamandum amantem, ut principalem hujus sacrificii causam redemptionem in eo profiteretur et adoraret humanam. Tria namque specialia nobis in sua passione Christus exhibuit; exemplum virtutis, incentivum amoris, redemptionis sacramentum. Quod tertium evacuanti hæretico nil prodesse cætera poterant." (Of. Bern. Ep. 190, c. 9.) Yet, according to some late authorities, the doctrine which is thus so unequivocally stated as the established orthodoxy of the time, had been invented by Anselm of Canterbury about a quarter of a century before!

<sup>k</sup> 'Sic et Non,' Prolog., col. 1345.

<sup>m</sup> "Præterierunt miracula."—Theol. Christ. iii., col. 1212.

<sup>n</sup> See Neander's 'Bernard,' 171-5, 225, 229, 234, 240-1, 245; Ch. Hist., viii. 31, 33, 52, 147-9, 161, 190-6, 206-211;

To this was added the irritation produced by his unsparing remarks on the faults of bishops and clergy, of monks and canons,<sup>o</sup> and, in addition to the books which he had himself published, the circulation of imperfect reports of his lectures tended to increase the distrust of him which was felt. Yet while he bitterly complained of this distrust, it seems as if he even took a pride in exciting it. Without apparently intending to stray from the path of orthodoxy, he delighted to display his originality in peculiarities of thought and expression;<sup>p</sup> and hence, instead of a harmonious system, there resulted a collection of isolated opinions, which, stated as they were without their proper balances and complements, were certain to raise misunderstanding and obloquy.<sup>q</sup> Ignorant as he was of Greek (for he owns that on this account he was unacquainted with Plato's writings),<sup>r</sup> and having little knowledge of antiquity even at second hand, he idealized the sages of heathenism,<sup>s</sup>—not only the Greek philosophers, but the Brachmans of India—whom he invidiously contrasted with the monks and clergy of his own day.<sup>t</sup> While he regarded the knowledge of the Saviour as necessary for all men, he held that the ancient sages had received this knowledge through the Sibyls;<sup>u</sup> and he supposed them to have attained to the doctrine of the Trinity, partly by the exercise of their reason, and partly as the reward of their pure and self-denying lives.<sup>x</sup> He supposed them to have had saving faith, and all but a historical knowledge of Christianity; he supposed their philosophy to have been more akin than Judaism to the Gospel;<sup>y</sup> and he supposed the rites of the old law to have been needless for them, because these were not, like the Gospel, intended for all mankind.<sup>z</sup> In a book which bore the title of 'Yes or No,'<sup>a</sup> he had arranged under 158 heads the opinions of earlier Christian writers on a like number of subjects; not (as had been usual)

Cousin, ii. 152; Ritter, vii. 407, 411, 428-9; Tosti, 233, sqq.; Rémus. ii. 278, 297; i. iii. c. 6; Gieseler, II. ii. 390-1; Hefele, v. 411-423.

<sup>o</sup> See, e.g. his sermon on St. John the Baptist (Serm. 33), especially the attack on Norbert's miracles, col. 605.

<sup>p</sup> Rémus. ii. 259; Ritter, vii. 408.

<sup>q</sup> Neander, 168; Ritter, vii. 426-7.

<sup>r</sup> Abæl. ed. Cousin, ii. 54-5; Neand. viii. 3. See below, ch. xiii., sect. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Rémus. ii. 261.

<sup>t</sup> Theol. Christ. i. i., coll. 1144, 1160, 1164; ii. coll. 1179-80, 1189; iii. coll.

1215, 1221, 1235-40; Introd. i. 17.

<sup>u</sup> Introd. i. 15, col. 1008; Neand. viii. 35.

<sup>x</sup> Introd. i. 15; Theol. Christ. i. col. 1139; Rémusat, ii. 267.

<sup>y</sup> Theol. Christ. i. ii. col. 1180.

<sup>z</sup> Introd. col. 1173.

<sup>a</sup> 'Sic et Non.' This was first published by Cousin, 'Œuv. Inéd.,' Paris, 1836, and is reprinted by Migne from the more complete edition of Henke, Marb. 1851. Until known, it was supposed, from the old accounts of it, to be far more dangerous than it is.



for the purpose of exhibiting their agreement, or of harmonizing their differences, but in order that, by displaying these differences, he might claim for himself a like latitude to that which the teachers of older times had enjoyed without question. It was not to be wondered at that such a claim, with the novelty and strangeness of the opinions which he had advanced, should excite a general alarm. This feeling found expression through William, formerly Abbot of St. Thierry, and now a Cistercian monk in the diocese of Reims, who addressed a letter to Bernard, and to Abelard's old patron, Geoffrey of Chartres, who was now papal legate for France.<sup>b</sup> William professes much affection for Abelard, but desires to draw attention to his errors—errors (he says) the more dangerous on account of his vast reputation, which is described as such that his works were carried across the Alps and the seas, and even in the Roman court were regarded as authoritative.<sup>c</sup> He also mentions the 'Yes and No,' and a work entitled 'Know Thyself;' but, as he had not seen these, he could only conjecture that their contents were probably as monstrous as their names.<sup>d</sup>

Bernard and Abelard were not unacquainted with each other. They had met in 1131, at the consecration of an altar for the abbey of Maurigny by Pope Innocent;<sup>e</sup> and somewhat later, in consequence of a visit which Bernard had paid to the Paraclete, and of some remarks which he was reported to have made on usages which struck him as novel in that place, Abelard had addressed to him a letter,<sup>f</sup> which by its want of deference to the popular saint, and by its somewhat satirical tone, was not likely to be acceptable. The old enmities between Abelard and some of Bernard's friends—William of Champeaux, Anselm, Alberic—and the fact that Arnold of Brescia, who had become notorious as the agitator of Rome, had once been Abelard's pupil—may have contributed to increase the abbot's dislike of him.<sup>g</sup> The two men were, indeed, representatives of opposite ten-

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Bern. Ep. 326. In Patrol. clxxx. is William's 'Disputatio adversus Abaelardum,' and also a treatise, ascribed to the same author, in which the Fathers are set in opposition to Abelard.

<sup>c</sup> That cardinals had been among his pupils, and that he boasted of their favour, is often dwelt on by Bernard, *e. g.*, Epp. 188, c. 2, 192, 193, 331.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Bern. Ep. 326. See Rémusat, i. 186. It is remarkable that some of the censured propositions are to be found only in these two books. William must therefore have got them from notes.

Neander, viii. 250; Hefele, v. 403.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. Maurin., Patrol. clxxx. 159.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. 10.

<sup>g</sup> Rémus. i. 117; Tosti, 215-6.

dencies. Bernard felt none of Abelard's intellectual cravings. Although not an enemy of learning, he valued knowledge only with a view to practical good; he distrusted and dreaded speculation; and, while Abelard taught that "by doubt we come to inquiry, and by inquiry we ascertain the truth,"<sup>h</sup>—thus making doubt his starting-point,—it was Bernard's maxim that "The faith of the godly believes instead of discussing."<sup>i</sup> We may, therefore, easily understand that he was ready to listen to charges against a man so different from himself as Abelard;<sup>k</sup> he felt instinctively that there was danger, not so much in this or that individual point of his teaching, as in the general character of a method which seemed likely to imperil the orthodoxy of the Church.<sup>l</sup>

On receiving William of St. Thierry's letter, Bernard sought an interview with Abelard, and endeavoured to persuade him to a retractation. Abelard, according to Bernard's biographer, consented to retract, but was afterwards induced by his disciples to depart from his promise;<sup>m</sup> in any case, he requested that the matter might be brought before a council which was to meet at Sens in the Whitsun-week of 1140. The King of France was present, with a great number of bishops and other ecclesiastics; and the chief occasion of the meeting—the translation of the patron saint's relics—was of a nature to produce an excitement against any one who was supposed to impugn the popular religion, so that Abelard's life seems to have been in danger from the multitude.<sup>n</sup> Bernard had at first declined a summons to attend, on the ground that the question did not specially concern him, and also that he was but as a youth in comparison with such a controversial Goliath as Abelard.<sup>o</sup> He wrote, however, to the Pope and to the Roman court, in strong denunciation of Abelard, both for his particular errors and for his general enmity to the established faith of the Church;<sup>p</sup> and at length the urgency of his friends prevailed on him to appear at the council. The representa-

<sup>h</sup> 'Sic et Non,' col. 1349.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. 338.

<sup>k</sup> Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid. i. 47.

<sup>l</sup> Neander's 'Bernard,' 146-8; Ch. Hist. viii. 26; Ritter, vii. 408; Rémus. i. 193-4, ii. 355; Tosti, 187-8, 212.

<sup>m</sup> Vita, iii. 13. The story is improbable, as neither Bernard nor the Council of Sens say anything of the alleged

promise. Rémus. i. 192; Tosti, 211; Hefele, v. 404.

<sup>n</sup> Bern. Ep. 189; Hard. vi. 1221; O. Fris. de Gestis Frid., 48; Rémus. i. 200-3; Milman, iii. 370-2.

<sup>o</sup> Epp. 187; 189, c. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Epp. 188, 190. Hefele supposes these letters to have been written after the council, v. 405.



tives of intellect and of religious feeling, of speculative inquiry and of traditional faith, were now face to face. Seventeen articles were brought forward against Abelard, and Bernard, as the promoter of the charge, desired that they might be read aloud. But scarcely was the reading begun when Abelard,—losing courage, it would seem, at the thought of the influence and the prejudices arrayed against him,—surprised and disappointed the spectators by appealing to the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Such an appeal, from judges of his own choosing, and before sentence, was a novelty unsanctioned by the laws of the Church;<sup>2</sup> but the bishops admitted it, lest, by contesting the papal privileges, they should create a prejudice in favour of the appellant.<sup>3</sup> While, however, they refrained from condemning Abelard's person, they proceeded to examine the propositions imputed to him, and pronounced fourteen out of the seventeen to be false and heretical.<sup>4</sup> A ludicrous account of the scene is given by one of Abelard's disciples named Berengar, in a letter addressed to Bernard himself, and marked throughout by the ostentatious contempt with which Abelard and his followers appear to have regarded the most admired saint and leader of the age. Berengar treats Bernard as a mere idol of the multitude—as a man gifted with a plentiful flow of words, but destitute of liberal culture or solid abilities; as one who by the solemnity of his manner imposed the tritest truisms on his votaries as if they were profound oracles. He ridicules his reputation for miraculous power; he tells him that his proceedings against Abelard were prompted by a spirit of bigotry, jealousy, and vindictiveness, rendered more odious by his professions of sanctity and charity. Of the opinions imputed to his master, he maintains that some were never held by Abelard, and that the rest, if rightly interpreted, are true and catholic. The book, he says, was brought under consideration at Sens when the bishops had dined, and was read amidst their jests and laughter, while the wine was doing its work on them. Any expression which was above their understanding excited their rage and curses against Abelard. As the

<sup>1</sup> Bern. Ep. 189, c. 4; Vita Bern., Patrol. clxxxv. 800; Tosti, 222; Rémus. i. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Bern. l. c.; Ep. 338, c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Neand. viii. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Bern. t. i. 1049, sqq. Ep. 337, c. 4;

Vita Bern. iii. 14. M. de Rémusat says that the propositions were not unfairly charged on Abelard, although they are not to be found word for word in his works (i. 214-5). Cf. Mabillon in Bern.

i. 1045; Hefele, v. 423, sqq.

reading went on, one after another became drowsy; and when they were asked whether they condemned his doctrines, they answered in their sleep without being able fully to pronounce their words.<sup>u</sup> The council reported their decision to the Pope, with a request that he would confirm it, and would prohibit Abelard from teaching;<sup>x</sup> and a like request was urged by Bernard, in letters addressed to Innocent and to some of the most important cardinals.<sup>y</sup>

Abelard's hopes of finding favour at Rome were disappointed. His interest in the papal court was far inferior to Bernard's, and his connexion with the revolutionary Arnold of Brescia, who had attended him at the council—a connexion which Bernard had carefully put forward,<sup>z</sup>—could not but weigh heavily against him.<sup>a</sup> On reaching Lyons, on the way to prosecute his appeal, he was astounded to find that the pope, without waiting for his appearance, without any inquiry whether Abelard had used the language imputed to him, or whether it had been rightly understood, had condemned him, with all his errors (which, however, were not specified), and had sentenced him and Arnold to be shut up in separate monasteries.<sup>b</sup> But in this distress, the “venerable” Peter, a man of wider charity than Bernard, not out of indifference to orthodoxy, but from respect for Abelard's genius and pity for his misfortunes,<sup>c</sup> offered him an asylum at Cluny, where, with the pope's sanction, Abelard lived in devotion, study, and in the exercise of his abilities as a teacher.<sup>d</sup> Here he drew up two confessions—one of them addressed to Heloisa—in which he disowned some of the things imputed to him, “the words in part, and the meaning altogether,”<sup>e</sup>—

<sup>u</sup> “Lector surdis exclamabat auribus pontificum ‘Damnatis?’ Tunc quidam vix ad extremam syllabam expergefacti, somnolenta voce, capite pendulo, ‘Damnamus’ aiebant. Alii vero damnantium tumultu excitati, decapitata prima syllaba, ‘. . . namus,’ inquirunt. Vere natis; sed natiatio vestra procella, natiatio vestra mersio est.” (Patrol. clxxviii. 1859.) The tract is truly described by Petrarch (quoted by Bayle, art. *Berenger*, note G) as “non magni quidem corporis, sed ingentis acrimoniæ.” From a second letter it appears that Berengar got into trouble on account of it, so that he was obliged to make a retraction, and did not venture to publish (as he had intended) a further defence of Abelard. See as to him, *Hist. Litt.* xii. 254-260.

<sup>x</sup> Bern. Epp. 191, 337.

<sup>y</sup> *Ib.* 192-3, 330-8. Some of these, however, were, perhaps, earlier than the council.

<sup>z</sup> Epp. 189, 195.

<sup>a</sup> Neand. viii. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Innoc. Epp. 447-8. July 16, 1140. See Beranger on this treatment, *Patrol.* clxxviii. 1181.

<sup>c</sup> Tosti, 267; Rémus. i. 249. There are some letters from the abbot of Cluny to one Peter, whom Mabillon and Tosti (135-8) identify with Abelard, but Duchesne (*Patrol.* clxxxix. 77), and Neander (Bern. 284) suppose to be another person.

<sup>d</sup> Pet. ad. Innoc. Ep. iv. 4; Rémus. i. 256.

<sup>e</sup> Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid. i. 49.



and strongly declared his desire to adhere to the Catholic faith in all points.<sup>f</sup> Yet there is reason to suppose that he would not have admitted himself to have erred, except to the extent of having used words open to misconstruction;<sup>g</sup> and, although he had been reconciled with Bernard, through the good offices of the abbots of Cluny and Cîteaux,<sup>h</sup> he still blamed him for interfering in matters which he had not been trained to understand,<sup>i</sup> and declared that the charges against himself had been brought forward out of malice and ignorance.<sup>k</sup>

Finding that his guest's health was failing, Peter removed him, in the hope of recovery, from Cluny to the dependant monastery of St. Marcel, near Châlons on the Saône, and there Abelard ended his agitated life in 1142. His body, in compliance with the desire which he had expressed, was sent to the Paraclete for burial. At Heloisa's request, the abbot of Cluny pronounced him absolved from all his sins, and the absolution was hung on his tomb; and Peter, who in announcing his death to Heloisa, had highly praised his piety, humility, and resignation, composed an epitaph in which he was celebrated at once for his intellectual gifts and for that better philosophy to which his last days had been devoted.<sup>m</sup> Heloisa survived her husband until the year 1163.

Ever since the beginning of the contest between the papacy and the empire, a spirit of independence had been growing among the Italian cities. The emperors were rarely seen on the southern side of the Alps, and although their sovereignty was admitted, it was practically little felt. Most of the Lombard cities set up governments of their own, under a republican form; and, with that love of domination which generally

<sup>f</sup> Patrol. clxxviii. 105-8; Ep. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Neand. viii. 63. See Rémus. i. 304.

<sup>h</sup> Pet. Cluniac. Ep. iv. 4.

<sup>i</sup> An anonymous writer, quoted by Neander, viii. 63, from the 'Bibliotheca Cisterciensis,' blames him—"Quod abbatem literatissimum, et, quod majus est, religiosissimum, vocat inexpertum artis illius quæ magistra est disserendi." This seems clearly to show that Ep. 13—"Against one who was ignorant of dialectic, yet found fault with the study of it,"—was addressed to Bernard, and not, as some have supposed, to Roscellin.

<sup>k</sup> Apol. in Patrol. clxxviii. 108. In the same place he says that he had been surprised to find charges against him

founded on a book which was called his 'Sentences,' inasmuch as he had never written any book "qui sententiarum dicitur." This may be accounted for by supposing either that the book was put together by one of his disciples, from his works or from his oral teaching; or that it was one of his own, but cited under a different title from that which he had given it. In either case it seems to be the same which has been published by Rheinwald with the title of 'Epitome Theologiæ Christianæ.' See Rheinw. in Patrol. clxxviii. 1685, sqq.; Neand. viii. 54; Cousin, ii. 567.

<sup>m</sup> Pet. Ep. iv. 21; Patrol. clxxviii. 103.

accompanies the republican love of liberty, the stronger endeavoured to reduce the weaker to subjection.<sup>n</sup> In this movement towards independence, the claims of the bishops were found to stand in the way of the inhabitants of the cities; and this, with other circumstances, had prepared the people to listen to any teachers who might arise to denounce the hierarchy.<sup>o</sup> Such a teacher, named Arnulf,<sup>p</sup> had appeared at Rome in 1128, professing a divine commission to preach against the pride and luxury, the immorality and greediness, of the cardinals and of other ecclesiastics. Arnulf, after having disregarded warnings, met with the death which he had expected and courted—being seized and thrown into the Tiber by night;<sup>q</sup> but in no long time a more formidable successor arose in Arnold of Brescia.

Arnold was born at Brescia, probably about the year 1105, and grew up amid the agitations and struggles which marked the rise of Lombard independence, and in which his native city largely shared.<sup>r</sup> That he was a pupil of Abelard appears certain, although the time and the place are matters for conjecture.<sup>s</sup> But although the master and the scholar were both animated by a spirit of independence, it would seem that Arnold had nothing of Abelard's speculative character (for he is not even distinctly charged with any heresy), but was bent entirely on practical measures of reform.<sup>t</sup> After having officiated for a time as a reader in the church of Brescia, Arnold separated himself from the secular clergy, embraced a strict monastic life, and began to inveigh unsparingly against the

<sup>n</sup> Otto Frising., vii. 29; Muratori, *Annali* VI., ii. 115; Hallam, *M. A.* i. 230-3.

<sup>o</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 69.

<sup>p</sup> By some he is called Arnold. See Francke, 'Arnold von Brescia und seine Zeit,' pp. 12, 57, Zurich, 1827. Platina, who speaks of him with great praise, says that it is not certain whether he was a priest, a monk, or a hermit, 193.

<sup>q</sup> Trithem. *Chron.* Hirsau. A.D. 1128, pp. 120-1, ed. Francof. 1601; Platina, 193.

<sup>r</sup> Guadagnini, in *Append.* to Niccolini's tragedy, 'Arnoldo da Brescia,' Marseille, 1843, pp. 1, 9, 11; Milman, iii. 383-6; Francke, 14.

<sup>s</sup> Otto de Gestis Frid. ii. 20, &c. See Pagi, xviii. 594; Neander, Bern. 39; Ch. Hist. vii. 203; Gieseler, II., ii. 71; Guadagnini, 5; Milman, iii. 484; Francke, 30-1; Hefele, v. 393; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, i. 545. Gunther

says of him, "tenui nutrit Gallia sumptu." (Ligurinus, iii. 264, *Patrol.* cccii.); but as this book, instead of being the work of a contemporary, is now ascribed to Conrad Celtes, who died in 1508 (Potthast, 357; Gregorovius, iv. 454), it cannot be reckoned as an authority.

<sup>t</sup> Pseudo-Gunther says of him—

"Articulos etiam fidei certumque tenorem  
Non satis exacta stolidus pietate fovebat."  
(iii. 292-4.)

But he was never called to account for heresy; and, although Otho of Freising tells us that he was said to be unsound as to infant-baptism and the eucharist (ii. 20), this had probably no other foundation than his opposition to sacerdotal claims in general. (Francke, l. c.; Milman, iii. 384.) That he was connected with sectaries, such as the Cathari and Waldenses, is a groundless fancy of Francke. Gieseler, II., ii. 71.



corruptions of both clergy and monks in a strain which resembled at once the extreme Hildebrandine party and their extreme opponents.<sup>u</sup> There had been much in the late history of Brescia to produce disgust at the assumption of temporal power by ecclesiastics; and Arnold, filled with visions of apostolical poverty and purity,—of a purely spiritual church working by spiritual means alone—imagined that the true remedy for the evils which had been felt would be to strip the hierarchy of their privileges, to confiscate their wealth, and to reduce them for their support to the tithes, with the free-will offerings of the laity.<sup>w</sup> These doctrines were set forth with copious eloquence, in words which, as Bernard says, were “smoother than oil, and yet were they very swords.”<sup>x</sup> Nor can we wonder that they were heard with eagerness by those who, according to the preacher’s scheme, were both to be enriched with the spoils of the clergy and for the future were to hold them in dependence on their good will. The bishop of Brescia complained to the pope; and the Lateran Council of 1139, without having had Arnold before it, condemned him to silence and to banishment beyond the Alps.<sup>y</sup> On this he withdrew into France, and in the following year he appeared at Sens as Abelard’s chief supporter—“the shieldbearer of that Goliath,” as Bernard styles him.<sup>z</sup> Although, however, he was sentenced by the Pope in consequence to imprisonment in a monastery,<sup>a</sup> it would seem that the French bishops did not feel themselves concerned to carry out the sentence; and for some years Arnold lived and taught at Zurich unmolested,<sup>b</sup> being tolerated by Hermann, bishop of Constance, and even admitted as an inmate into the house of the papal legate, Guy of Castello, although Bernard, by applications to both, endeavoured to dislodge him.<sup>c</sup>

In the mean time his principles had made way at Rome—

<sup>u</sup> Otto, ii. 20; Gunther, iii. 265, sqq.; Francke, 82-3; Gregorov. iv. 452. Compare with the accounts of Arnold’s preaching, Gerhoh. de *Ædificio Dei*, 10. (Patrol. exciv.)

<sup>w</sup> Otto, and Gunther, ll. cc. Compare the proposal made by Paschal II. to Henry V., vol. ii. p. 741 (682). Lunden, x. 593, observes that Arnold had no idea of property except as held feudally under the sovereign.

<sup>x</sup> Ep. 195. Otho of Freising says—“rudis populi animos *præmolli* dogmate ad animositatem accensis” (ii. 20). Dean Milman seems to have misappre-

hended Bernard’s meaning, iii. 387.

<sup>y</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 20; Gunth. iii. 300, sqq. Pagi (xviii. 582), Francke (86), and others are mistaken in supposing Arnold to be one of those who are condemned in the council’s 23rd canon. See Gieseler, II., ii. 71; Guadagnini, 27.

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 189, c. 3. Cf. Epp. 195, 330.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 42.

<sup>b</sup> Otto, ii. 20; Gunther, iii. 304-312; Francke, 121.

<sup>c</sup> Bern. Epp. 195-6. Guy had been a pupil of Abelard, possibly at the same time with Arnold. Guadagn. 100; Francke, 122.

although rather in their political than in their religious character—and the more, perhaps, on account of the attention which had been drawn to him by the Lateran condemnation. Provoked by the pope's having concluded peace with Tivoli in his own name alone, and having granted too favourable terms, the Romans in 1143 burst into insurrection, displaced the government, and established in the Capitol a senate on the ancient Roman model.<sup>d</sup> They resolved that their city should resume its ancient greatness—that it should be the capital of the world, as well in a secular as in a religious sense; but that the secular administration should be in different hands from the spiritual. As the popes were connected with the southern Normans, the revolutionary party felt themselves obliged to look for an alliance in some other direction. They therefore turned towards Conrad, king of the Romans; and perhaps it was at this time that they addressed to him a letter in which they profess themselves devoted to his interest, represent their services in opposition to his and their common enemies,—the clergy and the Sicilians,—and entreat him to receive the imperial crown at Rome, and to revive the glories of the empire by ruling as a new Constantine or Justinian, with the assistance of the senate, in “the city which is the capital of the world.”<sup>e</sup> Conrad, however, would seem to have suspected that these proposals were not so much intended for his interest as for that of the party from which they came; and he preferred an alliance with the pope, whose envoys waited on him at the same time.<sup>f</sup>

The revolt of the Romans was fatal to Innocent II., who died in September, 1143,<sup>g</sup> and was succeeded by Celestine the Second; the same who, as Cardinal Guy of Castello, had been the pupil of Abelard and the protector of Arnold. Celestine was a man

<sup>d</sup> Otto Fris. vii. 27; Card. Arag. in Patrol. clxxix. 36; Gerhoh. in Psal. lxiv. 56; Francke, 161; Sismondi, R. I. i. 295. The senate is often mentioned in the time of Charlemagne, and later; but it is not known what its power then was, nor when it was superseded by the Popes. (Murat. Annal. VI., ii. 274.) The name, indeed, seems rather to have been used to designate the nobles than a deliberative body. Gregorov. IV., b. viii., c. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Otto de Gest. Frid. i. 28; Wibald, Epp. 211-3 (Patrol. clxxxix.). The mention of Constantine implies a disbelief in the “Donation,” which also ap-

pears in the letter of the Romans to Frederick I., some years later. See p. 72. (That it was generally disbelieved by the imperialists, see Godefr. Viterb. l. xvi. Patrol. cxviii. 883; and see a question as to it in the ‘Chron. Farfense,’ A.D. 1105, Murat. II., 637). This letter to Conrad is dated by some as early as 1138; by others, as late as 1150. See p. 70; Muratori, Ann. 1146; Schröckh, xxvi. 121; Planck, IV. ii. 328; Neander’s ‘Bernard,’ 315; Sismondi, R. I., i. 296; Milman, iii. 393. Gieseler (II., ii. 72) places it in 1143.

<sup>f</sup> Otto, de Gest. Frid. ii. 24; Sismondi, R. I., i. 298.

<sup>g</sup> Otto, vii. 27.



of high character, both for learning and for moderation;<sup>h</sup> but his pontificate of less than six months was marked by no other considerable act than the removal of an interdict under which Louis “the Young” of France had lain for some years on account of some differences as to the archbishoprick of Bourges.<sup>1</sup> The royal power had been rapidly growing in France. The number of the great fiefs had been diminished, through the failure of male heirs, and the consequent passing of many of them into new families by the marriage of the heiresses; the kings had raised the commons, and had strengthened themselves by allying themselves with them against the nobles; agriculture was greatly extended; population, industry, and wealth were increased.<sup>1</sup> Louis VII., who had become sole king by the death of his father in 1137, had very greatly extended the royal territory by his marriage with Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, and the successful outset of his reign had gained for him a reputation which was ill maintained by his conduct in later years. For a time he showed himself indifferent to the ecclesiastical sentence which had been pronounced against him; but in 1143 a change was produced in him by a terrible incident which took place in the course of a war between him and Theobald Count of Champagne—the burning of 1300 men, women, and children in a church at Vitry. Deeply struck with horror and remorse on account of the share which he considered himself to have had in their death, he solicited absolution, which Celestine readily bestowed—the questions in dispute between the crown and the church being settled by a compromise.<sup>k</sup>

Under Celestine’s successor, a Bolognese who exchanged his name of Gerard de’ Caccianemici for that of Lucius II., the republicans of Rome ventured further than before. Arnold himself appears to have been now among them, having perhaps repaired to Rome in reliance on Celestine’s kindness, although the time of his arrival is uncertain.<sup>1</sup> The constitution was developed by the erection of an equestrian order, and by the

<sup>h</sup> Chron. Mauriniac. Patrol. clxxx. 173.

<sup>1</sup> See Martin, iii. 421. The interdict was against the king’s person, so that in all places which he entered, divine offices ceased. Diceto, 509.

<sup>j</sup> Rob. Antissiod. in Bouq., xii. 299; Sismondi, v. 256, 286.

<sup>k</sup> Sigebert, Contin. Præmonstr., A.D. 1143; Chron. Maurin. 173; Martin, iii.

422-3. Several of Bernard’s letters relate to this affair, *e.g.* 116-7, 119-126, 219, 226. See Diceto, 509.

<sup>1</sup> Otho of Freising says, “Comperta morte Innocentii, circa principia pontificatus Eugenii urbem ingressus” (ii. 20, passing over the two intermediate popes. See Muratori, Ann. VI., ii. 282; Luden, x. 197; Niccolini, 273; Milman, iii. 390.

election of tribunes. A "Patrician" named Jordan, who appears to have been a brother of the late antipope Anacletus, was substituted for the papal prefect of the city, and, as a matter of policy, this patrician was theoretically regarded as a representative of the emperor, whose lordship the revolutionary government affected to recognise.<sup>m</sup> The palaces and houses of cardinals and nobles were destroyed; some of the cardinals were personally assaulted; and the pope was required to surrender his royalties, and to content himself and his clergy with tithes and voluntary offerings.<sup>n</sup> Lucius, who was supported by a powerful party of nobles (among whom were the patrician's own brothers), resolved to put down the republic, and, at the head of a strong force, proceeded to the Capitol with the intention of dispersing the senators; but the senate and the mob combined Feb. 15, 1145. to resist, and in the tumult which ensued the pope was wounded by a stone, which caused his death.<sup>o</sup>

The vacant throne was filled by the election of Peter Bernard, a Pisan by birth, who had been a pupil of Bernard of Clairvaux, and had been appointed by Innocent II. to the abbacy of St. Anastasius at the Three Fountains, near Rome—a monastery which that Pope rebuilt, and, in gratitude for Bernard's services, bestowed on the Cistercian Order.<sup>p</sup> The character of the new Pope, who styled himself Eugenius III., had been chiefly noted for an extreme simplicity, so that his old superior, while he congratulated him on his election and expressed the fullest confidence in his intentions, thought it necessary almost to blame the Cardinals for the choice which they had made, and to bespeak their forbearance and assistance for him;<sup>q</sup> but Eugenius, to the surprise of all who had known him, now displayed an eloquence and a general ability which were referred to miraculous illumination.<sup>r</sup> The rites of his Feb. 18, 1145. consecration were disturbed by an irruption of the citizens, demanding that he should acknowledge their republican government, and he withdrew to the monastery of Farfa, where the ceremony was completed.<sup>s</sup> The anathemas which he pronounced against his contumacious people were

<sup>m</sup> This they did the more readily because there was at the time no emperor, Conrad not having received the crown. Gregorov. iv. 461.

<sup>n</sup> Otto Fris. vii. 31; de G. Fr. ii. 20; Lucius ad Conrad. Ep. 83 (Patrol. clxxix.); Sismondi, R. I., i. 295, 300.

<sup>o</sup> Godefr. Viterb., in Patrol. cxviii.

988; Pagi, xviii. 640; Sismondi, R. I., i. 296; Jaffé.

<sup>p</sup> Vita Bern. ii. 50; Gregorov. iv. 418, 463. See above, p. 10, n. <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> Epp. 236-7.

<sup>r</sup> Joh. Petrib. in Sparke, 75.

<sup>s</sup> Otto Fris. vii. 3.



unheeded; but after residing for some time at Viterbo, he was enabled to effect a re-entrance into Rome, where he agreed to acknowledge the Senate on condition that its members should be chosen with his approval, and that he should be allowed to nominate a prefect instead of the Patrician.<sup>t</sup> But the Romans, finding that he refused to gratify their enmity against the inhabitants of Tivoli, to whom he had been chiefly indebted for his restoration, drove him again from the city, and the people, excited by the harangues of Arnold, who had brought with him a body of two thousand Swiss,<sup>u</sup> continued their attacks upon the nobles and the clergy; they fortified St. Peter's, and plundered the pilgrims, killing some of them in the church itself.<sup>x</sup> Bernard strongly remonstrated with the Romans on the expulsion of Eugenius, and urged the Emperor-elect to interfere for his restoration.<sup>y</sup> But during the Pope's residence at Viterbo tidings had been received from the East which for the time superseded all other interests.

The Latins in the East had kept their footing chiefly in consequence of the dissensions of their enemies, but had failed to learn from them the necessity of union among themselves. The great feudatory princes of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli quarrelled with the Kings of Jerusalem and with each other. The barons were defiant and unruly, and their oppressive treatment of their inferiors rendered them more hateful to the Christians than they were to the infidels. The patriarchs quarrelled with the Kings and with the Popes; the patriarchs of Jerusalem quarrelled with those of Antioch; while the archiepiscopal province of Tyre, which, on the acquisition of that city in 1127, had been assigned by Pope Honorius to Jerusalem, but was claimed by Antioch, was tyrannised over by both.<sup>z</sup> The military orders already began to display an intolerable pride and a contempt of all external authority. The relations of the Latins with the Greek Empire, although

<sup>t</sup> Otto, vii. 21.

<sup>u</sup> J. von Müller, *Gesch. d. Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft*, in *Works*, xix., 315, Tübing. 1810-9.

<sup>x</sup> Otto, vii. 31, 34. An 'Anonymus Casinensis,' in *Murat.* v. 142 (A.D. 1145), says that for the sake of peace with the Romans, Eugenius ordered the walls of Tivoli to be destroyed. But Mura-

tori rejects this story. *Annali*, VI., ii. 284. See *Luden*, x. 203-4.

<sup>y</sup> *Epp.* 243-4.

<sup>z</sup> See *Honor.* II., *Epp.* 69-71 (*Patrol.* clxvi.); *Innoc.* II., *Epp.* 302, 321, 323, 348, 351, &c. (*ib.* clxxix.); *Fulcher. Carnot.* iii. 34 (*ib.* clv.); *Will. Tyr.* xiii. 1-14, 23; xiv. ii. 11-14 (*ib.* cci.); *Wilken* III., ii. 511, 697, sqq.

improved since the days of Alexius Comnenus, were still uneasy.<sup>a</sup> The religious motive which had given birth to the Latin Kingdom was forgotten, so that pilgrims were objects of mockery in the Holy Land, and were disliked as intruders. The successors of the Crusaders had in general settled down into a life of ease and luxury, in which the worst features of oriental life were imitated; and a mongrel race, the offspring of European fathers and of Eastern mothers, had grown up, who were known by the name of *Poulains*,<sup>b</sup> and are described as utterly effeminate and depraved—"more timid than women, and more perfidious than slaves."<sup>c</sup>

In December 1144, Zenghis, Prince of Mosul and Aleppo, taking advantage of the enmity between the Frank rulers of Edessa and Antioch, made himself master of Edessa, chiefly through the assistance of an Armenian whose daughter had been debauched by the Count, Jocelin. The Archbishop, who is said to have allowed the capture to take place rather than expend his treasures in the payment of soldiers, was crushed to death. A frightful slaughter of the Christian inhabitants was carried on, until it was stopped by the command of Zenghis, and a multitude of captives were sold as slaves.<sup>d</sup> Zenghis himself was soon after assassinated,<sup>e</sup> and during the absence of his son Nouredin the Christians regained possession of the place through an agreement with the Armenian inhabitants; but when they had held it a few days Nouredin recovered it with great slaughter, punished the inhabitants with terrible severity, and, after having enriched himself by the plunder of the city, utterly destroyed it.<sup>f</sup>

The exultation of the Mussulmans at this great success was boundless;<sup>g</sup> and not less intense were the feelings of grief and indignation with which the tidings of their triumph were received among the Christians of the west. The city of King

<sup>a</sup> See Will. Tyr. xii. 5; Innoc. II., Ep. 309; Wilken, ii. 642, 656.

<sup>b</sup> "Vel quia recentes et novi, quasi pulli, respectu Surianorum reputati sunt; vel quia principaliter de gente Apuliæ matres secundum carnem habuerunt." Jac. Vitriac. 1086.

<sup>c</sup> Will. Tyr. xi. 28; xxi. 7; Jac. Vitriac., 1086-8; Wilken, ii. 205-7, 234, 593-6, 619; Sismondi, Hist. des Fr. v. 298.

<sup>d</sup> W. Tyr. xiv. 3; xvi. 4-5; Wilken, ii. 724-7; Michaud, iii. 84; Bibl. des

Croisades, iv. 73-6, 499 (from eastern sources). For the history of Zenghis (whom the Latins called *Sanguinius*) see Gibbon, v. 477; Wilken, ii. 576, sqq.; Michaud, Bibl. d. Cr. iv. 57, sqq. The Auersperg chronicle says that he was son of a Saracen by Ida, the mother of Leopold of Austria, 210.

<sup>e</sup> Michaud, Bibl. iv. 78.

<sup>f</sup> W. Tyr. xvi. 7, 14-6; Michaud, Bibl. iv. 90-3; Wilken, ii. 730-3.

<sup>g</sup> Michaud, Bibl. iv. 76-7.



Abgarus, who had been honoured by a letter from the Saviour himself; the city where the miraculously-impressed image of the Saviour's countenance, his gift to Abgarus, had been preserved for centuries, and had served as a protection against the attacks of infidel besiegers;<sup>h</sup> the city where the Apostle St. Thaddeus had preached, and which still possessed his body, and that of St. Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies;<sup>i</sup> the city which had maintained its Christianity while all around it fell under the Mussulman yoke, was now in the hands of the unbelievers; thousands of Christians had been slain, and the enemy of the Cross was pressing on, so that unless speedy aid were given, the Latins would soon be altogether driven from the Holy Land.<sup>k</sup> Eugenius resolved to stir up a new crusade; and on the 1st of December 1145, he addressed to the King, the princes, and the people of France, a letter summoning them to the holy war. The privileges formerly offered by Urban II. were renewed—remission of sins for all who should engage in the expedition; the protection of the Church for their families and property; no suits were to be brought against them until their return; those who were in debt were discharged from payment of interest, and it was allowed that the possessors of fiefs should pledge them in order to raise the expenses of the war.<sup>m</sup>

It was natural that such a call should be first addressed to France, the chosen refuge of expelled Popes, the country which had given princes, and laws, and language to the crusading colonies of the East.<sup>n</sup> And Louis VII., then about twenty-six years of age, was ready to take the cross—from feelings of devotion, from remorse for the conduct which had drawn on him the censures of the Church, and for his guilt in the calamity of Vitry, from a belief that he was bound by a promise which his brother Philip had been prevented by death from fulfilling; perhaps, too, by the hope of sharing in the saintly glory which crowned the names of Godfrey and Tancred.<sup>o</sup> At a parliament<sup>p</sup> which was held at Bourges, at Christmas 1145, he proposed the subject to his nobles, and the Bishop of Langres excited them by a description of the scenes which had taken place in the

<sup>h</sup> See vol. ii., p. 86 (79).

<sup>i</sup> Will. Tyr. xvi. 5; Chron. Mailros., A.D. 1148.

<sup>k</sup> Eugen. Ep. 48; Sigeb. Contin. Præmonstr., A.D. 1145; Gerhoh. in Ps. xxxix., Patrol. cxciii. 1436.

<sup>m</sup> Ep. 48 (Patrol. clxxx.). On the date, see Luden, x. 598.

<sup>n</sup> Sismondi, Hist. des Fr., v. 301, 315.

<sup>o</sup> Otto de Gestis Frid. i. 34; Sigeb. Contin. Præmonstr., A.D. 1143, 1146; Wilken, iii. 37.

<sup>p</sup> The word is said to occur for the first time in the 'Gesta Ludovici,' where it is applied to this meeting. Luden, x. 601.

East; but as the number present was not great, the business of a crusade was adjourned to a larger meeting, which was to be held at Vezelay at the following Easter.<sup>a</sup> To this Louis summoned all the princes of Gaul, and, as neither the Abbey Church nor the market place of Vezelay could hold the assembled multitude, they were ranged along the declivity of the hill on which the little town is built, and in the valley of the Cure below.<sup>r</sup> The Pope had been requested to attend, but had been compelled by the renewed troubles of Rome to excuse himself, and had delegated the preaching of the crusade to Bernard, who, although for some years he had been suffering from sickness, enthusiastically took up the cause.<sup>s</sup> At Vezelay, Bernard set forth with glowing eloquence the sufferings of the Eastern Christians, and the profanation of the holy places by the infidels. His speech was interrupted by loud and eager cries of "The Cross! The Cross!" Louis and his queen were the first to take the sign of enrolment in the sacred cause; princes, nobles, and a multitude of others pressed forward, until the crosses which had been provided were exhausted, when the Abbot, the King, and others gave up part of their own dresses in order to furnish a fresh supply.<sup>t</sup> It was agreed that the expedition should be ready to set out within a year, and the great assembly of Vezelay was followed by meetings in other towns of France, at which Bernard's eloquence, and the prophet-like authority which he had gained<sup>u</sup> were everywhere triumphant, and enlisted crowds of zealous followers. At Chartres, he was urged to become the leader of the crusade; but, warned by the ill-success of Peter the Hermit,<sup>x</sup> he felt his unfitness for such a post, and told the assembly that his strength would not suffice to reach the distant scene of action; that they should choose a leader of a different kind.<sup>y</sup> "There is more need there," he told the Abbot of Morimond, "of fighting soldiers than of chanting monks."<sup>z</sup>

The scenes of the first crusade were renewed. Miracles, prophecies, promises of success drawn out of the Sibylline oracles, contributed to stir up the general enthusiasm.<sup>a</sup> Bernard tells us that cities and castles were emptied; that

<sup>a</sup> See Hefele, v. 443.

<sup>r</sup> Chron. Anon. ap. Bouq. xii. 120; Odo de Deogilo, Patrol. clxxxv. 1207.

<sup>s</sup> Odo de Deog. 1207; Wilken, iii. 43-4.

<sup>t</sup> Odo de Deog. 1207; Nicolaus ap. Bern., Ep. 467; Sismondi, v. 306.

<sup>u</sup> Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 34.

<sup>x</sup> Ep. 363-8.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. 256. Peter of Cluny was obliged unwillingly to decline an invitation to Chartres. Epp. vi. 18, 20; Bern. Ep. 364.

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 359.

<sup>a</sup> Annal. S. Jac. Leod., A.D. 1146, ap. Pertz., xvi. For pretended miracles, see Annal. Reichersperg. in Pertz., xvii. 463.



the prophecy of "seven women taking hold of one man," was almost fulfilled among those who remained behind.<sup>b</sup> Many robbers and other outcasts of society embraced the new way of salvation which was opened to them; hymns took the place of profane songs; violence ceased, so that it was considered wrong even to carry arms for the sake of safety.<sup>c</sup> Yet amid the general excitement and zeal, many bitter complaints were raised (especially from the monastic societies) against the heavy taxation by which the King found it necessary to raise money for his expedition.<sup>d</sup>

From France Bernard proceeded into Germany, where an ignorant and fanatical monk, named Rudolf, had been preaching the crusade with great success, but had combined with it a denunciation of the Jews, of whom great numbers had been slaughtered in consequence.<sup>e</sup> At such times of excitement against the enemies of Christ, the Jews were generally sufferers. Even Peter of Cluny on this occasion wrote to the French King, denouncing them as more distant from Christianity and more bitter against it than the Saracens, and advising that, although they ought not to be slain, their wealth should be confiscated for the holy enterprise.<sup>f</sup> But Bernard was against all measures of violence towards them, and wished only that they should be forbidden, as the Pope had forbidden all Christians, to exact usury from the Crusaders.<sup>g</sup> He therefore reprobated Rudolf's preaching in the strongest terms, and, as the monk disowned submission to any ecclesiastical authority,<sup>h</sup> Bernard, at the request of the Archbishop of Mentz, undertook a journey into Germany for the purpose of counter-acting his influence.<sup>i</sup> In an interview at Mentz, Rudolf was convinced of his error; filled with shame and sorrow for the effects of his preaching, he withdrew into a cloister; and

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 247. (Isai. iv. 1.) "St. Bernard exagère visiblement, quand il nous dit que pour sept femmes il restait un homme," says M. Michelet (iii. 129); and M. de Sismondi (v. 308) is equally unaware of the Scriptural allusion. Gibbon, who probably understood the matter better, treats it more offensively, v. 476.

<sup>c</sup> Otto de Gestis Frid. i. 29, 40; Gerhoh. in Psalm. 39 (Patrol. cxiii. 1434-6).

<sup>d</sup> Diceto, 509; Sismondi, v. 317-8; Wilken, iii. 86-8. See also to the case of the abbey of Fleury, Bouq. xii. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 37.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. iv. 36. Peter, however, wrote a

controversial book against the Jews, which shews a real desire for their good. In another work, he contrasts the unreasoning fanaticism of the Saracens with the toleration which Christians shewed to Jews (Adv. sect. Sarac. i. 12). A council at Tours in 1236 forbids Crusaders to kill, beat, or plunder Jews, "cum Ecclesia Judæos sustineat, quæ non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur et vivat," c. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Ep. 363.

<sup>h</sup> A writer who describes him as of Bernard's own order (Annal. Rodenses in Pertz. xvi. 718) must therefore be wrong.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. 365.

although such was the exasperation which he had produced among the people that Bernard was almost stoned on attempting to dissuade those of Frankfort from violence and plunder against the Jews, the Abbot's humane exertions were successful in arresting the persecution.<sup>k</sup>

At Frankfort Bernard had interviews with Conrad, whom he endeavoured to draw into the crusade. In Germany, where there was not that special connection with the eastern Latins which had contributed to rouse the French to their assistance, less of sympathy was to be expected than in France; and the king's age, his knowledge of the difficulties, acquired in an earlier pilgrimage to the Holy Land,<sup>m</sup> and most especially the political state of Germany, of Italy, and of Rome, combined to dissuade him from the expedition.<sup>n</sup> Although, therefore, Bernard was able to remove some of the obstacles by reconciling him with princes who might have been likely to take advantage of his absence, Conrad steadily resisted his solicitations, and Bernard was about to return to Clairvaux, when he was invited by Hermann, bishop of Constance, to wait for a diët which was to be held at Spires, and in the meanwhile to preach the crusade in the diocese of Constance.<sup>o</sup>

The fame of Bernard, and his reputation for miracles, were already well known in Germany, and, as he journeyed up the Rhine, crowds everywhere flocked to him, entreating his pity for the cure of the sick, the blind, the lame, and the possessed. His own enthusiasm (for, although he disavowed all credit on account of his miracles, he believed them to be real, and to be attestations of his cause)<sup>p</sup> and the enthusiasm of the people were raised to the highest degree; every day, says a biographer who had accompanied him on his mission, he did some miracles, and on some days as many as twenty.<sup>q</sup> As he was unacquainted with the

<sup>k</sup> Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 39. Joseph Ben Meir, a Jewish writer of the 16th century, gives an account of the persecution from a Jewish narrative of the time. "Bernard," he says, "took no ransom for the Jews, for he had from his heart spoken good for Israel." See Wilken, III., i., Beilage, 1.

<sup>m</sup> Ekkehard, A.D. 1124. (Patrol. cliv.)

<sup>n</sup> Luden, x. 213, 223.

<sup>o</sup> Wilken, iii. 65.

<sup>p</sup> Alan; Vita Bern. 27. See above, p. 11.

<sup>q</sup> Vita, iii. 9. Books v. to vii. are filled with accounts of these and other

miracles done by Bernard. Cf. Gerhoh. in Patrol. exciii. 1434; Odo de Deog., ch. clxxxv. 1207; Wilken, iii. 70, note. Bernard's miraculous power, although generally believed in by his contemporaries, was, as we have seen, a subject of satire in Abelard's school (p. 41). Walter Map, who hated the Cistercians, also throws ridicule on Bernard's miracles, and says that he sometimes failed in the attempt to perform them. De Nugis Curialium (Camden Soc.), 41-3. Peter of Cluny strongly maintains the miracles of his own time. Adv. Judæos, c. 4.



language of the country, his discourses were explained by an interpreter; but his looks and tones and gestures penetrated to the hearts of the Germans far more than the chilled words of the translator; they wept and beat their breasts, and even tore the saint's clothes in order that they might take the cross.<sup>r</sup> Returning to Spires, Bernard there again urged his cause on Conrad with such force that the king promised to consult his advisers, and to answer on the morrow. But at the mass which followed immediately after this interview, Bernard, contrary to custom and without notice, introduced a sermon, which he wound up by a strong personal appeal to Conrad—representing him as standing before the judgment-seat, and as called by the Saviour to give an account for all the benefits which had been heaped on him. The “miracle of miracles,” as Bernard styled it,<sup>s</sup> was wrought. Conrad burst into tears, and declared himself ready to obey the call to God's service; and, amid the loud shouts of all who were present, Bernard, taking the banner of the cross from the altar, delivered it to the king as the token of his engagement. Among the chiefs who followed Conrad's example in taking the cross were his nephew Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Welf of Bavaria, Henry, Marquis of Austria, and the chronicler Otho, bishop of Freising,<sup>t</sup> uterine brother of Conrad, and formerly a pupil of Abelard.<sup>u</sup> The Saxons declined the expedition, on the ground that their duty called them rather to attack their own idolatrous neighbours, and for this purpose they engaged in a home crusade against the pagans on their northern border.<sup>x</sup> But from all other parts of Germany recruits poured in; and Bernard left the abbot of Eberach to take his place in organising the expedition.<sup>y</sup>

Returning home by way of Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cambray, Bernard everywhere produced the greatest effect by his eloquence and his miracles; and he reappeared at Clairvaux with thirty followers, whom, with an equal number of others, he had persuaded to embrace the monastic life.<sup>z</sup> In February, 1147, a great meeting was held at Étampes, and Bernard was eagerly listened to as he reported the success of his late

<sup>r</sup> Vita, iii. 7; Wilken, iii. 67. “Never,” says Fuller (Holy War, 78) “could so much steel have been drawn into the east, had not this good man's persuasions been the loadstone.”

<sup>s</sup> Vita, vi. 4.

<sup>t</sup> This (and not Freisingen) is the proper form. On the Swabian side of

the Lech, names of places end in *ingen*; on the Bavarian side, in *ing*. Herzog, art. *Otto von Freising*.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid.; Otto de Gestis Frid. i. 39-40; Will. Tyr. xvii. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Otto, i. 40. See Luden, x. 606; and below, c. xi. sect. 8.

<sup>y</sup> Otto, i. 40.

<sup>z</sup> Vita, vi. 13.

journey.<sup>a</sup> On the second day of the meeting the question of the route which should be taken by the French crusaders was discussed. Letters or envoys had been received by the king from various sovereigns to whom he had announced his expedition. Roger of Sicily advised him to proceed by sea, and offered him a resting-place by the way. Conrad of Germany and Geisa of Hungary, wishing to divert the stream from their own territories, advised that the French should take ship; but Manuel of Constantinople made flattering promises of aid and furtherance; and Louis, disdaining the doubts which were raised as to the Greek's sincerity, and the representations which were offered as to the difficulties of the way, decided on making the journey by land.<sup>b</sup>

On the following day, the question of a regency was proposed. The king left the choice to his nobles and prelates, and Bernard announced that it had fallen on the Count of Nevers, and Suger, abbot of St. Denys. "Behold," he said, "here are two swords; it is enough." The count, however, declined the office on the ground that he was about to become a Carthusian; and the regency was committed to Suger, with two colleagues whose share in it was little more than nominal.<sup>c</sup>

Eugenius now appeared in France, and was met at Dijon by Louis, who displayed the greatest reverence towards him.<sup>d</sup> The two celebrated Easter at St. Denys, where the pope overruled Suger's reluctance to undertake the regency.<sup>e</sup> The king took from the altar the *oriflamme*—the banner of the county of the Vexin, which he held under the great abbey—and, as a feudal vassal, received Suger's permission to engage in the crusade, with the pope's blessing on his enterprise.<sup>f</sup>

It had been agreed that the forces of France and of Germany should proceed separately, as well for the sake of avoiding quarrels among the soldiers as for greater ease in obtaining provisions.<sup>g</sup> In the spring of 1147, Conrad set out from Ratisbon, after having endeavoured to secure the peace of Germany

<sup>a</sup> Vita, vi., 14.

<sup>b</sup> Odo de Deog. 1207-8; Bouquet, xvi. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Odo de Deog. 1208-9; Sismondi, v. 323-4.

<sup>d</sup> Steph. Paris. ap. Bouquet, xii. 89, 91.

<sup>e</sup> Vita Suger. iii. 1. (Patrol. clxxxvi.)

<sup>f</sup> Odo de Deog. 1219; Sismondi, v. 325. The county of the Vexin was

united with the crown of France in 1077, whereby the king became advocate of the abbey of St. Denys, and the saint superseded St. Martin as the patron of the kingdom. See Patrol. clxxxvi. 1461; Suger. de Rebus in Admin. sua Gestis, 4 (ibid.); Hist. Litt. xii. 396; Martin, iii. 285.

<sup>g</sup> Will. Tyr. xvi. 19.



by the election and coronation of his son Henry as king of the Romans.<sup>h</sup> His force consisted of seventy thousand heavy-armed cavalry, with a huge train of lighter horsemen, footmen, women and children; and Louis was to follow with an equal number.<sup>i</sup> The Germans embarked on rafts and in boats which conveyed them safely down the Danube; but in Hungary they were met by envoys from the Greek emperor, who required them to swear that they had no designs against him;<sup>k</sup> and on entering the imperial territory, they found difficulties on every side. Manuel is accused by the Latins of treachery,<sup>m</sup> and the Greek Nicetas joins in the charge,<sup>n</sup> while other Greeks charge the Crusaders with the blame of the differences which arose.<sup>o</sup> There was plundering by the strangers, and attacks were often made on them by the Greek soldiery. Although markets for provisions had been promised, the Greeks shut themselves up in their towers, and let down their supplies over the walls in buckets; they insisted on being paid beforehand, and it is complained that their provisions were shamefully adulterated, that sometimes they gave nothing in return for the payment, and that in exchanges they cheated the Latins by means of false money which Manuel had coined for the purpose.<sup>p</sup> By a sudden rising of the river Melas in the night, a considerable part of Conrad's force was swept away, with his tents and camp equipage.<sup>q</sup> On reaching Constantinople, the scenes of the first crusade were renewed. The Byzantines were shocked by the rudeness of the Germans, and especially by the sight of women armed and riding in male fashion, "more masculine than amazons."<sup>r</sup> There were quarrels about markets; the Germans, in indignation at the treatment which they met with, plundered and destroyed many splendid villas near the city; there were irreconcilable and interminable disputes as to matters of precedence and ceremony. Although the two emperors were brothers-in-law,<sup>s</sup> Conrad left Constantinople without having seen Manuel, and crossed the Bosphorus with a host which, after all the reduction that it had suffered, was still reckoned to exceed ninety thousand men.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Otto de Gestis Frid. i. 43; Conr. ap. Wibald. Ep. 20 (Patrol. clxxxix.).

<sup>i</sup> Will. Tyr. xvi. 19; Wilken, iii. 94. Gibbon reckons the whole at 400,000. v. 468.

<sup>k</sup> Cinnamus, ii. 12.

<sup>m</sup> The Würzburg Annals, in Pertz, xvi. are an exception to the usual tone of the Latins.

<sup>n</sup> De Manuele, i. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Cinnamus, ii. 13.

<sup>p</sup> Odo de Deog. 1215-6; Nicetas, ii. 4-5; Cinnamus, ii. 14; Wilken, iii. 115-121.

<sup>q</sup> Otto de Gestis Frid. i. 45, gives a vivid account of this. Cf. Nicet. ii. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Nicetas, ii. 4.

<sup>s</sup> They had married two daughters of Bernard of Sulzbach.

<sup>t</sup> Otto de Gestis Frid. i. 23; Odo de Deog. 1218; Nicetas, i. 5; Cinnamus,

In the mean time a force composed of men from Flanders, England, and other northern countries, assembled in the harbour of Dartmouth, and sailed for Portugal, where they wrested Lisbon from the Saracens in October, 1147. But it would seem that they were content with their successes in the Spanish peninsula, and did not proceed onwards to join in the attempts to deliver the Holy Land.<sup>u</sup>

The French Crusaders assembled at Metz, where a code of laws was drawn up for their conduct in the expedition; but a chronicler declines to record these laws, inasmuch as they were not observed by the nobles who had sworn to them.<sup>x</sup> The host passed through Germany and Hungary without any considerable misfortune, although even from the Hungarian frontier the king found it necessary to write to Suger for a fresh supply of money;<sup>y</sup> and at Constantinople their superior refinement at once made them more acceptable than the Germans, and enabled them better to conceal their dislike and distrust of the Greeks. But the hollowness of the oppressive civilities with which Manuel received Louis was deeply felt; the Greeks were found to be false and fraudulent in all their dealings; and the exasperation of the Crusaders was increased by religious differences, so bitter that the Greek clergy thought it necessary to purify the altars on which the Latins had celebrated, and even to rebaptize a Latin before allowing him to marry a wife of the Greek communion.<sup>z</sup> The bishop of Langres proposed to seize the city, by way of punishing them for their schism and their perfidy; and but for the eagerness of the Crusaders to go onwards, his counsels would probably have been acted on.<sup>a</sup> After reaching the Asiatic shore, Louis did homage to the eastern emperor; but an eclipse of the sun, which took place on the same day, was interpreted as portending some diminution of the king's splendour.<sup>b</sup>

Louis had reached Nicæa in safety when he was met by Frederick of Hohenstaufen with tidings of disasters which had befallen the Germans. The main body of these, under Conrad,

ii. 12; Arnold. *Lubec*, i. 10, ap. Leibnitz, ii.; Finlay, 202-3.

<sup>u</sup> See the letter of a priest named Arnulf, who was in the expedition, *Patrol.* clxxix.; Dodechin, in the *Annales S. Disibodi* (which, as a whole, have been mistakenly called after his name) Pertz, xvii. 27; Osborn, published by Mr. Stubbs in *Memorials of Richard I.* i. 142,

*sqq.*; Wilken, III., i. c. 12.

<sup>x</sup> Odo de Deog. 1209.

<sup>y</sup> Ap. Sug. Ep. 6. (*Patrol.* clxxxvi.)

<sup>z</sup> Odo de Deog. 1211, 1217, 1220; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23; Cinnamus, ii. 17; Wilken, iii. 105, 136-149.

<sup>a</sup> Odo de Deog. 1223.

<sup>b</sup> Odo de Deog. 1228; *Append. ad Odon.* 1245-6.



had intended to march by Iconium, while the rest, under the bishop of Freising, were to take the less direct way by the coast; but, before Conrad and his division had advanced far, it was found that they had miscalculated, and had been deceived by the Greeks, both as to the distance and as to the difficulties of the way.<sup>c</sup> Encumbered as they were by helpless women and children, they advanced but slowly. Their provisions were nearly exhausted, and no more were to be procured; the Greek guides who had led them into the desert country, after having deluded them with falsehoods of every kind, deserted them during the night, and returned to deceive the French with romantic fables as to the triumphs of the crusading arms. Squadrons of Turks, lightly armed and mounted on nimble horses, hovered about them, uttering wild cries, and discharging deadly flights of javelins and arrows, while the Europeans, worn out with hunger and toil, loaded with heavy armour, and having lost their horses, were unable to bring them to close combat; and, as they were still within the imperial territory, there was reason to believe that the enemies of the cross had been incited to attack them by the treachery of Manuel.<sup>d</sup> At Nicæa Conrad himself appeared in retreat, with less than a tenth of the force which he had led onwards from that city. The Greeks refused to supply his hungry followers with food, except in exchange for their arms: and most of them returned in miserable condition towards Constantinople, whence a scanty remnant found its way back to Germany.<sup>e</sup> In order that Conrad might not appear without a respectable force, Louis ordered the Lorrainers, Burgundians, and Italians, who were feudally subject to the empire, to attach themselves to him; and, having resolved to proceed by the longer but less hazardous road, the army reached Ephesus. But quarrels had arisen between the nations of which it was composed;<sup>f</sup> a coolness took place between the two

<sup>c</sup> Odo, 1218, 1228; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23; Wilken, iii. 157-9.

<sup>d</sup> Odo, 1230-2; Will. Tyr. xvi. 19-22; Annal. Reichersperg. in Pertz, xvii. 462; Ludov. ap. Suger. Ep. 39; Sismondi, v. 335-6.

<sup>e</sup> Odo, 1230; Annales Herbipol. in Pertz, xvi. 7; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23.

<sup>f</sup> Cinnamus, ii. 18; comp. Odo, 1216. Cinnamus tells us that the French used to jeer the Germans by saying, *πούτζη Ἀλαμάνε*. Ducange (n. in loc.) supposes this to mean "Pousse Allemand!"

and to refer to the slowness of the Germans; Wilken thinks that the meaning is, "Fusse, Alamann!" and that it relates to a German custom of dismounting in battle and fighting on foot (iii. 175). Perhaps we need not seek a meaning, but may identify the expression with one which Walter Map writes, "Tpwrut Aleman!" and describes as the most grievous insult that could be offered to a German, on account of which "multæ frequenter inter eos et alios rixæ fiunt." De Nugis Curialium, 219.

leaders; and Conrad, under pretext of illness, gladly accepted an invitation from his imperial brother-in-law, and returned to winter at Constantinople.<sup>g</sup>

After having spent Christmas at Ephesus, Louis directed his march towards Attalia (Satalia). The Crusaders crossed the Mæander, after a victory over a Turkish force which opposed their passage.<sup>h</sup> But as they advanced, they found themselves unable to obtain food, and the treachery of the Greeks became continually more manifest. In a narrow defile, where the van and the rear had been accidentally separated, the army was attacked, and suffered heavy loss both in slain and in prisoners; the king's own life was in great danger.<sup>i</sup> The survivors continued their march in gloomy apprehension, and dangers seemed to thicken around them. In their extremity, it was proposed by Louis that a brotherhood of five hundred horsemen should be formed for the protection of the rest. A knight named Gilbert, of whom nothing is known except the skill and valour which he displayed on this occasion, was chosen as its head, and even the king himself served as a member of the band. By Gilbert's generalship, two rivers were successfully crossed in the face of the enemy, who were afterwards attacked and routed with great slaughter; and, although the Crusaders were in such distress for provisions that they were obliged to eat most of their horses, they reached Attalia on the fifteenth day of their march from Ephesus.<sup>k</sup>

From Attalia Louis embarked for Syria, by advice of his counsellors, taking with him part of the force, and having, as he thought, secured a safe advance for the rest under the protection of an escort. But the Greeks who had been hired for this purpose abandoned them; and the Crusaders, after having fought bravely against an assailing force of Turks, were driven to fall back on Attalia. There, however, the inhabitants, who, during the king's stay in the city had used every act of extortion against the Franks,<sup>m</sup> shut the gates on them, and they found themselves obliged to crouch under the walls, hungry and almost naked, while violent storms of wind and rain increased

<sup>g</sup> Odo, 1228-32; Conrad, ap. Wibald. Epp. 31, 80; Cinnam. ii. 18-9; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23; Annal. Herbiol. 6-7; Wilken, iii. 169-174.

<sup>h</sup> Nicetas in Manuel. i. 6 (who, however, wrongly ascribes the victory to Conrad); Odo, 1235.

<sup>i</sup> Odo, 1238; Will. Tyr. xvi. 25.

<sup>k</sup> Odo, 1238-40; Will. Tyr. xvi. 26; Wilken, iii. 185-6.

<sup>m</sup> "Hæc enim," says Odo of Deuil, "nostra fuit cum Græcis conditio, vendere sine pretio et chare emere sine modo." 1242.



their misery. At length, in utter desperation, they attempted again to march onward. But the Turks surrounded them in overpowering numbers, and the whole remnant of the unhappy force was cut off, with the exception of three thousand, who surrendered themselves into slavery. Some of them apostatized, although their masters did not put any force on them as to religion.<sup>n</sup>

Louis landed at the mouth of the Orontes, and proceeded to Antioch, where he was received by his wife's uncle, Prince Raymond; but he declined the prince's invitation to join in an expedition against Nouredin, and continued his way to Jerusalem, where he arrived towards the end of June, in a guise befitting a penitential pilgrim rather than a warrior who had set out at the head of a powerful army, and with an assured hope of victory and conquest.<sup>o</sup> In July, a meeting of the Frank chiefs, both lay and ecclesiastical, was held at Acre, and among those present was Conrad, who, after having been hospitably entertained at Constantinople through the winter, had reached Jerusalem at Easter, with a very few soldiers in his train.<sup>p</sup> An expedition against Damascus was resolved on, and the siege of that city was begun with good hope of success. But jealousies arose among the Franks, and some of them—it is said the Templars—were bribed by the enemy's gold, so that the expedition was defeated.<sup>q</sup> Sick in body, depressed in mind, and utterly disgusted with the Christians of the Holy Land, Conrad embarked for Constantinople in September, and thence, by way of Greece and Istria, made his way to Ratisbon, where he arrived in Whitsun week, 1149.<sup>r</sup> Louis, ashamed and penitent, lingered in the Holy Land until July of that year, when, yielding at length to Suger's earnest solicitations,<sup>s</sup> he took ship for Sicily—his queen following separately.<sup>t</sup> In passing through Italy, he

<sup>n</sup> Odo, 1240-4; Wilken, i. 192-3.

<sup>o</sup> Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 58; Will. Tyr. xvi. 27; Wilken, iii. 225-235.

<sup>p</sup> Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 58; Will. Tyr. xvi. 28; xvii. 1; Sismondi, v. 349-353.

<sup>q</sup> Conr. ap. Wibald. Ep. 127; Will. Tyr. xvi. 2-6; Annal. Herbip. ap. Pertz, xvi. 7; Wilken, iii. 235-252; Michaud, iii. 137.

<sup>r</sup> Wibald, Epp. 162, 177-8; Eugen. Ep. 354 (Patrol. clxxx.); Will. Tyr. xvii. 8; Cinnamus, ii. 19; Luden, x. 279.

<sup>s</sup> Sug. Ep. 57; Vita Suger. iii. 6 (Patrol. clxxxvi.).

<sup>t</sup> Some writers (as Cinnamus, ii. 19, the Præmonstratensian continuator of Sigebert, A.D. 1149, and William of Nangis, A.D. 1150, followed by Muratori, Annal. VI., ii. 297, Gibbon, v. 361, and Wilken, iii. 256) say that Louis was taken, or all but taken, by Greeks, and was delivered by the Sicilian fleet. But this seems inconsistent with his own letters (ap. Suger. Epp. 94-6). Sismondi, iii. 355. Cf. Eugen. Ep. 357. Romuald of Salerno, although he relates that Conrad was received with great honour by Roger, says nothing of his deliverance from the Greeks. Murat. vii. 192.

had an interview with the Pope,<sup>u</sup> and he soon after reached his own dominions. But of the vast numbers which had accompanied him towards the East, it is said that not so many as three hundred returned.

The miserable and shameful result of this expedition, which, while it had drained Europe of men and treasure, had only rendered the condition of the Christians in the Holy Land worse than before,<sup>x</sup> excited loud murmurs against Bernard, as the person by whose preaching, prophecies, and miracles, it had been chiefly promoted; and all his authority was needed in order to justify himself. We are told that, when the dismal tidings from the East were filling all France with sorrow and anger, a blind boy was brought to him for cure. The abbot prayed that, if his preaching had been right, he might be enabled to work the miracle; and this attestation of his truth was granted.<sup>y</sup> He referred to his earlier miracles as certain signs that his preaching of the Crusade had been sanctioned by Heaven; he declared himself willing to bear any blame rather than that it should be cast on God.<sup>z</sup> He regarded the failure of the expedition as a fit chastisement for the sins of the Crusaders; and an Italian abbot assured him that St. John and St. Paul had appeared in a vision, declaring that the number of the fallen angels had been restored from the souls of those who had died in the Crusade.<sup>a</sup>

During the absence of Louis in the East, his kingdom had been successfully administered by Suger. Suger was born of humble parents in 1081, and at an early age entered the Monastery of St. Denys, where he became the companion of Louis the Sixth in his education, and so laid the foundation of his political eminence.<sup>b</sup> His election as abbot in 1122 was at first opposed by Louis, because the royal permission had not been previously asked;<sup>c</sup> but this difficulty was overcome, and Suger became the king's confidential adviser. In the midst of the

<sup>u</sup> Ludov. ap. Suger. Ep. 96.

<sup>x</sup> Will. Tyr. xvi. 19.

<sup>y</sup> Vita, iii. 10.

<sup>z</sup> De Consideratione, ii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Joh. Casæ-Marii, ap. Bern. Ep. 386; Bern. Ep. 289; Vita, iii. 9-11; Mabill. Annal. Bened. vi. 418. See Fuller's quaint vindication of Bernard (Holy War, 82-3); and for the causes of the failure, Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 60; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1147; Annal.

Waverl., A.D. 1147, in Gale, ii.; Hoveden, 276, b.; Annal. Herbipol. in Pertz, xvi. 3; Walt. Hemingburg, i. 72; Chron. Andrense, ap. Dacher. ii. 808; Henr. Huntingd., Patrol. cxcv. 970-1; Vincent. Pragense in Pertz, xvii. 663.

<sup>b</sup> Vita Sugerii, by William of St. Denys, in Patrol. clxxxvi.; Hist. Litt. xii. 361-2.

<sup>c</sup> Suger. Vita Lud. Grossi, Patrol. clxxxvi. 1315.



political employments which continually increased on him notwithstanding his endeavours to withdraw from them, he performed his monastic duties with the most scrupulous attention.<sup>d</sup> He reformed the disorders which Abelard had censured<sup>e</sup> among the monks of the abbey; he skilfully improved its finances, and extended its property; he rebuilt the church and furnished it magnificently.<sup>f</sup> In his own person he had always been rigidly monastic; and, although it is supposed that he was the abbot whom Bernard censures for going about with upwards of sixty horses, and a train more than sufficient for two bishops,<sup>g</sup> he afterwards reformed his pomp, and received Bernard's warm congratulations on the change.<sup>h</sup> Under Louis VII. Suger's influence became greater than ever. While left as regent of the kingdom, he employed not only his secular authority, but the censures of the church, which the Pope authorised him to wield,<sup>i</sup> in checking the violent and lawless tendencies of such nobles as had remained in France. He defeated the attempts of Robert of Dreux, who had returned from the Crusade before his brother Louis, to supplant the absent king, and he exerted himself diligently to raise and transmit the supplies of money for which Louis was continually importuning him by letters.<sup>k</sup> When the unhappy expedition was projected, Suger had opposed the general enthusiasm for it. But after its failure, the tidings which arrived from the East stirred him with new feelings. Raymond of Antioch had been slain, and other chiefs were taken prisoners. Jerusalem itself was threatened by the infidels, while within its walls a bitter contest for power was raging between the young king Baldwin III. and his mother Melisenda. It seemed as if the Latins were about to be swept from the Holy Land. Suger was excited to attempt to get up a fresh crusade, which Bernard advocated with his old enthusiasm. Meetings for the purpose were held at Laon and at Chartres; but both nobles and bishops received the project with coldness, and when it was proposed that Bernard himself should go to Jerusalem, in order to provoke others to emulation,

A.D. 1150.

<sup>d</sup> Vita, i. 4-5.<sup>e</sup> See p. 32.<sup>f</sup> Vita, ii. 6-10; Suger, *De Rebus in administratione sua gestis* (perhaps a work of his biographer, William) 24, seqq.; *Libellus de Consecr. Ecclesiæ*; Bernard, Ep. 78, c. 4; Mabill. Ann. Bened. vi. 347.<sup>g</sup> Apologia, 11. Pontius of Cluny is

described as having a hundred mules in his train. Joh. Iperius, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 608.

<sup>h</sup> Bern. Ep. 78. Cf. Ep. 309. Mabill. Ann. Bened. vi. 172.<sup>i</sup> See Eugen. Epp. 229, 355-7.<sup>k</sup> Vita Suger. iii. 1, 6; Lud. ap. Suger. Epp. 6, 12, 39, 50, 52, 58, &c.

the Cistercians refused to allow him.<sup>m</sup> Suger, however, resolved to devote to this purpose the treasures with which St. Denys had been enriched by his administration. He sent large sums of money to the East, and intended to follow with a force of his own raising.<sup>n</sup> But his death in 1151<sup>o</sup> put an end to the intended expedition.

It has been mentioned that the queen of the French accompanied her husband to the Crusade, and that she returned in a separate vessel. Eleanor's haughty and unbending character was ill suited to that of Louis, and she scornfully declared that she had married, not a king, but a monk.<sup>p</sup> Differences had broken out between them at Antioch, and had been fomented by her uncle Raymond, who was provoked by the French king's refusal to assist him in his designs against Aleppo. She is charged with infidelity to her husband, whom it is even said that she had intended to desert for the embraces of an infidel chief.<sup>q</sup> The marriage was open to a canonical objection, of which Bernard had spoken strongly during the quarrel between the

A.D. 1152.

king and the church;<sup>r</sup> and this objection was now brought before a council at Beaugency, which pronounced for a separation on the ground of consanguinity.<sup>s</sup> Immediately after, Eleanor entered into a second marriage, with Henry, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, and afterwards king of England, who thus became master of her extensive territories; and, by this marriage the foundation was laid for a life-long jealousy and rivalry between Louis and the great vassal whose territory in France exceeded the king's own.<sup>t</sup>

The presence of the Pope, and the good understanding between him and Suger, had contributed greatly to the preservation of peace in France during the Crusade; and by corresponding with the Archbishop of Mentz, and Wibald, abbot of Stablo, whom Conrad had left as guardians of his son, Eugenius,

<sup>m</sup> W. Nangis, A.D. 1151.

<sup>n</sup> Sug. Epp. 133-5, 155, 166; Eugen. III. Epp. 382, 390; Vita Sug. iii. 8; Bern. Ep. 256; Hist. Litt. xiii. 143; Wilken, III. i. 279; Michaud, iii. 149.

<sup>o</sup> Patrol. clxxxvi. 1208; Testam. Suger., ib. 1439, seqq.; Hist. Litt. xiii. 373.

<sup>p</sup> W. Neubrig. i. 31.

<sup>q</sup> Gervas. Dorobern. ap. Twysden, 1371; Suger. Ep. 57, fin.; Bernard Guid. ap. Bouquet, xii. 231; Fragm. ib. 286; Hist. Franc. ib. 117, 220; Chron. Anon. ib. 220; Will. Tyr. xvi. 27; Will. Nang. A.D. 1149; Wilken, iii.

228.

<sup>r</sup> Ep. 124, c. 4. The Anchin continuation of Sigebert says that Louis divorced his wife by Bernard's advice. Patrol. clx. 294.

<sup>s</sup> Hist. Ludov. VII., ap. Bouq. xii. 127. See Pagi, xix. 53. For the relationship, see Bouq. xii. 117.

<sup>t</sup> Ricard. Pietav. ap. Bouq. xii. 417. Suger's biographer ascribes the loss of Aquitaine to the abbot's death, i. 5. As to the feeling with which Louis regarded Henry's power, see Mapes de Nugis Curialium, 215.



conferred a like benefit on Germany.<sup>u</sup> In November, 1147, he was induced by an invitation from Albero, Bishop of Treves, to visit that city, where he remained nearly three months.<sup>x</sup> Among the matters there brought before him were the prophecies of Hildegard, head of a monastic sisterhood at St. Disibod's, in the diocese of Mentz. Hildegard, born in 1098, had from her childhood been subject to fits of ecstasy, in which it is said that, although ignorant of Latin, she uttered her oracles in that language; and these oracles were eagerly heard, noted down, and preserved.<sup>y</sup> With the power of prophecy she was believed to possess that of miracles;<sup>z</sup> she was consulted on all manner of subjects, and among her correspondents were emperors, kings, and popes. Her tone in addressing the highest ecclesiastical personages is that of a prophetess far superior to them,<sup>a</sup> and she denounces the corruptions of the monks and clergy in a strain<sup>b</sup> which has made her a favourite with the fiercest opponents of the papal church.<sup>c</sup> Bernard, when in Germany, had been interested by Hildegard's character,<sup>d</sup> and at his instance the pope now examined her prophecies, bestowed on her his approval, and sanctioned her design of building a convent in a spot which had been marked out by a vision, on St. Rupert's Hill, near Bingen.<sup>e</sup>

From Treves Eugenius proceeded to Reims, where, on the 21st of March, 1148, a great council met under his presidency. This council is connected with English history, not only by the circumstance that Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, attended it in defiance of a prohibition from King Stephen,<sup>f</sup> but because among the matters which came before it was a contest for the see of York between William, a nephew of the king, and Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains. In this question, Bernard, influenced by partiality for Henry, as a member of his order, and formerly his pupil, took a part which is universally acknow-

<sup>u</sup> Luden, x. 257.

<sup>x</sup> *Gesta Alberonis*, 23, *Patrol.* cliv.

<sup>y</sup> Hildegard's letters, visions, &c., are in the *Patrol.* cxcvii. As to the manner of her visions, see *Præf. ad Scivias*, 383-6. Cf. *Vit. S. Hildeg.* 2, 5, 6, 14 (*ib.*); *Acta S. Hildeg.* *ib.* 20; *Rob. Antissiod.* in *Bouquet*, xii. 294; *Joh. Sarisb. Ep.* 199; *Neand.* vii. 301-4, 357, *sqq.*

<sup>z</sup> *Vita*, iii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> *E. g.* *Epp.* 2, 22.

<sup>b</sup> *E. g.* *Ep.* 52.

<sup>c</sup> Such as Flacius Illyricus, '*Catal.*

*Testium*,' 1487, ed. 1608; and Fox, '*Acts and Mon.*' i. 294-5, ed. 1684. Fuller has an account of her in his '*Holy State*,' b. i. c. 13. She condemns excessive asceticism, *Epp.* 98, 105.

<sup>d</sup> *Hild. Ep.* 29. Her letter to Bernard is said to be the only one of her letters which contains no reproof. *Acta*, 29.

<sup>e</sup> *Eugen. ap. Hild. Ep.* 1; *Acta Hild.* 26, 28-9; *Vita*, 5; *Alb. Stadensis* in *Pertz*, xvi. 330.

<sup>f</sup> *Gervas. Dorob.* in *Twysden*, 1364.

ledged to have been wrong; for William had been elected by a majority of votes,<sup>g</sup> and had been consecrated by his uncle, Henry, Bishop of Winchester. The affair had already been discussed at Paris in 1147, and was now, through Bernard's influence, decided by the pope against William, who was excommunicated;<sup>h</sup> he found, however, a refuge with the Bishop of Winchester, until, after the death of his rival, he was again elected to York, and, with the sanction of Anastasius IV., resumed possession of the see in 1154. His return was, however, opposed by some of his clergy, and his death, which took place in the same year, is said to have been caused by poison administered in the eucharistic chalice.<sup>i</sup> William's sanctity was attested by miracles at his tomb,<sup>k</sup> and in the pontificate of Nicholas III., the archbishop whom Bernard had branded as a simoniac, and whom Eugenius, at Bernard's dictation, had deposed, was canonised as a saint of the Church.<sup>m</sup>

Another question which came before the council at Reims, related to the opinions of Gilbert de la Porrée, who, after having been long famous as a teacher, had been raised in 1141 to the bishoprick of Poitiers. Gilbert was, like Abelard, one of those theologians who paid less than the usual reverence to the traditions of former times. Otho of Freising, his pupil and admirer, tells us that his subtlety and acuteness led him to depart in many things from the customary way of speaking, although his respect for authority was greater than Abelard's, and his character was free from the vanity and the levity which had contributed so largely to Abelard's misfortunes.<sup>n</sup>

Gilbert had been present at the council of Sens in 1140,

<sup>g</sup> It was objected to him that he had been nominated by the king before being canonically chosen. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 71.

<sup>h</sup> *Joh. Sarisb. Ep.* 265; *Joh. Hagu-stald.* in *Twysden*, 260, 268, 272, 275-6; *Stubbs*, *ib.* 1721; *Collier*, ii. 240; *Inett*, ii. 189; *Raine*, *Lives of Abps. of York*, i. 216, 224; Bernard is very violent against William (*Epp.* 235-6, 239, 240, 252, 346-7, 353, 360), and is supposed to allude to him in 'De Consideratione,' iii. 13—"Quid ille de transmarinis partibus, &c." Baronius, after much abuse of him, retracts on finding that he had been canonised as a saint. 1140, 15 seqq. Cf. *Pagi*, in loc.

<sup>i</sup> *Rob. de Monte*, A.D. 1154 (*Patrol. clx.*); *Wendover*, ii. 272; *Annal. Waverl.* A.D. 1154 (*Gale*, ii.); *Chron. Mail-*

*ros. ib.*; *Hoved.* in *Savile*, 281; *Stubbs*, in *Twysden*, 1722; *Godwin*, 672; Alberic of Trois Fontaines (in *Bouquet*, xiii. 698) says that he refused an antidote, out of reverence for the sacrament. See *Joh. Sarisb. Epp.* 108, 122. Baronius (1141. 15) and Alban Butler (June 8) make the best they can of the story. William of Newburgh declares it to be a vulgar fiction, and brings evidence against it, i. 20.

<sup>k</sup> Alberic. in *Bouquet*, xiii. 698.

<sup>m</sup> A. Butler, June 8. The canonisation had been before attempted under Honorius III., and is said to have been at last promoted by the money of Antony Beek, bishop of Durham. See *Raine*, i. 227.

<sup>n</sup> *De Gestis Frid.* i. 46, 50. Radevic says that Otho, when dying at the Cistercian abbey of Morimond, begged the



and it is said that Abelard, after having heard himself condemned, turned to the theologian of Poitiers, and warned him in a well-known verse of Horace, that his turn of persecution would come next.<sup>o</sup> The pope, when on his way to France, was met at Sienna by two archdeacons of Gilbert's diocese, who presented a complaint against their bishop; but when he attempted to investigate the charge at the council of Paris in 1147, Gilbert was saved from condemnation by the obscurity of the subject to which his alleged errors related, and by his own dialectical acuteness.<sup>p</sup> The inquiry was adjourned to a greater assembly, but the difficulties which had baffled the council of Paris were equally felt at Reims. The chief errors imputed to Gilbert related to the doctrine of the Godhead. He was charged with denying that the Divine essence is God,<sup>q</sup> and consequently with denying that it could have been incarnate; with holding that God is pure Being, without any attributes, although including in His perfect Being all that we conceive of as His attributes:<sup>r</sup> and to this it was added that he denied the efficacy of the Sacraments—maintaining that none were really baptised but such as should eventually be saved.<sup>s</sup> Gilbert defended himself at great length, and cited many passages from the Fathers in behalf of his opinions. "Brother," said the pope at last, "you say and read a great many things which perhaps we do not understand; but tell us plainly whether you own that supreme essence by which the three persons are God, to be itself God." Gilbert, wearied with the disputation, hastily answered "No," and his answer was recorded, after which the council adjourned.<sup>t</sup> On the following day, Gilbert, who in the mean time had had much earnest conference with such of the cardinals as favoured him, endeavoured by distinctions and explanations to do away with the effect of his hasty answer. Bernard, in speaking against him, made use of

monks, if there were anything as to Gilbert which could give offence in his writings, to correct it, "*ad ipsorum arbitrium*," (ii. 11.) In Martene's '*Collectio Amplissima*,' i. 839, is a letter of Walter of Mortagne against an alleged opinion of Gilbert, that abbots and abbesses might marry notwithstanding their vows.

<sup>o</sup> "Tunc [Nam] tua res agitur, paries quum proximus ardet."—(*Hor. Ep. l. xviii.* 84.)

Vita Bern. iii. 15.

<sup>p</sup> Otto Fris. de G. Frid. i. 46, 51-4.

<sup>q</sup> This denial is said to have been in his Commentary on Boëthius '*De Trinitate*,' where, on the words "*Substantia qua Deus est*," Gilbert had drawn the

distinction, "*non quae Deus*" (Otto Fris. i. 56). The passages seem to be in Boëth. c. iv., and the commentary on it, Patrol. lxiv. 1253 B, 1290 B. See Hefele, v. 447.

<sup>r</sup> See Ritter, vii. 444, 451-2.

<sup>s</sup> Otto Fris. i. 50. Ritter thinks that Gilbert was orthodox, but that his obscure language gave fair cause for suspicion (vii. 439). M. Hauréau speaks highly of him, c. xi.

<sup>t</sup> Otto Fris. i. 56. See Bern. in Cantica, lxxx. 8 (Patrol. clxxxiii.); Mabill. Præf. in Bern. ib. clxxxii. 44, seqq.; ib. clxxxv. 587, seqq.; Argentré, i. 38, seqq.

some words which gave offence to the cardinals—"Let that, too, be written down," said Gilbert. "Yes," cried the abbot, "let it be written down with an iron pen, and with a nail of adamant!"<sup>u</sup> As Gilbert's party among the cardinals was strong, Bernard endeavoured to counteract their influence by assembling a number of French prelates and other ecclesiastics, and producing at the council a set of propositions on which they had agreed in opposition to the errors imputed to the Bishop of Poitiers. On this, the jealousy of the cardinals, who had long been impatient of his ascendancy over Eugenius, burst forth. They denounced the French clergy as attempting to impose a new creed—a thing, they said, which all the patriarchs of Christendom could not presume to do without the authority of Rome; they loudly blamed the pope for preferring the French church to the Roman—for preferring his private friendships before the advice of those legitimate counsellors to whom he owed his elevation. Eugenius, unwilling to offend either party, desired Bernard to make peace; whereupon Bernard declared that he and his friends had not intended to claim any undue authority for their paper; but that, as Gilbert had demanded a written statement of his belief, he had desired to fortify himself by the consent of the French bishops.<sup>w</sup> Gilbert was at length allowed to depart unharmed, on professing his agreement with the faith of the council and of the Roman Church; he was reconciled with his archdeacons, by whom the charges had been brought against him; and his friends represented the result of the inquiry as a triumph.<sup>x</sup>

Eugenius was now able, by the assistance of the Sicilian king, to return to Rome, where he arrived in November, 1149, and he requested Bernard, as their personal intercourse could no longer be continued, to draw up some admonitions for his benefit.<sup>y</sup> The result was a remarkable treatise "On Consideration,"<sup>z</sup>

<sup>u</sup> "Ungue adamantino."

<sup>w</sup> Otto Fris. i. 56-7, or Hard. vi. 1299; Vita Bern. iii. 15.

<sup>x</sup> Gaufrid. Clarævall., Patrol. clxxxv. 582; Otto de S. Blasio, 4 (ap. Urstis.); see Gieseler, II., ii. 401. Otho of Freising declines judging "utrum abbas Clarævallensis in hoc negotio ex humanæ infirmitatis fragilitate tanquam homo deceptus fuerit, vel episcopus tanquam vir litteratus propositum astute celando ecclesiæ judicium evaserit." (i. 57.) A theologian of Paris—perhaps the famous Walter of St. Victor (see Hist.

Litt. xiii. 550)—wrote to Hildegard on the question of Gilbert's opinions, and she received a revelation condemning them. Ep. 127 (Patrol. cxcvii.).

<sup>y</sup> Bern. de Consid., Prolog.

<sup>z</sup> *Consideration* is thus distinguished by Bernard from *contemplation*—"Potest contemplatio quidem definiri, verus certusque intuitus animi de quacunque re, sive apprehensio veri non dubia; consideratio autem, intensa ad investigandum cogitatio vel intentio animi investigantis verum." ii. 2.



which shows how far Bernard's reverence for the papacy was from implying an admiration of the actual system of Rome, and how nearly in some respects the views of the highest hierarchical churchmen agreed with those of such reformers as Arnold of Brescia.<sup>a</sup> With professions of deep humility and deference, the abbot writes as if the pope were still a monk of Clairvaux. The great object of the book is to exhort Eugenius to the spiritual duties of his office, and to warn him against the dangers of secularity. Bernard complains of the manifold business in which popes were engaged; of their employment in hearing of suits which were rather secular than ecclesiastical, and fell rather under the laws of Justinian than under those of the Saviour. These engagements, he says, were so engrossing as to allow no time for consideration;<sup>b</sup> and the pope is advised to extricate himself from them as far as possible by devolving some part of his jurisdiction on others, by cutting short the speeches and the artifices of lawyers, and by discouraging the practice of too readily appealing to Rome.<sup>c</sup> There is much of earnest warning against pride and love of rule;<sup>d</sup> Bernard declares that the pomp of the papacy is copied not from St. Peter, but from Constantine;<sup>e</sup> that the Roman Church ought not to be the mistress of other churches, but their mother; that the pope is not the lord, but the brother, of other bishops.<sup>f</sup> He denounces the frequent exemption of abbots from the authority of bishops, and of bishops from the authority of their archbishops;<sup>g</sup> the greed, the venality, the assumption of the papal court;<sup>h</sup> he desires Eugenius to be careful in the choice of his officials and confidants, to avoid all acceptance of persons—(as to money, he acknowledges the pope's utter indifference)—and to advance resolutely, although gradually, towards a reformation of the prevailing abuses.<sup>i</sup> There is no reason to doubt that this treatise was received by Eugenius with the respect which he always paid to Bernard; but the abuses which it denounced were too strong and too inveterate to be cured by the good intentions of any pope.<sup>k</sup>

Although Eugenius was received by the Romans with submission to his spiritual authority, his temporal claims were not

<sup>a</sup> Luther, in a letter to Leo X., prefixed to his tract, 'De Libertate Christiana,' speaks of this book as "omni pontifici memoriter noscendus." Opera, ii. 3, ed. Viteberg. 1562.

<sup>b</sup> De Consid. i. 1-5. <sup>c</sup> Ib. i. 10-12; iii. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. ii.; iii. 1. <sup>e</sup> Ib. iv. 6. <sup>f</sup> Ib. iv. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. iii. 4. <sup>h</sup> Ib. iv. 1, 2, 4.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. i. 9; ii. 14; iv. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Schröckh, xxvi. 147. See Bernard's remonstrances as to a legate in 1152, Ep. 290.

admitted, and after a few months he was again compelled to leave the city. In the hope of aid against the rebels, he entreated Conrad to come to Italy and receive the imperial crown, while the Romans requested the king to take part with them against the clergy, and Manuel of Constantinople urged the fulfilment of an agreement which had been made as Conrad was returning from the East, for a joint expedition against the pope's Sicilian allies.<sup>m</sup> To each party Conrad replied that he was preparing for an Italian expedition, and he assured the pope that no evil was intended against the Roman Church.<sup>n</sup> But in the midst of his preparations, he was seized by an illness, which carried him off in February 1152.<sup>o</sup> In the end of that year, Eugenius, whose bounty and mildness had done much to conciliate the Romans, was allowed to return to his capital; but he survived only six months, dying on the 8th of July, 1153.<sup>p</sup> And on the 20th of August in that year, Bernard died at Clairvaux—"ascending," says a chronicler of the time, "from the Bright Valley to the mountain of eternal brightness."<sup>q</sup>

Henry, King of the Romans, had died about a year and a half before his father; and, although Conrad still had a son surviving, his feeling for the public good induced him to choose an heir of maturer age, his nephew Frederick, son of that Frederick of Hohenstaufen who had been Lothair's competitor for the empire.<sup>r</sup> A week after his uncle's death, Frederick was elected at Frankfort, and five days later he received the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from Arnold, Archbishop of Cologne.<sup>s</sup> On the very day of his coronation, the stern determination of his character was remarkably displayed. In the minster, where the ceremony took place, one of his officers, who had been dismissed for misconduct, threw himself at his feet, in the hope that the circumstances of the day might secure his pardon. But Fre-

<sup>m</sup> Eugen. Epp. 395, 484 (Patrol. clxxx.); Wibald, Epp. 187-8, 224 (ib. clxxxix.); Luden, x. 266-8. See Gregorov. iv. 475-6. To this time some refer the Roman letters in Wibald, 211-3. See above, p. 46.

<sup>n</sup> Wibald, Epp. 218, 225, 320, 322-4; Pertz. Leges, ii. 87-9.

<sup>o</sup> Raumer, i. 354.

<sup>p</sup> Jaffé, 647-652; Schröckh, xxvi. 149.

<sup>q</sup> Rob. Antissiod. ap. Bouquet, xii. 295; Vita Bern. v. 10-3. He had done miracles on his deathbed, and continued to do them after death, until the abbot of Cîteaux, like Abbot Hildulf, in an earlier time (see vol. ii. p. 234=218),

charged him for the sake of the brotherhood to desist. (Vita, v. 14; vii. 59.) He was buried privately, in order to avoid an inconvenient concourse, and by his own desire, some relics of St. Thaddeus, which had been lately brought from Jerusalem, were laid on his breast. (v. 14-5.) He was canonized by Alexander III. in 1174 (Patrol. clxxxv. 622); and in 1830 Pius VIII. confirmed to him the title of *Doctor* (ib. 1543-8.)

<sup>r</sup> Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 63; Chron. Ursperg. 213; Gunther, i. 324, seqq. (Patrol. cexii.); Luden, x. 295.

<sup>s</sup> Frid. ad Eugen. (Patrol. clxxx. 1637.)



derick declared that, as he had disgraced the man not out of hatred but for justice sake, neither the festive occasion nor the intercessions of the princes who were present could be allowed to reverse the sentence.<sup>t</sup> Frederick, who was now thirty-one years of age, had distinguished himself in the late crusade; he was a prince of extraordinary ability and indomitable perseverance, filled with a high sense of the dignity to which he had been elevated, and with a firm resolution to maintain its rights according to the model of Charlemagne.<sup>u</sup> Yet, although his struggle for the assertion of the imperial privileges was to be chiefly against the hierarchy, he appears to have been sincere in his profession of reverence for the Church, and not immoderate in his conception of the relations between the secular and the ecclesiastical powers.<sup>w</sup> Descended as he was from the houses of both Welf and Waiblingen, the feud of those houses was dormant throughout his reign, although it afterwards revived, when the names became significant of the papal and the imperial parties respectively.<sup>x</sup>

In the very beginning of his reign, Frederick was drawn into a collision with the papacy with regard to the see of Magdeburg. Some of the clergy had wished to elect the dean as archbishop, while others were for the provost; but Frederick persuaded the dean and his partisans to accept Wichmann, Bishop of Zeitz, as their candidate, and, by the power which the Worms Concordat had allowed to the sovereign in cases of disputed elections, he decided for Wichmann, and invested him with the regalia.<sup>y</sup> The provost, on this, carried a complaint to Eugenius, who, in letters to the chapter of Magdeburg and to the German bishops, ordered that Wichmann should not be acknowledged as archbishop; it is, however, remarkable that he rested his prohibition on the canons which forbade translation except for great causes (such as, he said, did not exist in this case), but did not hint that as yet the translation of bishops was a matter reserved to the Roman See.<sup>z</sup> Frederick continued firm in the assertion of his pretensions, against both Eugenius and his successor Anastasius IV. A legate whom Anastasius sent into Germany for the settlement of the question found himself

<sup>t</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 3; Gunther, i. 450-480.

<sup>u</sup> Wibald, Ep. 344; Raumer, ii. 3; Milman, iii. 411.

<sup>w</sup> Ep. ad Eugen. 23; Cf. Eugen. Ep. 504. John of Salisbury takes a strongly prejudiced view of Frederick's first

communication with the Pope. Ep. 59, Patrol. cxcix. 39.

<sup>x</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 6; Schmidt, ii. 579.

<sup>z</sup> Eugen. Epp. 522-3, or Otto Fris. ii. 8; Schmidt, ii. 580.

resisted in his assumptions, and was obliged to return without having effected anything; and Wichmann, whom Frederick soon after sent to Rome, received from Anastasius the confirmation of his election, with the archiepiscopal pall. By the result of this affair, Frederick's authority was strengthened in proportion to the loudness with which the Roman court had before declared itself resolved to abate nothing of its pretensions.<sup>a</sup>

The long absence of the emperors from Italy had encouraged the people of that country, which was continually advancing in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, in wealth and in population, to forget their allegiance to the imperial crown. The feudatories came to regard themselves as independent; the cities set up republican governments of their own, under consuls who were annually elected,<sup>b</sup> and the right of investing these magistrates was the only shadow which the bishops were allowed to retain of their ancient secular power. The cities were engaged in constant feuds with each other, and each subdued the nobles of its neighbourhood, whom the citizens in some cases even compelled to reside within the city walls for a certain portion of the year.<sup>c</sup>

Frederick was resolved to reassert the imperial rights, and applications from various quarters concurred with his own inclination in urging on him an expedition into Italy. With the Greek emperor he formed a scheme of combination against the Sicilian Normans;<sup>d</sup> and while Eugenius entreated his aid against the republican and Arnoldist faction, which the pope represented as intending to set up an emperor of its own,<sup>e</sup> another writer addressed him on the part of the Romans, assuring him that the story of Constantine's donation had now lost all credit even among the meanest of the people, and that the pope with his cardinals did not venture to appear in public.<sup>f</sup> At his first German diet, in 1152, Frederick proposed an expedition into Italy, for which he required the princes to be ready within two years; and in October, 1154, he entered Lombardy by way of Trent, at the head

<sup>a</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 10.

<sup>b</sup> The number of consuls varied from two to sixty. Murat. Antiq. iv. 49, seqq.; Savigny, iv. 116; Raumer, v. 90, 105-6.

<sup>c</sup> Frid. ap. Urstis. i. 403; Otto Fris. ii. 12; Gunther, ii. 141, seqq.; Savigny, iii. 114, seqq.; Schmidt, ii. 582-3. The Marquis of Montferrat was almost the only noble of North Italy who preserved his independence. (Otto Fris. ii.

12.) The feelings of the citizens towards such nobles are expressed by a Genoese annalist—"Mos est marchionum magis velle rapere quam juste vivere."—Murat. vi. 265.

<sup>d</sup> Wibald, Epp. 387-8 (Patrol. clxxxix.).

<sup>e</sup> Eug. Epp. 504, 524.

<sup>f</sup> This letter is from one Wetzlar, ap. Wibald. Ep. 384. His reasons against the Donation are certainly not well chosen.



of the most splendid army that had ever crossed the Alps.<sup>g</sup> A great assembly was summoned to the plains of Roncaglia, the place in which the German kings, on their way to receive the imperial crown, had been accustomed to meet their Italian subjects.<sup>h</sup> The vassals who failed to appear—among them, some ecclesiastics—were declared to have forfeited their fiefs.<sup>1</sup> The mutual complaints of the Italian cities were heard, and severe sentences were pronounced against those who were found guilty, especially against the powerful and turbulent Milanese, who had treated Frederick's admonitions with contempt, and had now added to their offences by offering to bribe him into sanctioning their tyranny over their neighbours.<sup>k</sup> Tortona, which had shown itself contumacious, was taken after a siege of two months, and destroyed;<sup>m</sup> and at Pavia the king was received with a magnificence which expressed the joy of the citizens in the humiliation of their Milanese enemies.<sup>n</sup>

In March, 1153, Frederick had entered into a compact with Eugenius, binding himself to make no alliance with the Romans or with Roger of Sicily unless with the pope's consent, and to maintain the privileges of the papacy; while the pope promised to support the power of Frederick, and to bestow on him the imperial crown, and both parties pledged themselves to make no grant of Italian territory to "the king of the Greeks."<sup>o</sup> Since the date of that compact, Eugenius had been succeeded by Anastasius IV., and Anastasius, in December, 1154, by Nicolas Breakspear, an Englishman, who took the name of Adrian IV. Breakspear, the son of a poor clerk, who had afterwards become a monk of St. Albans, is said to have been refused admission into that house on account of his insufficiency in knowledge, and was driven to seek his fortune in France, where he distinguished himself by his diligence in study at Paris, and rose to be abbot of the regular canons of St. Rufus, near Avignon. In this office

Dec., 4-9.

July, 1153.

Dec. 1154.

<sup>g</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 7, 11; Gunth. i. 634, seqq.; Raumer, ii. 12.

<sup>h</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 12; Gunth. ii. 10; Otto Morena in Murat. vi. 977.

<sup>1</sup> Gunth. ii. 14.

<sup>k</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 12-3; Otto Morena, 976-8, 980-1; Chron. Ursperg. 217-8; Gunth. ii. 232, seqq.; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 304-310; Luden, x. 173.

<sup>m</sup> Gunth. ii. 393, seqq.

<sup>n</sup> Gunth. ii. 393, seqq. It has been said that Frederick was crowned king of

the Lombards at Pavia. But the meaning of "coronatur" in Otto of Freising (ii. 20) is merely that at the festivities there he wore a crown. Mur. Ann. VI. ii. 326.

<sup>o</sup> Patrol. clxxx. 1638-9, or Pertz, Leges, ii. 92-4. The genuineness of this document has been questioned (Schröckh, xxiv. 149), but is now generally acknowledged, as to substance. See Pertz, l. c.; Gieseler, II., ii. 79 Luden, x. 324, 624.

he became unpopular with his canons, who carried their complaints against him to Eugenius III. ; and the pope at once put an end to the strife and marked his high sense of the abbot's merit by appointing him cardinal bishop of Albano.<sup>p</sup> As cardinal, he was sent on an important legation into the Scandinavian kingdoms, from which he returned during the pontificate of Anastasius ;<sup>q</sup> and now the poor English scholar, whose Saxon descent would probably have debarred him from any considerable preferment in his native land, was elected to the chair of St. Peter. "He was," says a biographer, "a man of great kindness, meekness, and patience, skilled in the English and in the Latin tongues, eloquent in speech, polished in his utterance, distinguished in singing and an eminent preacher, slow to anger, quick to forgive, a cheerful giver, bountiful in alms, and excellent in his whole character."<sup>r</sup> If, however, we may judge by his acts, it would seem that Adrian's temper was less placid than it is here represented ; and his ideas as to the papal dignity were of the loftiest Hildebrandine kind. Immediately after his election, he refused to acknowledge the republican government, and issued an order that Arnold of Brescia should be banished from Rome. To this it was answered that the pope ought to confine himself to spiritual affairs ; and the insolence of Arnold's partisans increased until it reached a height which gave the pope an advantage against it. A cardinal was attacked and mortally wounded in the street ; Adrian placed the city under an interdict ; and the severity of this sentence, which had never before been known at Rome, was the more strongly felt from its being issued in Lent, a time when the Romans had been accustomed to the pomp and the religious consolations of especially solemn services. By the absence of these the people were so intensely distressed that, in the holy week, they compelled the senators to submit to the pope, who consented to take off his censure on condition that Arnold should be driven out.<sup>s</sup> On this Arnold fled from the city, and, after having wandered for a time, found a refuge among the nobles of the Campagna, by whom he was regarded as a prophet. But Frederick, as he advanced towards Rome with a rapidity which excited Adrian's suspicions, was met by three cardinals, who in the pope's name requested that he would

<sup>p</sup> Will. Neubrig. i. 6 ; Matt. Paris, Vitæ Abbatum, p. 66. These authors do not entirely agree as to the cause of his leaving England. As to St. Rufus, see vol. ii. 774.

<sup>q</sup> Card. Aragon in Patrol. clxxxix. 1351 ; Baron. 1148, 40. See below, c. xi. sect. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Card. Arag. l. c. 1352.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.



take measures against an incendiary so dangerous to the crown as well as to the church; and in consequence of the king's demand Arnold was surrendered by those who sheltered him. Frederick delivered him up to the pope, and under the authority of the prefect of Rome, he was hanged, after which his body was burnt, his ashes being thrown into the Tiber, lest they should be venerated as relics by the multitudes who had followed him.<sup>t</sup> "Bad as his doctrine was," says Gerhoh of Reichersperg, "I wish that he had been punished with imprisonment, or exile, or with some other penalty short of death, or at least that he had been put to death in such a manner as might have saved the Roman Church from question."<sup>u</sup>

The negotiations which Adrian had opened through his cardinals were satisfactorily settled by Frederick's swearing that his intentions were friendly to the pope, and receiving in turn a promise of the imperial crown.<sup>y</sup> Having thus assured himself, Adrian ventured into the camp at Nepi, where he was received with great honour; but, although Frederick <sup>June 9,</sup> threw himself at his feet, the pope took offence at the <sup>1155.</sup> king's omitting to hold his stirrup—an act of homage which, although the first example of it had been given little more than half a century before, by Conrad, the rebellious son of Henry IV.,<sup>z</sup> was already deduced by the papal party from Constantine the Great, who was said to have performed it to Pope Sylvester.<sup>a</sup> He declared that he would not give the kiss of peace, unless he received the same honour which his predecessors had always received, while Frederick declared that the omission was purely the effect of ignorance, but that he must consult his nobles on the subject. The cardinals in alarm withdrew to Civita Castellana, and a long discussion was carried on, which was at length

<sup>t</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 20; Annal. Palid. ap. Pertz, xvi. 89; Gerhoh. de Investig. Antichristi, quoted by Gieseler, II., ii. 70; Gunther, iii. 344-8; Auctar. Sigeb. Afflighem., Patrol. clx., 288; Card. Arag., ib. clxxxviii. 1353; Gibbon, v. 339; Francke's 'Arnold v. Brescia,' 192, seqq.; Milman, iii. 413. Sismondi's romantic account of Arnold's death (Rép. Ital. ii. 316), although followed by Raumer (ii. 24), is chiefly drawn from imagination. See Niccolini's 'Arnaldo,' 364; Milman, iii. 413; Gregorov. iv. 509.

<sup>u</sup> Ap. Giesel. I. c. (The treatise is not in the Patrologia.).

<sup>y</sup> Card. Arag. 1353.

<sup>z</sup> See vol. ii. p. 676 (628); Luden, xi. 635.

<sup>a</sup> Gerhoh. Syntagma, 24 (Patrol. exciv. 1469); Eckhart. Schonaug., ib. cxcv. 22; see Vittorelli, in Ciaccon. i. 1061. The Donation of Constantine represented him as having performed the "office of a groom" to Sylvester (Patrol. lxxiii. 524). Pepin in 754 had set the example of leading the pope's horse (vol. ii. p. 126=117), and from this the forger of the Donation probably took a hint (Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln' 65); but Conrad seems to have been the first who extended the "officium stratoris" to holding the stirrup.

settled by the evidence of some Germans who had accompanied the emperor Lothair to Rome ; and, as this evidence was in the pope's favour, Frederick next day submitted to do the service which was required, although it would seem that in the performance he intentionally gave it the character of a jest.<sup>b</sup> Having overcome this difficulty, the king proceeded onwards in company with the pope, who strongly represented to him the disorders of Rome, and endeavoured to draw him into an expedition against the Sicilians, with a view to recovering Apulia for the apostolic see.<sup>c</sup> Frederick contrived to defer the consideration of this proposal ; but it may be supposed that the pope's representations had some share in producing the reception which the king gave to a deputation from the citizens, which waited on him near Sutri. After listening for a time to the bombastic oration which one of the envoys addressed to him in the name of Rome, dwelling on her glories, and endeavouring to make terms for the Romans in exchange for their consent to the imperial coronation, the king indignantly cut him short—"These," he said, pointing to his German nobles and soldiers, "are the true Latins—the consuls, the senators, the knights. The glory of Rome and the Romans has been transferred to the Franks. Our power has not been conferred by you, as you pretend, but has been won by victory. Your native tyrants, such as Desiderius and Berengar, have been overcome by my predecessors, and died as captives and slaves in foreign lands. It is not for subjects to prescribe laws to their sovereign. It is not for a prince at the head of a powerful army, but for captives, to pay money ; I will submit to no conditions of your making."<sup>d</sup>

On reaching Rome, Frederick took possession of the Leonine suburb, while the bridge of St. Angelo, the only means of communication with the opposite bank, was guarded by his soldiery ; and on the 18th of June he was crowned by Adrian in St. Peter's amid the loud acclamations of the Germans.<sup>e</sup> But after the ceremony, while the troops had withdrawn from the oppressive heat of the day, and were refreshing themselves in their tents, a body of Romans sallied across the bridge, attacking such of the

<sup>b</sup> Card. Arag. 1354-5; Otto Fris. ii. 20; Helmold, i. 80 (in Liebnit. Script. Rer. Brunsv.); Schmidt, ii. 587; Luden, xi. 370, 635. Helmold says that the offence consisted in Frederick's holding the left stirrup, instead of the right.

<sup>c</sup> Helmold, l. c.; Otto Fris. ii. 21;

Gunther, iii. 242, seqq., 590, seqq.

<sup>d</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 20-1; Gunth. iii. 360-581; Helmold, i. 79; Gibbon, v. 348-350.

<sup>e</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 22; Gunth. iv. init.; Card. Arag. 1355.



Germans as they found in the streets or in the churches, and appeared to have a design of seizing the pope. The noise of this irruption penetrated to the emperor's camp, and Frederick immediately ordered his troops to arms. A fierce conflict raged from four in the afternoon till nightfall; the assailants were driven back as far as the Forum; the Tiber ran with blood, and it is said, that a thousand of the Romans were slain, and two hundred taken prisoners, while only one of the imperialists was killed and one taken. At the pope's intercession the captives were given up to the prefect of the city; and on St. Peter's day Adrian pronounced the absolution of all who had taken part in the late slaughter.<sup>f</sup> Frederick was soon after compelled by the pestilential air of the Roman summer to withdraw from the neighbourhood of the city. The time for which his troops were bound to serve was also drawing towards an end. He therefore retired beyond the Alps—on the way taking and destroying Spoleto, the inhabitants of which had provoked him by their insolence.<sup>g</sup> At Christmas 1155-6, a diet was held at Worms, where Arnold, archbishop of Mentz, Hermann, Count Palatine, and others were brought to trial for disturbing the peace of Germany during the emperor's absence. The archbishop was spared in consideration of his age and profession; but the Count Palatine and ten of his partisans were sentenced to the ignominious punishment of "carrying the dog."<sup>h</sup>

Frederick's attention was soon again demanded by the affairs of Italy. William "the Bad," the son and successor of Roger of Sicily, had in 1155 refused to enter into a treaty with the pope, or to admit his ambassadors to an interview, because Adrian, by way of claiming him as a vassal, had styled him not *King*, but *Lord*. He besieged the pope in Benevento, laid waste the surrounding territory, and was denounced <sup>A.D. 1156.</sup> excommunicate. This sentence was not without its effect on the minds of William's allies, and, in addition to the fear that these might desert him, the dread of a combination between the Greek emperor and the pope inclined him further to peace. His first overtures were refused, but Adrian, after

<sup>f</sup> Frid. ap. Urstis. i. 404; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1155 (Pertz, xvii.); Vincent. Prag. ib. 665; Otto Fris. ii. 22; Gunth. iv. 73-123, 158-176; Card. Arag. 1355; Helmold, i. 80.

<sup>g</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 23; Gunth. iv. 179, seqq.; Card. Arag. 1356; Helmold, i. 81; O. Morena, 989.

<sup>h</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 28. See as to the "Ritus canem ferendi," Hoffman, Lexicon Univ., i. 681; Ducange, ii. 96; Grimm, 'Rechtsalterthümer,' 715. It was commonly inflicted as a degradation on nobles condemned to death for such crimes as robbery or arson.

having seen his own troops and allies defeated, was fain to sue in his turn, and received the most favourable terms. The king fell at his feet, and, on swearing fealty to the Roman see, was invested by Adrian with the kingdom of Sicily and the Italian territories of the Normans (including some which the popes had never before affected to dispose of); while, in consideration of this, he promised to aid the pope against all enemies, and to pay a yearly tribute for Apulia, Calabria, and his other continental dominions.<sup>1</sup> Frederick, who had been exerting himself with energy and success to reduce Germany to tranquillity, was greatly displeased that the pope had without his concurrence entered into an alliance with the Sicilians—an alliance, moreover, which involved the disallowance of the imperial claims to suzerainty over Apulia. He signified his displeasure to Adrian, who on his side was dissatisfied on account of the emperor's having divorced his wife under pretext of consanguinity, and having entered into another marriage, which was recommended to him by political considerations.<sup>k</sup> At a diet at Würzburg, in 1157, a fresh expedition into Italy was resolved on, but it was delayed by the necessity of attending to the affairs of Poland, and in the mean time an incident took place which led to a violent collision between the pope and the emperor.<sup>m</sup>

Eskil, archbishop of Lund, in that part of modern Sweden which was then subject to Denmark,<sup>n</sup> in returning from a visit to Rome, had been attacked, plundered, and imprisoned with a view to the exaction of ransom, by some robber knights in the neighbourhood of Thionville.<sup>o</sup> No notice had been taken of this by Frederick, to whom Eskil had probably given offence by his exertions to render the Danish church independent of the metropolitans of Bremen and Hamburg.<sup>p</sup> But Adrian, on hearing of it, addressed to the emperor a letter of indignant remonstrance against the apathy with which he had regarded an outrage injurious to the empire as well as to the Church—reminding Frederick of his having conferred the imperial crown on him,

<sup>1</sup> Adrian, Ep. 102 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Will. Tyr. xviii. 7-8 (ib. cci.); Otto Fris. ii. 29; Card. Arag. 1353-7; Baronius, xix. p. 99; Giannone, ii. 444-5; Gibbon, vi. 363-5; Gregorov. iv. 516.

<sup>k</sup> Reuter, i. 23. See Innoc. III. in Patrol. ccxiv. 1015.

<sup>m</sup> Otto Fris. ii. 30-1; Radevic. i. 1-5; Luden, x. 449; Raumer, ii. 36, 49.

<sup>n</sup> Eskil, a very active, political, and splendid prelate, figures largely in North-

ern history. See Saxo Grammaticus, l. xiv.; Münter, ii. 285, seqq.; and c. xi., below. He afterwards resigned his see, went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and died a monk at Clairvaux (Saxo, pp. 355-6; Petr. Cellens. Ep. 108, Patrol. ccii.). Pseudo-Gunther (vi. 26), and Baronius (1157-8), confound Lund with London.

<sup>o</sup> Otto de S. Blas. 8.

<sup>p</sup> Münter, ii. 313; Dahlmann, i. 276.



and adding that, if it had been in his power, he would have bestowed on him yet greater favours.<sup>q</sup> The letter was presented to the emperor by two cardinals at a great assembly at Besançon, where it was read aloud, and was interpreted by the chancellor Reginald of Dassel, (who soon after Oct. 1157. became archbishop of Cologne).<sup>r</sup> But the word *beneficia*, which the pope had used to signify favours or benefits, was unluckily misunderstood by the Germans as if it had the feudal sense of benefices or fiefs.<sup>s</sup> The Pope was supposed to have represented the empire as a fief of the papacy; and it was remembered that Frederick, at his first visit to Rome, had been offended by a picture which, with its inscription, represented Lothair as receiving his crown from the pope's gift, and as performing homage for it.<sup>t</sup> A loud uproar arose at the supposed insolence of the Italian pontiff, and the general feeling was still further exasperated when Cardinal Roland dared to ask "From whom, then, does the emperor hold his crown, if not from the pope?" The palsgrave, Otho of Wittelsbach, who carried the naked sword of state, was with difficulty prevented by the emperor from cleaving the audacious ecclesiastic's head with it.<sup>u</sup> "If we were not in a church," said Frederick himself, "they should know how the swords of the Germans cut."<sup>x</sup> He burst forth into violent reproaches against the legates and their master; they were abruptly and ignominiously dismissed, and were charged to return home at once, without staying more than one night in any place of the imperial dominions, or burdening bishops or

<sup>q</sup> Adr. Ep. 143; or Radevic. ii. 9.

<sup>r</sup> Radev. ii. 10. Reginald was elected in 1159, his predecessor having died at Pavia in 1158. Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 770.

<sup>s</sup> Adrian, Ep. 148; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1157, where one copy says that the Germans took the word "pro feudo," and another, that they took it "usualiter." See Luden, xi. 452; Reuter, i. 26.

<sup>t</sup> "Rex venit ante fores, Jurans prius urbis honores,  
Post, homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam."—Radevic. ii. 10.

Adrian had promised to destroy the picture, but had not kept his promise (ib.; Gunther, vi. 291). From the pope's bestowing the imperial crown, which had been allowed since the time of Charles the Bald (see vol. ii., p. 348 = 326; Luden, xi. 452), the Italians had come to suppose the empire a fief of the papacy (see Baron. 1157. 5-7);

while the Germans, entangled in their feudal notions, could only meet this by denying that it was given by the pope. In the picture, the relation which Lothair had entered into with regard to Countess Matilda's inheritance was transferred to the empire (Gieseler, II., ii. 81). Gerhoh of Reichersperg, although devoted to the papacy, declares strongly against such pictures (De Investig. Antichristi, quoted by Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 86). John of Salisbury speaks of paintings in the Lateran palace, setting forth the glories of the Roman see, (Ep. 59, col. 39 C); and the reader need hardly be told how the genius of Raphael was in later times employed in the Vatican for the same purpose, or how large a proportion of the chief scenes which he and his associates have represented is altogether fabulous.

<sup>u</sup> Otto de S. Blas. 8.

<sup>x</sup> Innoc. III. in Patrol. cexvi. 1029.

monasteries by their exactions.<sup>y</sup> Frederick, whose exasperation was increased by some strong rebukes which Adrian had addressed to him on account of his divorce and second marriage,<sup>z</sup> forthwith addressed to his subjects a letter, in which he protested that he would rather hazard his life than admit the pope's insolent assumptions; that he held his kingdom and the empire by the choice of the princes, and under God alone, agreeably to our Lord's saying, that two swords are necessary for the government of the world.<sup>a</sup> Orders were issued that no German ecclesiastic should go to Rome without the imperial license, and the passes into Italy were guarded in order to prevent all communication.<sup>b</sup>

On hearing from his legates of the indignities to which they  
 Dec. 30, had been subjected, the pope wrote to the German  
 1157. bishops, urging them to bring the emperor to a better mind, and to persuade him to exact from archbishop Reginald and the palsgrave signal and public atonement for their "blasphemies" against the Roman Church.<sup>c</sup> But on this occasion the German prelates preferred their national to their hierarchical allegiance. They told the pope that they had admonished the emperor, and had received from him "such an answer as became a catholic prince," declaring his firm resolution, while paying all due reverence to the pope, to admit no encroachment by the Church on the empire; and they entreated Adrian to soothe the high spirit of their sovereign.<sup>d</sup> The pope began to be alarmed, and, at the instance of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, he despatched two envoys of a more politic character than the last, with a letter of explanation composed in a moderate and conciliatory style. The word *beneficium*, he  
 Jan. 29, 1158. said, meant, not a fief, but simply a good deed (*bonum factum*), and surely the emperor would admit that to crown him was such a deed; and by *conferring* the crown nothing more had been meant than the act of placing it on Frederick's head.<sup>e</sup> The letter was delivered at Augsburg, and was well received; and the picture which had given offence at Rome was removed, although it would seem that it was not destroyed.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>y</sup> O. Sanblas, l. c.; Adrian, Ep. 148.

<sup>z</sup> Some writers say that the Pope went so far as to excommunicate him on this account. See Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1156, 1158; Chron. Afflighem. 1156; Joh. Yperius, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 648; Raumer, ii. 50.

<sup>a</sup> Radev. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Adr. Ep. 148.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 148; Radev. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Radev. 16, or Ep. 1, ad Adr. (Patrol. clxxxviii. 1641); Gunther, vi. 569, seqq.

<sup>e</sup> Ep. 181; Rad. i. 16; Otto Sanblas. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Radev. i. 22-3; Gunther, vii. 119, seqq. Schröckh is mistaken in saying



At length the projected expedition was ready, and Frederick, having settled the affairs of Germany, Hungary, and Poland, crossed the Alps in July 1158, at the head of a force composed of many nations, and which is reckoned at 100,000 infantry and 15,000 horse.<sup>g</sup> Milan and other insubordinate cities were compelled to surrender, and felt his severity, while the enmity of the Italian towns against each other was shown in acts of cruelty committed by the imperialists, which excited the astonishment of the Germans.<sup>h</sup> Milan was deprived of its regalia, and was required to submit the choice of its consuls to the emperor for confirmation.<sup>i</sup> At Martinmas, a great assembly was held in the Roncaglian plains, where a city of tents was erected, the Germans and Italians encamping on the opposite banks of the Po.<sup>k</sup> As the extent of the imperial powers in Italy had been hitherto undefined, Frederick, in an address to his assembled subjects, declared himself resolved that it should now be duly ascertained and determined, professing that he would rather govern by law than by his own caprice; and the matter was committed to four eminent professors of Bologna, together with twenty-eight judges of the Lombard cities. Filled with the lofty notions of the imperial dignity which had lately been produced by the revived study of ancient Roman law, these authorities declared that the emperor possessed autocratic power, and was entitled to exact a capitation from all his subjects.<sup>l</sup> The rights of the Italian cities to the possession of regalia were investigated, and those for which no authority could be shown were confiscated;<sup>m</sup> a general tribute was imposed; and by these measures a revenue of 30,000 pounds of silver was added to the imperial treasury.<sup>n</sup> A few cities were allowed by special favour to retain their consuls, who were to be appointed with the emperor's consent; but the ordinary system of government was to be by officers bearing the title of *podestà*, who were to be nominated by the emperor, and were always to be chosen from among strangers to the place

(xxvi. 174) that Rasponi describes the picture as existing in 1656. See his book 'De Basilica, &c., Lateranensi,' pp. 193, 296-7.

<sup>g</sup> Radevic, i. 13, 25; Raumer, ii. 62.

<sup>h</sup> Radev. i. 39; Gunther, viii. 57-70; Otto Morena, 1011-5; Vincent. Praegens. in Pertz, xvii. 659-674.

<sup>i</sup> Radev. i. 41-2.

<sup>k</sup> Radev. i. 46; Gunther, viii. 403, seqq.

<sup>l</sup> Radev. ii. 3-5; O. Morena, 1017-8; Otto Sanblas. 14; Pertz, Leges, ii. 110-1; Gunth. viii. 475, seqq.; Luden, x. 504-6; Acerb. Morena, 1113. On the Four Bolognese Doctors (Bulgarus, Martin Gosia, &c.), see Savigny, iv., who thinks it a mistake to regard them as pupils of Irnerius (67); see also ch. xiii. sect. iv., below.

<sup>m</sup> Radev. ii. 5; Savigny, iv. 157.

<sup>n</sup> Radev. ii. 5; Gunth. viii. 585.

over which they were appointed.<sup>o</sup> Measures were also taken to bind the cities to mutual peace, to prevent them from combining into parties, and to suppress the private wars of the nobles.<sup>p</sup>

On hearing of these proceedings, Adrian was greatly excited. The idea of the imperial prerogative which had been sanctioned at Roncaglia conflicted with the Hildebrandine pretensions of the papacy. The resumption of regalia which had been held not only by cities and by nobles, but by bishops and abbots—the imposition of a tribute from which ecclesiastics were not exempted—the investiture of Frederick's uncle, Welf VI. of Bavaria, in the inheritance of the Countess Matilda—were circumstances which might well produce alarm and irritation in the pope's mind;<sup>q</sup> “it seemed to him,” says a writer of later date, “as if all that the emperor gained were taken from himself.”<sup>r</sup> While engaged in settling the quarrels of the Lombard cities, Frederick received from the pope a letter peremptorily forbidding him to arbitrate in a difference between Bergamo and Brescia; and instead of being committed, as was usual, to an envoy of honourable station, this letter was delivered by a man of mean and ragged appearance, who immediately disappeared.<sup>s</sup> About the same time, Adrian gave additional provocation to the emperor by refusing to allow the promotion of Guy of Blandrata to the see of Ravenna, on the evidently trifling ground that he could not be spared from Rome, where he was a subdeacon of the Church.<sup>t</sup> Indignant at these slights, the emperor ordered his secretaries, in addressing the pope, to use the singular instead of the plural number, and to reverse the custom, which had prevailed since the time of Nicholas I., of placing the pope's name before that of the sovereign in the heading of the letters.<sup>u</sup> These changes drew forth a strong remonstrance from Adrian, who declared them to be a breach of the commandment that we should honour our parents, and of the fealty which Frederick had sworn to the see of St. Peter; and he further complained that the emperor exacted homage as well

<sup>o</sup> Vincent. Prag. in Pertz, xvii. 675; Murat. Antiq. Ital. iv. 64, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 344-5; Radev. ii. 5; Hallam, M. A. i. 235, 259; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. ii. 340-2; Raumer, v. 79, 110. The name had been used to designate magistrates in classical days—

“An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas.”  
—*Juvenal*, x. 100.

<sup>p</sup> Radev. i. 7; Sismondi, R. I., 342; Luden, x. 509.

<sup>q</sup> Radev. ii. 14; Gunther, viii. 65, seqq.

<sup>r</sup> Gunther, viii. 107-8.

<sup>s</sup> Radev. ii. 15, 19.

<sup>t</sup> Radev. ii. 15-7; Adrian, Ep. 197 (Nov. 24, 1158); Ep. ad Adr. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Radev. ii. 18.



as fealty from bishops, that he took their consecrated hands between his own hands, that he closed not only the churches, but the cities of his dominions against the legates of the apostolic see.<sup>x</sup> An embassy was also sent to demand redress of the alleged encroachments on the papacy—that the emperor sent messengers to Rome without the knowledge of the pope, to whom all power in the city belonged; that his envoys claimed entertainment in the palaces of bishops; that he exacted the allowance known by the name of *fodrum* from the pope's subjects on other expeditions besides that on which it was admitted to be lawful—the expedition to receive the imperial crown; that he detained Matilda's inheritance, and other territories which rightfully belonged to the apostolic see.<sup>y</sup> To these complaints Frederick replied that he had been driven by the pope's new assumptions to fall back on the older forms in writing to him; that he had no wish for the homage of bishops, unless they cared to retain the regalia which they had received from the crown; that the palaces of bishops stood on imperial ground, and, therefore, his ambassadors were entitled to enter them; that if he shut out cardinals from churches and from cities, it was because they were false to their profession, and were intent only on plunder; that, if the pope were sovereign of Rome, the imperial title was a mockery: and he inveighed in strong terms against the pride and rapacity of the Roman court.<sup>z</sup>

The exasperation of both parties rose higher and higher. A proposal of Frederick, that the matters in dispute should be left to the decision of six cardinals to be named by the pope, and six German bishops to be chosen by himself, was rejected by Adrian, on the ground that the pope could be judged by no man.<sup>a</sup> The emperor, indignant at the discovery of letters exhorting the Lombard cities to revolt,<sup>b</sup> received favourably a fresh embassy from the Roman senate and people, and entered into negotiations with them.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Adrian, Ep. 254, June 24, 1159.

<sup>y</sup> Eberh. Bamberg. ap. Radev. ii. 30; Gunther, ix. 280, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> Radev. ii. 18-20, 30; Frid. ap. Urstis. i. 563.

<sup>a</sup> Radev. ii. 31; Gunth. ix. 310, seqq.

<sup>b</sup> Radev. ii. 18.

<sup>c</sup> Radev. ii. 41; Helmold. i. 79. There is a letter purporting to have been addressed by Adrian, on March 18, to Hillin, Archbishop of Treves, in which the superiority of the ecclesiastical to

the secular power is asserted in extravagant terms, and (with some confusion between Popes Zacharias and Leo III.) a second transference of the empire is threatened (Ep. 258; Cf. Hahn, 'Collectio Monumentorum,' i. 122). But this and two similar letters are considered to be mere school exercises of some mediæval writer. Jaffé, 950; Hefele, v. 489, seqq. See Schröckh, xxvi. 180; Milman, iii. 425.

A rupture of the most violent kind between the papacy and the empire appeared to be inevitable, when, on the 1st of September, 1159, Adrian died at Anagni.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> The Auersperg Chronicle says that he had excommunicated Frederick a few days before (221); but that this is a mistake appears from Radevic, ii. 52. The Cologne Annalist tells us that he died on the night after having held a consultation as to excommunicating the emperor (Pertz, xvii. 767). John of Salisbury had been very intimate with Adrian, and reports a remarkable conversation with him on the corruptions of

the Roman court (Polycrat. vi. 24). Five years after his death, John writes of him as "Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amator Adrianus, cujus mater apud vos algore torquetur et inedia." (Ep. 134, Patrol. excix. 114.) But, although this is addressed to Abp. Becket, "apud vos" seems to mean *in England* rather than (as some have understood it to mean) *at Canterbury*.



## CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER III.

A.D. 1159-1181.

THE higher clergy of Rome had, during the late pontificate, been divided into two parties, of which one adhered to the imperial, and the other to the Sicilian interest;<sup>a</sup> and at the death of Adrian a collision took place between these parties. The cardinals of the Sicilian faction elected Roland Bandinelli or Paparo,<sup>b</sup> cardinal of St. Mark, and chancellor of the Roman see—the same who had defied Frederick at Besançon; while the imperialists set up Cardinal Octavian, of St. Cecilia, who is said to have been at one time excommunicated by the late pope, but had since rendered important services to the emperor.<sup>c</sup> That Roland, although unsupported by the lower clergy, by the nobles, or by the people, had the majority of the cardinals with him, is allowed by the opposite party; but while these represent their own strength to have been nine against fourteen, the adherents of Roland claim for him all but three.<sup>d</sup> The partisans of Octavian (who styled himself Victor IV.) assert that, after the death of Adrian, the cardinals agreed at Anagni that no one should be declared pope except with the unanimous consent of the whole college; but that, on removing to Rome for the late pope's funeral, the Sicilian party, trusting in their superior numbers, resolved to set this compact aside, and to elect from among themselves a pope hostile to the emperor; that they themselves proposed Octavian, as a man of religious character, who would study to promote the good of

<sup>a</sup> Albert. Stadensis, ap. Pertz, xvi. 344.

<sup>b</sup> On his name see Ciacon. i. 1044, 1072.

<sup>c</sup> Card. Aragon. Vita Adriani (Patrol. clxxxviii. 1354); Niccolini, Arnaldo da Brescia, 323-4. But Otho of Freising says nothing of his alleged disgrace (ii. 21). On his character, see Gregorov. iv. 529. Perhaps Bernard,

bishop of Porto, was also at first a candidate, but soon set aside. Reuter, i. 492.

<sup>d</sup> Compare, on Octavian's side, Radevic, ii. 50, 52; on the other, Alex. III. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cc.); Card. Arag. ib. col. 12; Radev. ii. 53; Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 59 (Patrol. cxcix. 41). See too, Reuter, i. 487-492; Gregorov. iv. 530-2.

the Church, and its agreement with the empire; that the Sicilian faction cried out for Roland, and were about to invest him with the papal mantle, but that, while he strove to avoid it, the act was prevented, and Octavian was solemnly invested and enthroned in St. Peter's chair; whereupon Roland and his partisans withdrew without making any protest, and shut themselves up in the fortress of St. Peter.<sup>e</sup> According to the other party, Roland (who assumed the name of Alexander III.), had been duly invested with the mantle, when Octavian plucked it from his shoulders, and, after a struggle, huddled it on himself with the assistance of two clerks—but so awkwardly, that the back part appeared in front,<sup>f</sup> and that thereupon his partisans, rushing in with swords in their hands, drove out Alexander and his supporters. It is remarkable how much the formality as to the mantle is insisted on by the same party which, in the earlier schism between Innocent and Anacletus, had been careful to avoid all questions of form, and to rest its candidate's claims on his character alone;<sup>g</sup> and, in the present case, the representations which are given by friends and by enemies as to the characters of the rivals are utterly irreconcilable.<sup>h</sup>

After having been kept as a prisoner beyond the Tiber for eleven days, by some senators in Victor's interest, Alexander and his cardinals were delivered by the Frangipani faction, and passed through the city—in triumphant procession, as they assert, while they tell us that the antipope, on appearing in the streets of Rome, was jeered and hooted by women and boys.<sup>1</sup>

On the 18th of September, Alexander was invested with the mantle at Cisterna—a name from which his opponents took occasion for sneers as to “cisterns that could hold no water;”<sup>k</sup> and on the following Sunday he was consecrated

by the cardinal of Ostia, at Ninfa.<sup>m</sup> The rival pope Sept. 20. had also been compelled to leave Rome, and his consecration was performed at Farfa, on the 4th of October, by the Cardinal of Tusculum, and two other bishops, whom Alex-

<sup>e</sup> Radev. ii. 52, 66.

<sup>f</sup> Alex. Ep. 1, Patol. cc.; Card. Arag. ib. 13; Letter of Cardinals, ib. 63; Gerhoh. Ep. 22 (ib. exciii.).

<sup>g</sup> See p. 5.

<sup>h</sup> E. g. Joh. Saresb. Ep. 59, col. 41. D; Chron. Palith. ap. Pertz, xvi. 91, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Alex. Ep. 1; Card. Arag., in Patr. cc. 13-4.

<sup>k</sup> Radev. ii. 50, 52, 66.

<sup>m</sup> The description of Ninfa—“ein reizendes Pompeiides Christenthums,”—in Gregorovius, iv. 528, excites a wish to visit that little-known place.



ander's friends describe as banished from their sees.<sup>n</sup> Victor was supported in his pretensions by the imperial commissioners, Otto of Wittelsbach and Guy of Blandrata, and, while Alexander's partisans complained of this, his rival appealed to the emperor for a decision.<sup>o</sup>

Frederick, on attempting to carry out the decrees of the Roncaglian assembly, had met with an obstinate resistance. In many cities, the podestàs appointed by him had been turned out by the people; at Milan, admittance was denied to them, although the Milanese had advised at Roncaglia that such magistrates should be appointed for the Italian cities, and the imperial chancellor, Reginald, archbishop elect of Cologne, was grossly insulted and driven from the city.<sup>p</sup> Sieges and other military operations were carried on with fierce exasperation on both sides, and the imperialists reduced the country around Milan to a desert.<sup>q</sup> It was while engaged in the siege of Crema,<sup>r</sup> that Frederick received the letter by which Alexander announced his election; and such was his indignation at the contents that he tossed it from him, refused to make any answer, and was with difficulty restrained from hanging the bearers of it.<sup>s</sup> After advising with his bishops and his lawyers, he resolved to submit the question of the papacy to a council; and the rival claimants were summoned to appear before it.<sup>t</sup> By writers of Alexander's party, it is asserted, that while Frederick continued to address him as Chancellor Roland, Octavian was already acknowledged in the imperial letters as pope;<sup>u</sup> but this seems very questionable.<sup>x</sup>

The council which had been originally summoned to meet in October, but had been delayed until after the fall of Crema,<sup>y</sup> assembled at Pavia in February, 1160.<sup>z</sup> The emperor had invited the kings of France, England, Hungary, Spain, and other countries to send bishops as representatives of their churches;<sup>a</sup> but the prelates who appeared, about fifty in

<sup>n</sup> Letter of Alexander's Cardinals, Patrol. cc. 63-4; Radev. ii. 50; see Pertz, Leg. ii. 126.

<sup>o</sup> Alex. Ep. 19; Radev. ii. 53; Letter of Cardinals, Patrol. cc. 64; Card. Arag., ib. 15.

<sup>p</sup> Radev. ii. 21; O. Sanblas. 14; Vincent. Prag. 676.

<sup>q</sup> Radev. ii. 33; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 345-362.

<sup>r</sup> Radev. ii. 40, seqq.; Otto Morena,

in Muratori, vi. 1032, seqq.; Vincent. Prag. 677-8.

<sup>s</sup> Card. Arag. 15.

<sup>t</sup> Radev. ii. 54, 56.

<sup>u</sup> Cardinals, in Patrol. cc. 64; Card. Arag., ib. 15; Joh. Saresb., Ep. 59, col. 39.

<sup>x</sup> Schröckh, xxvi. 191.

<sup>y</sup> Jan. 27, 1160; O. Morena, 1051.

<sup>z</sup> Radev. ii. 60-2.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. 55; O. Sanblas. 14.

number, were almost all from his own German and Lombard dominions.<sup>b</sup> Alexander, although a homeless fugitive from his city, had refused in the loftiest style of papal dignity to attend, asserting that, as lawful pope, he could be judged by no man; that Frederick, by calling a council without his sanction, and by citing him to it as a subject, had violated the rights of the Holy See. A second and a third summons were addressed to him, but met with the same disregard as the first.<sup>c</sup>

At the opening of the council, the Emperor appeared, and, after a speech in which he asserted his right to convoke such assemblies, agreeably to the examples of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and Charlemagne, declared that he left the decision of the disputed election to the bishops, as being the persons to whom God had given authority in such matters.<sup>d</sup> An objection was raised by the Lombard prelates against proceeding in the absence of Alexander; but this was overruled by their German brethren, who pleaded the length and the cost of their own journeys to attend the council, and said that, as Roland's absence was wilful, he must bear the consequences of it.<sup>e</sup> The question was therefore debated,<sup>f</sup> and at the end of seven days, the council pronounced in favour of Victor, who thereupon received the homage of all who were present, the emperor holding his stirrup, leading his horse by the rein, and showing him all other usual marks of reverence.<sup>g</sup> Victor renewed an excommunication which he had pronounced against Alexander, to which Alexander replied by a counter-excommunication;<sup>h</sup> and while the emperor declared that the meeting at Pavia had been a full and legitimate council of the Church, Alexander and his party spoke of it as a mere secular court. They dwelt on the small number of the bishops who had attended; on the intimidation which was said to have been practised, but which had been unable to prevent some show of dissent from the decrees; on the refusal of the English and French envoys to commit themselves to the decision; and they asserted that the antipope had abased himself by the unexampled humilia-

<sup>b</sup> O. Morena, 1059; Radev. i. 72. See Luden, xi. 25, and notes.

<sup>c</sup> Radev. ii. 55, 70, 71; O. Morena, 1057; Card. Arag. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Radev. ii. 63-5.

<sup>e</sup> Vinc. Prag. 679; Raumer, ii. 88.

<sup>f</sup> See Reuter, i. 115.

<sup>g</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 125-7; Vinc. Prag. 679; Radev. ii. 65-70; Otto Morena, 1057-9; Chron. Allersbach. in Canis. III. ii. 260; Martene, Thesaur. i. 447.

<sup>h</sup> Radev. ii. 72.



tion of stripping off his insignia in the emperor's presence, and receiving investiture by the ring.<sup>1</sup>

Although the partisans of Victor professed at the council of Pavia to have the support of England, Spain, Hungary, Denmark, Bohemia, and other countries,<sup>k</sup> Alexander was soon acknowledged almost everywhere except in the empire. The kings of France and of England, with their bishops, after a separate recognition of his title in each country, combined to acknowledge him at a council at Toulouse, to which Alexander, being assured of his ground, had condescended to send representatives to confront those of his rival.<sup>m</sup> The Lombard cities, engaged in a deadly struggle with the emperor, were Alexander's natural allies. The strength of the great monastic orders was with him, although for a time the Cluniacs held with his opponent.<sup>n</sup> By means of envoys, he was able to win the favour of the Byzantine court;<sup>o</sup> the Latins of the East, in a council at Nazareth, agreed to acknowledge him, and to anathematize the antipope;<sup>p</sup> and Spain, Denmark, and others of the less important kingdoms, gradually adhered to the prevailing side.<sup>q</sup> Each party employed against the other all the weapons which it could command; the rival popes issued mutual anathemas; Alexander released the emperor's subjects from their allegiance, while Frederick ejected bishops of Alexander's party, and banished the Cistercians from the empire for their adhesion to him.<sup>r</sup> In Alexander, the hierarchical party had found a chief thoroughly fitted to advance its interests. While holding the highest views of the Hildebrandine school, the means which he employed in their service were very different from those of Hildebrand. He was especially skilful

<sup>1</sup> Alex. Ep. 19; Radev. ii. 71; Cardinals, in Patrol. cc. 65; Fastredus, Ep. ad Alex. 4 (ibid.); Vita Eberhardi Salzburg., in Canis. III., ii. 302; Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 59, col. 39 B; Gerhoh. in Ps. cxxxiii., Patrol. exciv. 893 C. Victor, in a letter written from Pavia, and published in Liverani's 'Spicilegium' (Florent. 1864), charges Alexander and his partisans with having conspired to elect a pope while Adrian was still alive (763-6). Compare the letter of Victor's partisans in the council, which is given most fully by Browne, 'Fascic. Rerum Exp. et Fugienti.' i. 552.

<sup>k</sup> Radev. ii. 70; Pertz, Leges, ii. 127, 129.

<sup>m</sup> Hardouin, VI., ii. 1585-8; Will. Neubrig. i. 108; Henr. ad Alex. Ep. 26 (Patrol. cc.); Fastredus, ib. Ep. 4; Joh.

Sarisb. Epp. 44, 48, 59, fin., 63-5; Alex. Ep. 29; Reuter, i. 166-9. Louis appears to have been decided in favour of Alexander by the English King. Pet. Bles. Ep. 144. (Patrol. ccvi.).

<sup>n</sup> See Alex. Epp. 40-1, 59; Gilb. Foliot, Ep. 479 (Patrol. exc.).

<sup>o</sup> Card. Arag. in Patrol. cc. 18; letter of Manuel to Louis, in Bouquet, xvi. 82.

<sup>p</sup> Alex. Ep. 31; Ep. 3 ad Alex.; Hard. VI., ii. 1581; Will. Tyr. xviii. 29.

<sup>q</sup> Card. Hyacinth. ap. Gerhoh. Ep. 22 (Patrol. exciii.). As to Denmark, see Saxo Grammat. l. xiv. pp. 299-304; Münter, ii. 482. Bohemia held to the emperor throughout. Chron. Sazaw. Patrol. clxvi. 292. For Victor's council at Lodi, in June, 1161, see O. Morcna, 1090-1.

<sup>r</sup> Card. Arag. 17-8; Helmold, i. 90; Reuter, i. 131.

in dealing with men, and in shaping his course according to circumstances; and above all things he was remarkable for the calm and steady patience with which he was content to await the development of affairs, and for the address with which he contrived to turn every occurrence to the interest of his cause.<sup>s</sup>

In consequence of its renewed offences, Milan had been laid under the ban of the empire, and Frederick had sworn never to wear his crown until the rebellious city should be reduced.<sup>t</sup> The siege had lasted three years, when, in the end of February 1162, the Milanese found themselves brought to extremity by the exhaustion of their provisions, while the emperor's strength had been lately increased by powerful reinforcements from Germany. The besieged attempted to make conditions, but Frederick would admit nothing less than an

March 1, absolute surrender; and in his camp at Lodi, he  
1162. gratified himself by beholding the abject humiliation of their representatives, who appeared before him in miserable guise, barefooted, with ropes around their necks, and holding naked swords to their throats, in acknowledgment that their lives were forfeit.<sup>u</sup> Four days later, a more numerous deputation appeared, having with them the *carroccio*, or waggon on which the standard of Milanese independence had been displayed in battle. The great brazen war-trumpets were laid at the emperor's feet; and at his command the mast, to which the flag was attached, was lowered, and the *carroccio* was broken up in his presence. Frederick<sup>x</sup> told the deputies that their lives should be spared, but declared himself resolved to root out their city from the earth. The inhabitants were marched out at the gates, and after having endured much misery from the want of shelter, were distributed into four open villages, which they were compelled to build, each two leagues apart from the rest, where they were placed under the inspection of imperial officers. The houses of the city were doomed to destruction, which was zealously and effectually executed by the men of Lodi and other hostile towns, to whom the work was entrusted. Churches and monasteries alone remained standing, amid masses of rubbish surrounded by shattered frag-

<sup>s</sup> As a specimen of his policy, see Ep. 1051, to Henry, Archbishop of Reims.

<sup>t</sup> O. Morena, 1022; Schmidt, ii. 615-6.

<sup>u</sup> Frider. ap. Martene, Thesaur. i. 473; O. Morena, 1087, 1099, 1101; O. Sanblas. 15; Annal. Colon. 1162 (Pertz, xvii.); Auctar. Afflighem. Sigeb. A.D.

1162 (Patrol. clx.); Sire Raul, Murat. vi. 1187; Gunther, viii. 239, seqq. For the custom of holding swords to the throat, see Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, 714.

<sup>x</sup> Otto Morena, 1101; Annal. Colon. 1162; Luden, xi. 67.



ments of the walls which had so long defied the imperial power.<sup>7</sup> Immense plunder was carried off;<sup>8</sup> and among the losses which were most deplored by the Milanese, was that of some relics of especial sanctity—the bodies of St. Felix and St. Nabor, and, above all, those of the Three Kings of the East, which were believed to have been presented by St. Helena to archbishop Eustorgius, and were now transferred by the imperial chancellor, Reginald of Cologne, to be the chief treasure of his own cathedral.<sup>9</sup>

All Lombardy was subdued; the fortifications of some cities were destroyed, and all were put under the administration of podestàs, who, except in cases of special favour, as at Lodi, were always chosen from families unconnected with the places which they were to govern.<sup>10</sup>

Alexander in the mean time, after a residence of sixteen months at Anagni, had returned to Rome in April, 1161; but, finding his residence there unsafe, he soon withdrew to Terracina; and at length he resolved, like so many of his predecessors, to seek a refuge in France.<sup>11</sup> In April, 1162, he landed at Montpellier, where he was received with great enthusiasm; and there he held a council, at which he renewed his excommunication of the antipope and the emperor, with their adherents.<sup>12</sup> The conquest of Milan now enabled Frederick to return to Italy, and he invited the French king—whose adhesion to Alexander was still believed to be wavering<sup>13</sup>—to a conference at St. Jean de Losne, in Burgundy, with a view to the settlement of the question as to the papacy. It was proposed that each sovereign should be accompanied to the place of meeting by the pope whose cause he es-

<sup>7</sup> Frid. in D'Achery, iii. 536; Burkhard, de Excidio Mediol., in Freher, i. 236; Chron. Allerspach., in Canis. III., ii. 260; Otto Sanblas. 16; Sigeb. Auctar. Affligh. A.D. 1163; Otto Morena, 1101; Chron. Ursperg. 223; Pagi, xix. 200; Raumer, ii. 96-7; Luden, x. 72, seqq. Luden does not agree with Raumer in thinking that the accounts of the destruction are exaggerated.

<sup>8</sup> The chronicler of Petershusen (Patrol. cxliii. 375) says that out of the money got from Milan and from other cities which were terrified by its fall, the emperor gave a tenth to German and Italian monasteries.

<sup>9</sup> Annales Egmond. in Pertz, xvi. 465; Annal. S. Disibod. 1162; Annal. Colon. 1164; Annal. Isingrimi, 1160 (ib. xvii.); Will. Neubrig. ii. 8; Rob. de Monte,

Patrol. clx. 498; Sire Raul, 1190. The annotator of Otto Morena, in Muratori, vi. 1153, calls the removal "execrabile sacrilegium." A Liège chronicler says that the relics of the Magi had been promised to Henry, bishop of Liège, but in consequence of his death were secured by Reginald. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 1089.) The sarcophagus which formerly contained the relics is still to be seen in the church of St. Eustorgius at Milan. See Handbook of N. Italy, 176, ed. 1860.

<sup>10</sup> O. Morena, 1109-12.

<sup>11</sup> Ep. 46; Jaffé, 683. For his reception at Genoa, see Caffari in Pertz, xviii. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Epp. 64, 73; Card. Arag. 19; Reuter, i. 193-6.

<sup>13</sup> Reuter, i. 200.

poused, and that the decision should be committed to an equal number of laymen and ecclesiastics. Alexander, however, as before, refused to submit to any judgment,<sup>g</sup> and he endeavoured to prevent the meeting. In this, indeed, he was unsuccessful; but through his influence Louis went into the negotiations with a disposition to catch at any occasion for withdrawing. On one occasion, after having waited for some hours on the bridge of St. John de Losne, while Frederick was accidentally delayed, the king washed his hands in the Saône, and rode off, declaring that his engagement was at an end; and, although he was persuaded by the emperor's representations to resume the negotiations, they ended in mutual dissatisfaction.<sup>h</sup>

The pope was visited, at the monastery of Dole, in Aquitaine, by Henry of England, who kissed his feet, refused to be seated in his presence, except on the ground, and presented him with rich gifts;<sup>i</sup> and soon after he had an interview with Louis and Henry at Toucy, on the Loire, where both kings received him with the greatest reverence, and each held a rein of his horse as they led him to his tent.<sup>k</sup>

It was agreed that a council should be held at Tours A.D. 1163. in the following year; and at Whitsuntide this assembly met. Seventeen cardinals, a hundred and twenty-four bishops, and upwards of four hundred abbots were present; among the most conspicuous of whom was Thomas Becket, lately promoted by Henry to the archbishoprick of Canterbury.<sup>m</sup> Alexander was solemnly acknowledged by this great assembly, and among its canons was one which annulled the ordinations of Octavian.<sup>n</sup> Both by Henry and by Louis the pope was requested to choose for himself a residence within their dominions; and having fixed on the city of Sens, he settled there in October, 1163.<sup>o</sup>

The antipope Octavian or Victor died at Lucca, in 1164.<sup>p</sup> It is supposed that Frederick was inclined to take advantage of this event, in order to a reconciliation with Alexander, but that

<sup>g</sup> Ep. 91.

<sup>h</sup> Alex. Ep. 96; Henr. Rem. in Bouquet, xvi. 30; Frider. ib. 690, seqq.; Card. Arag. 21-2; Helmold, i. 90; Annal. Colon. p. 777; Raumer, ii. 102-4; Sismondi, v. 441-2; Reuter, i. 212.

<sup>i</sup> Card. Arag. 22.

<sup>k</sup> Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 496.

<sup>m</sup> Hard. VI., ii. 1589, seqq.

<sup>n</sup> C. 9.

<sup>o</sup> Card. Arag. 25. For his movements, see Bouquet, xv. 721, seqq., or Jaffé.

<sup>p</sup> April 20 (Jaffé). Miracles are said to have been done at his tomb (Acerb. Morena, in Murat. vi. 1125; Annales Palith. in Pertz, xvi. 92), to the great indignation of Baronius, 1164. 32.



a fresh election was urged on by the chancellor, Reginald of Cologne, whom Alexander describes as "the author and head of the Church's troubles."<sup>a</sup> Two only of the cardinals who had sided with Octavian survived; and one of them, Guy of Crema, was chosen by the single vote of the other, and was <sup>April 22,</sup> consecrated by Henry, bishop of Liége. It was noted <sup>1164.</sup>

by the opposite party, as a token of Divine judgment, that the bishop who had ventured to perform this unexampled consecration, although he himself, as well as Hillin, archbishop of Treves, had refused to be set up as antipope, died within the year.<sup>r</sup> Whatever the emperor's earlier feelings may have been, he now resolved to give a strenuous support to the antipope, who styled himself Paschal III. It seemed likely that Henry of England, the most powerful sovereign in Europe, whose territories in France exceeded those of Louis, might be won to the imperialist side; for archbishop Becket, in consequence of having set up in behalf of the clergy pretensions to immunity from all secular jurisdiction, had found himself obliged to flee from England, and had been re-<sup>Nov. 1164.</sup> ceived with open arms by Louis and Alexander. In

the hope, therefore, of profiting by the English king's resentment at the favour displayed towards one whom he regarded as the enemy of his royal rights, Frederick despatched Reginald of Cologne into England, with proposals for a matrimonial alliance between the families of the two sovereigns, and also with a charge to negotiate in order to detach Henry from Alexander's party. But, although Henry was willing to <sup>Lent, 1165.</sup> consider such proposals, the envoys found the English

in general zealous for the cause of Becket and of the pope, to such a degree that, in token of abhorrence of the schism, the altars on which the imperialist clergy had celebrated mass were thrown down, or were solemnly purified from the contamination of their rites.<sup>s</sup> The king, however, agreed to send representatives to a great diet which was to meet at Würzburg, under the emperor's presidency, at Whitsuntide 1165. At the second session of this diet, Reginald appeared, with the English envoys, and his counsels swayed the judgment of the assembly; an oath of adhesion to Paschal was exacted; and not only were

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 254; Chron. Pisan. in Murat. 470; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1164 (ib.); vi. 175; Schmidt, ii. 619; Luden, xi. Card. Arag. 25. See Luden, xi. 626; 627. Reuter, ii. 15-6. <sup>r</sup> R. de Diceto, 539.

<sup>s</sup> Annal. Reichersp. in Pertz, xvii.

those present required to swear that they would never acknowledge Alexander or any of his line, and would never accept any absolution from their oaths, but it was provided that, at the emperor's death, his successor should be obliged to swear in like terms before receiving the crown. This oath, however, was not taken so completely as Frederick had designed. A few only of the laity swore; of the prelates, some were absent, some refused it, some took it with qualifications which destroyed its force. And although the English envoys swore to it, their act was afterwards disavowed by their master, as having been done in excess of his instructions.<sup>t</sup>

Reginald of Cologne, who had hitherto remained in the order of deacon—apparently lest, by accepting consecration from schismatics, he should put a hindrance in the way of reconciliation with Alexander,<sup>u</sup>—was now compelled to pledge himself to the schism by receiving ordination to the priesthood at Würzburg, and to the episcopate a few months later, in his own city;<sup>x</sup> and other elect dignitaries were required to commit themselves in like manner.<sup>y</sup> But Conrad, archbishop elect of Mentz, while passing through France on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, was reconciled to Alexander, and from that time steadily adhered to him.<sup>z</sup> Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg, had throughout been the chief supporter of Alexander's interest in Germany, and had received from him at once a reward for his fidelity and an increase of influence, in being invested with the office of legate.<sup>a</sup> His successor, the emperor's uncle Conrad, after having for some time appeared doubtful, now declared openly in favour of Alexander, and was in consequence denounced as an enemy of the empire; his territory was laid waste, his city reduced to ashes, and the property of the see was distributed among Frederick's followers.<sup>b</sup>

The bishop of Palestrina, whom Alexander had left as his

<sup>t</sup> Hard. VI. ii. 1613, seqq.; Ep. 94 ad Alex. (Patrol. cc.); Will. Cantuar. ib. cxc. 241; Frider. ap. Hard. 1614; Alex. Ep. 357; Annal. Ratispon. 1165 (Pertz, xvii.); Append. ad Radev. 558; Hefele, v. 575-9. See Life of Becket, 174-7.

<sup>u</sup> Luden, xi. 194; Joh. Sar. Ep. 59, col. 41 C. See as to the similar case of Theodoric, of Metz, Annal. Mettens. (Patrol. clxiii. 600); also Chron. Hildesheim. in Leibnitz, ii. 748.

<sup>x</sup> Annal. Colon., A.D. 1165.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. Allersp. in Canis. III., ii. 261.

<sup>z</sup> Annal. Erphesfurd. in Pertz, xvi. 23; Raumer, ii. 136.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Calam. Eccl. Salisb., Patrol. cxvii. 1540, seqq. See Alex. Epp. 62, 97, 131, &c.; Chron. Magni, in Pertz, xvii.

<sup>b</sup> Annal. Ratispon. 1165 (Pertz, xvii.); Hist. Calam. Eccl. Salisb.; Raumer, ii., 136; Hefele, v. 580.



vicar in Rome, was dead, and his successor, Cardinal John, by a skilful application of money which had been raised by long and urgent begging in France, England, and Sicily,<sup>c</sup> had succeeded in persuading the Romans to invite his master back.<sup>d</sup> Alexander sailed from Maguelone in September, 1165, and, after having visited the Sicilian king at Messina, landed at Ostia.<sup>e</sup> His reception at Rome was a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm. The senate, the nobles, the clergy, and a vast multitude of people bearing olive-branches in their hands, pressed forth to meet him, and conducted him to Dec. 23. the city with the liveliest demonstrations of joy; and at the Lateran Gate he was met by almost the whole of the remaining population, among whom the Jews, carrying the book of their law "according to custom," are especially mentioned as conspicuous.<sup>f</sup> The antipope, Paschal, in the mean time, resided at Viterbo, where he is described as making use of the emperor's soldiers to levy exactions from passing merchants and pilgrims.<sup>g</sup>

The measures which the emperor had taken on his last visit to Italy had produced great dissatisfaction. The severities exercised against the Milanese excited general pity, so that even cities which had before been hostile to them received and harboured their fugitives. The podestàs carried on a system of vexations alike cruel and petty towards the people, and, according to even an imperialist writer, they exacted seven times as much as they were entitled to.<sup>h</sup> Some of these hated officials were murdered. Cities which had adhered to the emperor in his difficulties now found themselves subjected to the same oppression as others; and cries of discontent from all quarters were carried to the imperial court.<sup>i</sup> Frederick resolved on a fresh expedition across the Alps, but was unprovided with a sufficient army, and found himself obliged to pay court to the princes of Germany, who were more and more disinclined to

<sup>c</sup> See Alex. Epp. 165-6, 383, 458; Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, in Bouquet, xvi. 626; and many letters in the Becket collection.

<sup>d</sup> Card. Arag. Patrol. ii. 18, 27.

<sup>e</sup> Alex. Ep. 373; Card. Arag. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. 375; Card. Arag. 28.

<sup>g</sup> Sigebert. Contin. Aquicinet., A.D. 1165 (Patrol. clx.). Compare Peter of Blois as to the preceding anti-pope, Patrol. cvii. 143; Jocel. de Brakelonda

(Camden Society), 35. Paschal had, in the end of 1165, granted at the Emperor's request the beatification of Charlemagne. See vol. ii. 249 (233); Raumer, ii. 137; Noppius, Gesch. der Stadt Aachen, 254, seqq.

<sup>h</sup> Acerb. Morena, in Murat. vi. 1127-31; Sismondi, R. I. i. 361-2; Luden, xi. 144-6, 213; Raumer, ii. 141.

<sup>i</sup> Card. Arag. Patrol. cc. 26; Schmidt, ii. 618; Sismondi, R. I. i. 362.

assist him.<sup>k</sup> But at length, in the Autumn of 1166, the emperor was able to lead a powerful army into Italy.<sup>m</sup> After having crossed the Alps, he found himself beset with petitions from the Lombards, who had looked to his arrival as an opportunity for obtaining redress of their grievances; but he put these applications aside, and advanced towards Rome.<sup>n</sup> The Greek emperor, Manuel, had taken advantage of the discords between the papacy and the empire. He had proposed to Alexander that the imperial crown of Rome should be united with that of Constantinople, and had held out a prospect of reunion between the Greek and the Latin churches, to which the pope had appeared favourable.<sup>o</sup> The gold of Manuel had established a strong interest in Italy, and his troops held possession of Ancona.<sup>p</sup> For three weeks Frederick besieged that town; but while he was detained by its vigorous resistance, a great success was achieved by a part of his force which had been sent on before him, under the command of Reginald of Cologne, and of

May 29, Christian, who had been substituted for Conrad in the  
1167. see of Mentz.<sup>q</sup> These warlike prelates encountered at Monte Porzio an army which the Romans had sent forth against their feudal enemies, the imperialist and antipapal citizens of Tusculum; and they defeated it with an amount of loss which although very variously reported, is spoken of as the greatest calamity that had befallen Rome since the battle of Cannæ.<sup>r</sup> On hearing of this victory, Frederick concluded an accommodation with the defenders of Ancona, and advanced to Rome, where he gained possession of the Leonine city, while Pisan galleys made their way up to the bridge of St. Angelo for his assistance.<sup>s</sup> The Romans had in great numbers fled

<sup>k</sup> Schmidt, ii. 620.

<sup>m</sup> "Ex omnibus regni visceribus congregato exercitu." O. Sanblas. 20.

<sup>n</sup> Acerb. Morena, 1131.

<sup>o</sup> Card. Arag. (30) agrees with Cinnamus (vi. 4) that the Pope gave Manuel reason to believe him favourable.

<sup>p</sup> Acerb. Morena, ii. 33; Gibbon, v. 363-4. For correspondence with the Greek court, see Alex. Epp. 197, 200, 212, 317; Ep. ad Alex. 34, &c.

<sup>q</sup> For an account of Christian, see Albert of Stade, in Pertz, xvi. 347. Also Mrs. Busk's "Mediæval Popes, &c." ii. 79.

<sup>r</sup> Card. Arag. 30; Append. ad Radevic. 559. The loss is reckoned at 2000 slain and 3000 prisoners by Acer-

bus Morena (1147); at more than 3000 by the Ghibelline annalist of Piacenza (Pertz, xviii. 462); at upwards of 6000 by Albert of Stade (A.D. 1167, in Pertz, xvi.); at 9000 by Lambert Waterlos (ib. 540); at 10000 by the Erfurt annalist (ib. 23); at 12000 by Helmold (ii. 10); at 15000 by Otho of St. Blaise (20). The annalist of Cologne says that 9000 were killed and 6000 taken; and that the Romans spoke of only 2000 out of 42000 as having returned (Chron. A.D. 1166, Pertz, xvii.). Raumer (ii. 144), and Luden (xi. 236, 643) follow the lowest of these estimates. See Muratori, Annali VI. i. 406-7; Gibbon, vi. 352; Gregorov. iv. 541-2.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Pisan. in Murat. VI. 180.



for refuge to St. Peter's, which in those unquiet times had been converted into a fortification.<sup>t</sup> For several days the emperor besieged it in vain, until at length a neighbouring church was set on fire. The flames speedily caught the porch of the great basilica; the defenders were driven from their posts by smoke and heat; the gates were broken in with axes, and within the holy building a slaughter ensued which reached even to the high altar.<sup>u</sup> The antipope, Paschal, was brought from Viterbo, and was enthroned in St. Peter's, where, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, the emperor and the empress were crowned by his hands.<sup>x</sup> An oath of fealty was exacted of the Romans, while Frederick engaged to acknowledge the privileges of their senatorial government.<sup>y</sup>

July 30.

Aug. 1.

Alexander had taken refuge, under the protection of the Frangipanis, in a fortress constructed within the ruins of the Colosseum. It was proposed by the emperor that both popes should resign, on condition that the orders conferred by each should be acknowledged, and that a new successor of St. Peter should be chosen. The scheme was urged on Alexander by the Romans, whom both parties had been trying to conciliate by bribes; but he again declared that the Roman pontiff was subject to no earthly judgment, and refused to cede the office which God had conferred on him.<sup>z</sup> At this crisis, two Sicilian vessels arrived, bearing a large sum of money for his relief,<sup>a</sup> and offering him the means of escape; but, although he gladly received the money, and distributed it among his adherents, he declined to embark, and, escaping from Rome in the disguise of a pilgrim, made his way to his own city of Benevento. There the scheme for reuniting the empires and the churches of East and West was again proposed to him by ambassadors from Manuel; but he declined to engage in it on account of its formidable difficulties.<sup>b</sup>

Scarcely had Frederick established himself in possession of Rome, when a pestilence of unexampled violence broke out among the Germans.<sup>c</sup> In one week the greater part of his army perished. Men were struck down while mounting their horses;

<sup>t</sup> See Gerhoh. in Ps. 64, c. 52 (Patrol. exciv.).

<sup>u</sup> O. Sanblas. 20; Acerb. Morena, 1133, 1151; Card. Arag. 31; Helmold. ii. 10; Gregorov. iv. 545-7.

<sup>x</sup> Helmold. ii. 10.

<sup>y</sup> Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 781; Acerb. Morena, 1153.

<sup>z</sup> Card. Arag. 29-32.

<sup>a</sup> See Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 145, Patrol. excix. 138.

<sup>b</sup> Card. Arag. 31, 34.

<sup>c</sup> The Ghibelline annalist of Piacenza ascribes it to the effect of a rain-fall "quæ vocatur *bazobo*." Pertz, xviii. 462.

some, who were engaged in burying their comrades, fell dead into the open graves. Unburied corpses tainted the air, and among the Romans themselves the ravages of the disease were terrible. The emperor's loss is said to have amounted to 25,000; and the papal party saw a divine ratification of Alexander's curses in a visitation which destroyed the power of the "new Sennacherib," and carried off the chiefs of his sacrilegious host—among them, the indefatigable Reginald of Cologne, Frederick of Rothenburg, son of King Conrad, the younger Welf of Bavaria, and a multitude of other prelates and nobles.<sup>d</sup> Stripped of his strength by this calamity, Frederick withdrew to the north of Italy, almost as a fugitive, and death further thinned his ranks as he went along.<sup>e</sup> All Lombardy was now combined against him; for his neglect of the petitions which had been presented on his arrival in Italy had led the people to charge on the emperor himself the oppressions which they endured at the hands of his officers; and the exactions of these officers were even aggravated beyond their old measure. While Frederick was engaged in the siege of Ancona, the chief cities of Lombardy had entered into a league for twenty years, with the declared object of restoring the state of things which had prevailed under the emperor Henry.<sup>f</sup> Even the imperialist Lodi was coerced by its neighbours into joining this league, and Pavia alone stood aloof.<sup>g</sup> The confederates had contrived to rebuild the walls of Milan, and to restore its inhabitants; and in this they were aided with money not only by the Greek emperor, but (which we read with some surprise) by Henry of England.<sup>h</sup> The spirit of revolt was fanned by the tidings of the emperor's great disaster. He summoned an assembly to meet at Pavia; but few attended, and in token of defiance to the Lombards, and of the vengeance which he was resolved to execute on them, he threw down his gauntlet as he denounced them with the ban of the empire.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Otto Sanblas. 20; Append. ad Radev. 559; Annal. Egmond. in Pertz, xvi. 466; Annal. Colon. 782; Lamb. Waterlos. ib., 540 (who, however, reckons the loss at only 7000); Hist. Calamit. Eccl. Salisburg., Patrol. cxvi. 1548; Joh. Sarisb. Epp. 201, 218, 220; Thom. Cantuar. Ep. 6 (Patrol. cxc.); Sicard., ib. cexiii. 513; Acerbus Morena, in Murat. vi. 1153. The last-named chronicler himself died at Sienna in consequence of the plague (ib. 1155). It is said that, in consequence of the slaughter at Monte Porzio, and of the plague, the

women of Rome were unable to find husbands. Helmold. ii. 10; App. ad Radev. 559. <sup>e</sup> A. Morena, Contin. 1155.

<sup>f</sup> Otto Morena, 1133, 1143; Sire Raul, 1188, 1190; Card. Arag. 26. Sismondi supposes Henry IV. to be meant (Rép. Ital. i. 376); Hallam is for Henry V. (i. 237). See on the subject Muratori, Antiq. Ital., v. 261.

<sup>g</sup> O. Mor. 1143.

<sup>h</sup> Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 218; Pagi, xix. 355; see Liverani, Spicileg. 548.

<sup>i</sup> O. Morena, 1157; Sismondi, R. I. i. 385.



As he moved towards the Alps, the people rose on him, and harassed him with straggling attacks which his reduced force was hardly sufficient to repel. At Susa his life was in danger, and he was driven to make his escape across the mountains in disguise.<sup>k</sup> After this withdrawal, the confederate cities, with a view of keeping in check his only remaining allies—the citizens of Pavia and the Marquis of Montferrat—built in a strong position, at the confluence of the Tanaro and the Bormida, a town to which, in honour of the pope, they gave the name of Alexandria. The population was brought together from all parts of the neighbouring country, and a free republican government was organised. Alexandria, although at first derided as a “city of straw,”<sup>m</sup> made very rapid progress. At the end of its first year, it could boast of fifteen thousand fighting men; and in its second year, Alexander, at the request of its consuls, erected it into an episcopal see. The first bishop was nominated by the pope, but he apologised for this on the ground of necessity, and assured the clergy that it should not prejudice their right of election in future.<sup>n</sup>

Eager as Frederick was to take vengeance on the Lombards for his late humiliation, seven years elapsed before he could again venture into Italy. In the mean time the pope was strengthening himself greatly. His alliance with the growing power of the Lombard cities was drawn closer, and he was careful to promote internal unity among them.<sup>o</sup> The antipope Paschal died at Rome in September, 1168, and, although John of Struma, Bishop of Tusculum, was set up as his successor, under the name of Calixtus III., there was little reason to fear this new competitor.<sup>p</sup> The contest between Henry II. and Becket had ended in the archbishop's return to England, after an exile of seven years, and his murder, in his own cathedral, by <sup>Dec. 29,</sup> four knights of the royal household. The horror <sup>1170.</sup> excited by this crime redounded principally to the advantage of Alexander. Popular enthusiasm was arrayed on the side of the

<sup>k</sup> Otto Sanblas. 20; Joh. Sar. Ep. 244; Cf. Chron. Ursperg. 226; Luden, xi. 146-8.

<sup>m</sup> “Pælearum civitas,” Chron. Ursperg. 226; Sicard. in Patrol. cexiii. 514; Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 213.

<sup>n</sup> Card. Arag. 33, 44; O. Sanblas. 22; Alex. Ep. 1234; Sismondi, R. I. 338. Muratori gives a document by which the people of Alexandria bound

themselves in 1169 to pay a yearly tribute to the pope. Antiq. Ital. v. 831.

<sup>o</sup> Ep. 851.

<sup>p</sup> Card. Arag. 35; Planck, iv. 394. The unimportance of Calixtus may be inferred from the notice of him in the Chronicle of Melrose (Gale and Fell, i.), A.D. 1168—“Tertius antipapa, cujus nomen ignoratur, qui et ignorans ignorabitur, elevatus est.”

hierarchy, and Henry's enemies, lay as well as ecclesiastical, beset the pope with entreaties for vengeance on him. The king was fain to purchase reconciliation with the church by humble messages, and by submitting to terms dictated by two legates at Avranches, in May, 1172. His sons were stirred up by Queen Eleanor to rebellion, which was sanctified by a reference to the wrongs of St. Thomas the Martyr (for Becket had been canonised by Alexander in Lent, 1173); and in the extremity of his danger the king repaired to Canterbury as a penitent, walked barefooted from the outskirts of the city to the cathedral, spent a night in prayer at the tomb of his late antagonist, and, after protesting his deep remorse for the hasty words from which the murderers had taken occasion for their crime, submitted to be scourged by every one of the monks.<sup>a</sup>

Frederick, although he had required a profession of obedience to the antipope Calixtus, soon after made overtures to Alexander; but the pope steadily refused to enter into any treaty which should not include his Lombard and Sicilian allies.<sup>r</sup> In Germany the emperor proceeded with vigour, and succeeded in enforcing general submission to his will;<sup>s</sup> and in 1174 he was able to cross the Mont Cenis at the head of an army, which was in great measure composed of mercenaries or (as they were then styled) Brabançons. Susa, the first Italian city which he reached, was given up to the flames in revenge for the insults which it had formerly offered to him; and for four months he closely besieged Alexandria, from which, after having had his camp burnt by a sally of the defenders, he was at length driven off by the approach of a Lombard army.<sup>t</sup> Archbishop Christian of Mentz, who had been sent on in advance, was equally unfortunate in a renewed siege of Ancona; for the inhabitants, after having been reduced to the extremity of distress, were delivered at the end of six months by allies whom the wealth of the Greek emperor had raised up to their assistance.<sup>u</sup> *Negocia-*

<sup>a</sup> Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1427; Hoveden, 308, *a*. For a full account of the penance, see Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*.

<sup>r</sup> Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 292, col. 337; Raumer, ii. 155. Alexander's biographer treats the Emperor's proposals as delusive (*Patr. cc.* 35); but this opinion is not generally followed.

<sup>s</sup> Schmidt, ii. 630; Raumer, ii. 152.

<sup>t</sup> Card. Arag. 39-40; Raumer, ii. 163-5. It is said by Italian writers that Frede-

rick attempted to gain possession of Alexandria by treachery during a truce which had been concluded for the solemnities of Easter (Card. Arag. 41; Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 213). Notwithstanding the silence of the German chroniclers, Luden is inclined to believe this (xi. 662). On the other side see Raumer (ii. 165), and Mrs. Busk (ii. 128). Comp. Muratori, vii. 18-9.

<sup>u</sup> By some this siege is placed in 1172 (*Buoncompagni*, in Murat. vi. 925, seq.;



tions were renewed between the emperor and the pope; but each wished to insist on terms which the other party refused to accept.<sup>x</sup> Frederick received reinforcements from Germany; but, through the refusal of his cousin, Henry the Lion, of Saxony, to yield him active support—although it is said that the emperor condescended to entreat it on his knees<sup>y</sup>—he found himself unequally matched with his enemies; and on the memorable field of Legnano the leagued Italian cities, which a few years before he had despised and trampled on, were victorious. Frederick himself was unhorsed in the battle, and was missing until after some days he appeared again at Pavia.<sup>z</sup> By this humiliation, and by the exhaustion of his forces, the emperor was reduced to treat of peace, which all his adherents combined to urge on him. After much negociation, certain preliminaries were agreed on, and it was arranged that the pope should meet him at Venice—the Venetians and their doge being required to swear that they would not admit the emperor into their city except with the pope's consent.<sup>a</sup> Alexander embarked at Viesti on the 9th of March, 1177, and, after having been carried by stress of weather to the Dalmatian coast, where he was received with enthusiastic reverence, he arrived at Venice on the 24th of the same month.<sup>b</sup> From Venice he proceeded to Ferrara, but on the 11th of May he returned, and in July Frederick arrived at Chioggia, where he remained until the terms of peace were agreed on. By these it was provided that the emperor should abjure the antipope, and that the imperialist bishops, on making a like abjuration, should be allowed to retain their sees. The Lombards were to yield the emperor the same obedience which they had paid to his predecessors from Henry V. downwards,<sup>c</sup> and admitted some of his claims as to allowances due to him when visiting Italy; while the emperor acknow-

May 29,  
1176.

Chron. Pisan. *ib.*; Sicard. Cremonens. in *Patrol.* cexii. 514; by others, in 1174 (*Chron. Pisan.* in *Murat.* vi.; Albert. *Stad.* in *Pertz*, xvi. 34; *Raumer*, ii. 161); *Muratori* avows a change of opinion in favour of the later date, *Annali*, VII. ii. 13.

<sup>x</sup> *Card. Arag.* 43; *Murat. Antiq. Ital.* v. 277; *Sismondi*, R. I. 411.

<sup>y</sup> *Chron. Ursperg.* 226; *Arnold. Lubec.* ii. 15 (*Pertz*, xvi.); *Alb. Stad.*, *ib.* 348. *Luden* denies the story, xi. 341-350. The annalist of *Marbach* (A.D. 1180) says that Henry refused to assist the Emperor except on condition of receiv-

ing the town of Goslar. *Pertz*, xvii.

<sup>z</sup> *Otto Sanblas.* 23; *Card. Arag.* 45; *R. de Diceto*, 591; *Annal. Colon.* A.D. 1175; *Annal. Pegav.* in *Pertz*, xvi. 261. For the date, see *Muratori*, *Ann.* VII. ii. 25.

<sup>a</sup> *Pertz, Leges*, ii. 147-150; *Rom. Sa-lern.* in *Murat.* vii. 219-226; *Card. Arag.* 45-6; *Alex. Epp.* 1252, 1256; *Hard.* VI. ii. 1656-7.

<sup>b</sup> *Card. Arag.* 54; *Hard.* VI. ii. 1655; *Jaffé*.

<sup>c</sup> The imperialists had wished to bargain for the relations which had existed under Henry IV. See *Muratori*, *Annali*,

ledged their power to appoint their own consuls, to fortify their cities, and to combine for the defence of their liberties. Between the emperor and the papacy, there was to be a perpetual peace ; with the Lombards, a truce of six years, and one of fifteen years with the king of Sicily.<sup>d</sup>

The emperor was then allowed to approach Venice, and on the day after his arrival there, performed his abjuration in the presence of two cardinals. On the same day his first meeting with the pope took place in the great square of St. Mark's, where Alexander and his cardinals were seated in front of the gates of the church. The emperor, laying aside his outer robe, prostrated himself and kissed the pope's feet ; after which he led him into the church, and conducted him up to the choir, where he bowed his head and received the pontifical blessing. On St. James's day, the kissing of the pope's feet was repeated, and the emperor presented him with valuable gifts ; and after mass, at which he himself officiated, Alexander was conducted to the door of the church by the emperor, who held his stirrup as he remounted his white palfrey, and, taking the bridle in his hand, would have led the horse, had not the pope courteously excused the performance of that ceremony.<sup>e</sup> It is said that through the pressure of the crowd the pope was thrown off his horse, and that the emperor assisted him to remount.<sup>f</sup> These meetings were followed by interviews of a less formal kind, at which the two unbent in familiar, and even playful conversation ;<sup>g</sup> and the peace between the empire and the church was solemnly ratified at a council held in St. Mark's on the 14th of August.<sup>h</sup> At his parting interview with Alexander, the emperor agreed to give up all the property of St. Peter which had come into his hands ; except the territories of the Countess Matilda, and a similar but less

VII. i. 13. In his 48th Dissertation (*Antiq. Ital.* v.) Muratori gives many documents relating to the Lombard League.

<sup>d</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 153-161.

<sup>e</sup> *Hard.* VI., ii. 1657-8 ; *Card. Arag.* 51-3 ; *Gervas. Dorobern.*, in *Twysden*, 1438-9 ; *R. de Diceto*, ib. 598 ; *Chron. Aquicinct.* A.D. 1176 (*Patrol.* clx.) ; *Romuald. Salern.* (who was himself present, as representative of the Sicilian king), in *Murat.* vii. 232 ; *Hoveden*, 324. A story of the 14th century represents the pope as having placed his foot on the emperor's neck, while the choir

sang—"Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder." (*Ps.* xci. 13.) *Benven. Imol.* in *Murat. Antiq. Ital.* i. 1209 ; *Fox's Acts and Mon.* i. 231, ed. 1684. But this, although maintained by *Daru*, (i. 209), is now generally rejected. See *Vittorelli*, in *Ciacon.* i. 1079 ; *Muratori*, *Ann.* VII., i. 37 ; *Mosheim*, ii. 451 ; *Schröckh*, xxvi. 204-5 ; *Raumer*, ii. 176 ; *Sismondi*, *R. I.*, ii. 417 ; *Milman*, iii. 536.

<sup>f</sup> *Godef. Viterb.*, cited by *Milman*, iii. 537, from *Pertz*, '*Archiv.*'

<sup>g</sup> *Card. Arag.* 53.

<sup>h</sup> *Ib.* 54 ; *Pertz*, *Leges*, ii. 155 ; *Alex. Epp.* 1304-8, 1310.



important legacy which the Count of Bertinoro had lately bequeathed to the papal see. Frederick had acquired a new interest in the inheritance of the great countess, through the gift of his uncle, Welf, Marquis of Tuscany, who, after having lost his only son, by the Roman pestilence of 1167, had made over to the emperor the claims of the Bavarian house.<sup>1</sup> It had been agreed in the treaty that he should retain these territories for fifteen years longer; with regard to Bertinoro, he maintained that a vassal was not entitled to dispose of his fief except with the consent of his liege lord; and Alexander, at their last meeting, acquiesced in his proposal that this and other questions should be referred to three cardinals chosen by the emperor and three German princes chosen by the pope.<sup>k</sup>

The bishops who had been promoted in the schism were in general allowed to retain their positions, on condition of submitting to Alexander. Christian of Mentz burnt the pall which he had received from the antipope Paschal; and his predecessor, Conrad, who had been deprived by Frederick for desertion to Alexander, was provided for by an appointment to Salzburg, in place of archbishop Adalbert, to whose exclusion by the emperor Alexander was willing to consent.<sup>m</sup> Calixtus was now generally abandoned, and in August 1178 submitted to Alexander, by whom he was received with kindness and presented to a rich abbacy at Benevento.<sup>n</sup> A fourth antipope, Lando, or Innocent III., of the Frangipani family, was set up, but after having borne his unregarded title somewhat more than a year, he was brought to Alexander as a prisoner, and was confined for life in the monastery of La Cava.<sup>o</sup>

The increased power of Alexander, and the triumph which had crowned his long struggle against the emperor, were not without their effect on the Romans, who despatched a mission to him, praying him, in the name of all ranks, to return to the city. Alexander received the deputies at Anagni with visible satisfaction, but, reminding them of his former experience, required

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 82, 98. This Welf, the VI.<sup>th</sup> of his line, had the Italian part of the family territories, while his brother, Henry the Proud, had the German part. He lived to 1195. *Art de Vérif. les Dates*, xvi. 116; xviii. 65.

<sup>k</sup> Card. Arag. 56-7; Hoved. VI. ii. 1664; O. Sanblas. 21; Schmidt, ii. 633.

<sup>m</sup> Gervas. in Twysden, 1439; *Annales Erphesfurt.* in Pertz, xvi. 23; Ben. Petrib. *Vita Henr. II.*, 237; *Hard.* VI., ii. 1669-70. Adalbert had

succeeded an earlier Conrad (see p. 94) in 1168.

<sup>n</sup> Diceto, 601; Romuald. Salern. 244; Murat. *Annali*, VII., i. 39.

<sup>o</sup> Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1179 (*Patrol.* clx.); Chron. Fossae Novae, A.D. 1178-80 (Murat. vii.). Gregorovius says that Lando was of a family of little tyrants in the Campagna (iv. 563). In the chronicle of Fossa Nova he is called "Landus Sinitus."

that the citizens should give him securities for their future conduct. It was therefore agreed that the senate should do homage and swear fealty to the pope, that they should surrender the royalties to him, and should bind themselves for his safety and for that of all who should resort to him; and in March 1178 he re-entered Rome amidst an unbounded display of enthusiasm on the part of his fickle subjects. The crowds of people who eagerly struggled to kiss his feet rendered it almost impossible for his horse to advance along the streets, and his right hand was weary of bestowing benedictions.<sup>p</sup>

In March 1179 a general council, attended by nearly three hundred bishops, and by about seven hundred abbots and others,<sup>q</sup> was held by Alexander in the Lateran church. Among the most important of its canons was a new order as to the election of popes. The share which had been reserved to the emperor by Nicolas II.<sup>r</sup> had already been long obsolete, and it was now provided that the election should rest exclusively with the college of cardinals, while, by adding to the college certain official members of the Roman clergy, Alexander deprived the remaining clergy of any chiefs under whom they might have effectually complained of their exclusion from their ancient rights as to the election.<sup>s</sup> It was enacted that no one should be declared pope unless he were supported by two thirds of the electors; and that, if a minority should set up an antipope against one so chosen, every one of their party should be anathematised, without hope of forgiveness until his last sickness.<sup>t</sup> At this council also a crusade against heretics was for the first time sanctioned.<sup>u</sup>

During the last years of Alexander, the affairs of the churches beyond the Alps were generally tranquil. The emperor was fully occupied in political business. Henry of England was disposed to maintain a good understanding with the pope, although he retained a virtual power of appointing to bishopricks, and used it in favour of persons who had been his strenuous supporters in the contest with Becket.<sup>x</sup> He pathetically entreated the aid of Alexander against his rebellious sons;<sup>y</sup> and we find the pope frequently mediating, by

<sup>p</sup> Card. Arag. 60.

<sup>q</sup> See Hefele, v. 632.

<sup>r</sup> See vol. ii. p. 583 (536).

<sup>s</sup> See Mabillon on the 'Ordo Romanus.' Patrol. lxxviii. 916.

<sup>t</sup> Conc. Lat. III., c. 1. The canon adds that this rule is not to interfere

with the custom of other churches, where a simple majority of electors is still to be sufficient; because such churches have an appeal to Rome in cases of dispute.

<sup>u</sup> Can. 27.

<sup>x</sup> See Life of Becket, 308.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. ad Alex. 32 (Patrol. cc.).



letters and by the agency of legates, between him and Louis of France. Louis became continually more and more absorbed in devotion. In 1179, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr at Canterbury, in obedience to visions in which he had been warned by the Saint himself to seek by such means the recovery of his son Philip from an illness brought on by exposure for a night in a forest where he had been hunting.<sup>z</sup> Soon after his return, the king was seized with paralysis, and on the 18th of September, 1180, he died.<sup>a</sup>

After a pontificate of twenty-two years—a time rarely equalled by any either of his predecessors or of his successors<sup>b</sup>—Alexander, who had once more been obliged to leave Rome, died at Civita Castellana on the 30th of August, 1181,<sup>c</sup> leaving a name which is only not in the first rank among the popes who have most signally advanced the power of their see.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Will. Armor. Philippid. i. 219, 321; Rigord. Gesta Philippi, in Bouq. xvii. 5; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1179 (Patrol. clx. 529); Bromton, in Twysden, 1139-40.

<sup>a</sup> Martin, iii. 503.

<sup>b</sup> Robert of Mont St. Michel reckons that he was only exceeded by St. Peter, who sat 25 years, and by Sylvester I. and Adrian I., who each sat 23 years (Patrol. clx. 537). The only later pope who has exceeded him is Pius VII., 1800-1823. Gregorov. iv. 565.

<sup>c</sup> Helinand reports a speech by which it would appear that Alexander was con-

scious of defects in his qualifications for some part of his office—"Cum aliquando a quodam appellaretur bonus papa, respondit, 'Bonus papa essem, si scirem prædicare, judicare, et poenitentiam dare.'" Chron. A.D. 1181, Patrol. cexii. 1069.

<sup>d</sup> The Anchin continuator of Sigebert (Patrol. clx. 317) says that some "insipientes Romani" met his body on the way to the city, uttered curses against him, threw mud and stones at the bier, and would hardly allow him to be buried in the Lateran.

## CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE LUCIUS III. TO THE DEATH  
OF CELESTINE III.

A.D. 1181-1198.

THE successor of Alexander, Humbald, Bishop of Ostia, was  
 Sept. 1, chosen by the cardinals alone, in compliance with the  
 1181. decree of the late council, and styled himself Lucius III.  
 The Romans, indignant at being deprived of their share in the  
 election, rose against the new pope, and compelled him to take  
 refuge at Velletri.<sup>a</sup> For a time he obtained aid against his  
 rebellious subjects from the imperial commander, Archbishop  
 Christian of Mentz; but this warlike prelate died in August,  
 1183—it is said, of drinking from a poisoned well, which proved  
 fatal to more than a thousand of his soldiers;<sup>b</sup> and Lucius was  
 never able to regain a footing in his city. The enmity of the  
 Romans against him was of the bitterest kind. In 1184 they  
 took twenty-six of his partisans at Tusculum, blinded them all,  
 except one, to whom they left one eye that he might serve as  
 guide to the rest, crowned them with paper mitres, each bearing  
 the name of a cardinal, while the one-eyed chief's mock tiara  
 was inscribed "Lucius, the wicked simoniac," mounted them on  
 asses, and made them swear to exhibit themselves in this miser-  
 able condition to the pope.<sup>c</sup>

In the meanwhile, Frederick made a skilful use of the time  
 of rest allowed him by the treaty of Venice. His behaviour  
 towards the Lombards became mild and gracious. By prudent  
 acts of conciliation, and especially by concessions as to the choice  
 of magistrates, he won the favour of many cities—even that of  
 Alexandria itself, which in 1183 agreed that its population should

<sup>a</sup> Murat. Ann. VII., i. 54. Mutius  
 of Monza, the Ghibelline annalist of  
 Piacenza, reports an epigram against this  
 pope—

"Lucius est piscis et rex [rex et?] tyrannus  
 aquarum,

A quo discordat Lucius iste parum."

—Pertz, xviii. 462.

<sup>b</sup> See Bened. Petrib. 402; Hoveden,  
 354 b; Gregorov. iv. 568. There is a

letter from Lucius to the German  
 bishops, desiring them to pray that  
 Christian's faults may be blotted out, in  
 consideration of the services which he  
 had rendered to the church in his last  
 days. Ep. 115, Patrol. cci.

<sup>c</sup> Albert. Stad. in Pertz, xvi. 350;  
 Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1184 (Patrol.  
 clx.).



leave the walls and should be led back by an imperial commissioner, and that its name should be changed to Cæsarea.<sup>d</sup> In June of that year, when the truce of Venice was almost expired, a permanent settlement of the relations between the empire and the cities was concluded at Constance. The cities were to retain all those royalties which they had before held, including the rights of levying war, and of maintaining their league for mutual support. They were to choose their own magistrates, subject only to the condition that these should be invested by an imperial commissioner. Certain dues were reserved to the emperor; and an oath of fidelity to him was to be taken by all between the ages of fifteen and seventy.<sup>e</sup> By these equitable terms the emperor's influence in Italy was greatly strengthened, while that of the pope was proportionally diminished.<sup>f</sup>

At Whitsuntide, 1184, a great assemblage, drawn together not only from all Frederick's territories but from foreign countries, met at Mentz, on the occasion of conferring knight-hood on the emperor's two sons, Henry, who had reached the age of twenty, and Frederick, who was two years younger. A city of tents and wooden huts was raised on the right bank of the Rhine, and preparations were made for the festival with all possible splendour. But omens of evil were drawn from the circumstance that many of the slight erections were blown down by a violent wind, and a quarrel for precedence which arose between the Archbishop of Cologne and St. Boniface's successor, the Abbot of Fulda, excited a fear that the scenes of Henry the Fourth's minority were about to be renewed. The difference was, however, allayed for the time by the prudence of Frederick and the young Henry, who, as the archbishop was withdrawing, hung on his neck and entreated him to return; and notwithstanding this untoward interruption, the festivities ended peacefully.<sup>g</sup>

In the following August, Frederick proceeded for the sixth time into Italy. The charm of his appearance and manner was universally felt. The cities were all eager in their welcome; even Milan, forgetting its old animosities and sufferings, received

<sup>d</sup> *Reconciliatio Cæsareæ*, in Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 181; Sismondi, *R. I.*, ii. 426; Luden, xi. 453-4. Some cities of their own accord substituted *podestàs* for consuls, and adopted the rule that the *podestà* should be a stranger, as a precaution against the influence of local factions. Savigny, iii. 133.

<sup>e</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 175; O. Sanblas. 27; Schmidt, ii. 639-641; Hallam, *M. A.*, i. 239; Sismondi, *R. I.*, ii. 427.

<sup>f</sup> Schröckh, xxvi. 231.

<sup>g</sup> O. Sanblas. 26; *Annal. Colon.*, A.D. 1184; Arnold. *Lubec*. iii. 9 (Pertz, xvi.); Gislebert. *Montens.* in *Bouq.* xviii. 373; Luden, xi. 461-5; Raumer, ii. 195-7.

him with splendid festivities, and was rewarded with privileges which excited the jealousy of its neighbours.<sup>h</sup> At Verona he had a meeting with the pope, who requested him to assist in reducing the Romans to obedience. But Frederick, who now had little reason to dread the influence of the pope in Lombardy, and was not attended by any considerable force, felt no zeal for the cause; and more than one subject of difference arose. On being asked to acknowledge the clergy who had been ordained by the late antipopes, Lucius at first appeared favourable, but said on the following day that such recognition had been limited by the treaty of Venice to certain dioceses, and that more could not be granted without a council. The old question of Matilda's inheritance was again discussed, and documents were produced on both sides, without any satisfactory conclusion.<sup>i</sup> Equally fruitless was a dispute as to the pretensions of two rival candidates for the archbishoprick of Treves — Volkmar, who had secured the pope's favour, and Rudolf, who had been invested by Frederick, agreeably to the Concordat of Worms. The emperor's son Henry had exercised great severities towards Volkmar's partisans,<sup>k</sup> and it would seem that reports of these acts, with a suspicion of the designs which Frederick afterwards manifested as to Sicily, combined in determining Lucius to refuse to crown Henry as his father's colleague;<sup>m</sup> but he professed to ground his refusal on the inconvenience of having two emperors, and added a suggestion which has the air of sarcasm — that, if Henry were to be crowned, his father must make way for him by resignation.<sup>n</sup> The breach between the pope and the emperor appeared to have become hopeless, when Lucius died at Verona, on the 25th of November, 1185.<sup>o</sup>

On the same day, Humbert Crivelli, archbishop of Milan, gathered together twenty-seven cardinals, under the protection of a guard, and was elected pope, with the title of Urban III.<sup>p</sup> The new pope, whose name was slightly varied by his enemies so as to express the turbulence which they

<sup>h</sup> O. Sanblas. 28; Luden, xi. 471-2.

<sup>i</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iii. 10; Luden, xi. 475.

<sup>k</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iii. 10; Gesta Trevirorum, in Martene and Durand, Coll. Ampliss. iv. 214, seqq.; Gervas. in Twysden, 1479; Luden, xi. 476.

<sup>m</sup> Albert of Stade says that Lucius was himself willing, but was dissuaded by his cardinals. A.D. 1184 (Pertz, xvi.).

<sup>n</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iii. 10; Luden, xi. 477; Raumer, ii. 214. Yet Alexander III. had in 1171 urged the archbishop of Reims to persuade Louis VII. to have his son crowned, citing the Byzantine empire as a precedent. Ep. 965.

<sup>o</sup> Jaffé.

<sup>p</sup> Urban. Ep. 12 (Patrol. ccii.); Ciacconius, i. 1123; Sehröckh, xxvi. 233.



imputed to him,<sup>q</sup> was of a Milanese family which had suffered greatly in the late contests; and private resentment on this account combined with his feelings as a citizen, and with the hierarchical opinions which had recommended him as a companion to Thomas of Canterbury in his exile,<sup>r</sup> in producing a bitter hostility against the emperor.<sup>s</sup> The disputes between the secular and the spiritual powers became more and more exasperated. Urban, in contempt of an oath which he had sworn to the contrary, consecrated the anti-imperialist Volkmar, as archbishop of Treves.<sup>t</sup> As archbishop of Milan—for, out of fear that an imperialist might be appointed as his successor, he still retained that see—he refused to crown Henry as king of the Lombards; he repeated his predecessor's refusal to crown him as a colleague in the empire;<sup>u</sup> and he showed himself strongly opposed to those designs on Sicily which Lucius had suspected, and which were now openly declared.

Roger, king of Sicily, had been succeeded in 1154 by his son William "the Bad," and this prince had been succeeded in 1166 by his son William "the Good," then a boy of fourteen.<sup>x</sup> The kingdom had been for many years a prey to barbarous and cruel factions.<sup>y</sup> William the Good had married in 1177 a daughter of Henry of England, but the marriage proved childless, and the Norman dominions in the south were likely to fall to Constance, a posthumous daughter of King Roger. With this princess Frederick formed the scheme of marrying his son Henry, although nine years her junior,<sup>z</sup>—a match which promised greatly to increase the imperial territory and power, and to deprive the pope of his

<sup>q</sup> They called him *Turbanus*—"eo quod, cum esset Mediolanensis natione, in odium imperatoris volebat turbare ecclesiam, quæ jam paulisper quietem acceperat." (Chron. Ursperg. 224.) The same witticism had been employed against Urban II. See vol. ii., p. 668.

<sup>r</sup> Herb. Bosham, in *Patrol.* cxc. 1289.

<sup>s</sup> *Gesta Trevir.* in *Mart. and Dur.*, Coll. *Ampliss.* iv. 210; *Luden*, xi. 478; *Giesel*, II., i. 96. A chronicler of Laon (but of English birth) says of him,—*"Hic papa in tanta execratione Teutonico habuit, ut eos a communi elemosyna sua amovere præceperit."* Bouq. xviii. 704. <sup>t</sup> *Gesta Trevir.* 217, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Arnold. *Lubec.* iii. 16.

<sup>x</sup> Giannone, ii. 425-7; Gibbon, vi. 366-7.

<sup>y</sup> See Hug. Falcand. in *Murat.* vii.

<sup>z</sup> Arnold. *Lubec.* iii. 14. Godfrey of Viterbo describes her as "*speciosa nimis*" (*Pantheon*, xvii., *Patrol.* excviii. 989); but other writers give a very opposite description (*Raumer*, ii. 215). Writers in the Guelf interest exaggerate her age, making her 55 or 60 at the time of her son Frederick's birth, and telling strange stories as to her marriage, in order that Frederick's birth may appear preternatural, and that he may be made out to be the antichrist. See *Annal. Stad.* in *Pertz*, xvi. 357; *Benven.* *Imol.* in *Murat. Antiq. Ital.* i. 1236; *Corn. Zantfliet*, in *Martene*, Coll. *Ampl.* i. 94; *Bianchi n.* on *Dante*, *Parad.* iii. 118 (Florence, 1854).

chief supporter. The marriage was zealously promoted by Walter, an Englishman of obscure birth, who had attained to the dignity of archbishop of Palermo;<sup>a</sup> Urban's opposition was vain, and his threats against all who should take part in the celebration were unheeded. At the request of the Milanese, who were eager to signalise their new-born loyalty, the nuptials were celebrated at Milan with great magnificence<sup>b</sup> in January 1186, when Frederick was crowned as king of Burgundy by the archbishop of Vienne, Henry as king of Italy by the patriarch of Aquileia, and Constance as queen of Germany by a German bishop.<sup>c</sup>

Other causes of difference concurred to inflame the pope. He complained of the emperor for detaining Matilda's inheritance; for seizing the property of bishops at their death,<sup>d</sup> keeping benefices vacant, and appropriating the income; for taxing the clergy and bringing them before secular courts; for having confiscated the revenues of some convents, under pretence that the nuns were of vicious life, instead of introducing a reform; and he denounced, apparently with justice, the cruelties and other outrages which the young Henry had committed towards some bishops.<sup>e</sup>

Frederick was now in great power, while the pope was still an exile from his city. It was in vain that archbishop Philip of Cologne, who had been appointed legate for Germany, endeavoured to assert Urban's pretensions, and to intrigue against the emperor; for the German bishops in general were on the side of their temporal sovereign.<sup>f</sup> At an interview with Philip, Frederick declared that it was enough for the clergy to have got into their own hands the choice of bishops—a choice, he added, which they had not exercised so uprightly or with such good effect as the sovereigns who in former times had held the patronage; and that, although his imperial prerogative had been greatly curtailed as to the affairs of the Church, he was determined to maintain the small remnant of it which he had inherited.<sup>g</sup> The legate was forbidden to appear at a diet which was to be

<sup>a</sup> See Pet. Bles. Ep. 66 (Patrol. ccvii.).

<sup>b</sup> The bride brought with her more than 150 horses, with loads of gold, silver, "et xamitarum, et paliorum, et grisiorum, et variorum, et aliarum bonarum rerum." Chron. Placent. in Pertz, xviii. 415.

<sup>c</sup> O. Sanblas. 28; R. de Diceto, 629;

Murat. Ann. VII., i. 69-71; Giannone, ii. 523, seqq.; Luden, xi. 480-1.

<sup>d</sup> See as to the *jus exuviarum*, below C. XIII., i. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iii. 16; Urban, Epp. 43, 119.

<sup>f</sup> Arnold. iii. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.



held at Gelnhausen in April 1186. There Frederick, in a forcible speech, declared that, in his differences with the pope, the pope had been the aggressor, and he inveighed against the Roman claims. It was, he said, ridiculous to pretend that no layman ought to hold tithes, inasmuch as the custom of thus providing for the necessary services of advocates of churches was so old as to have established a right. He asked his bishops whether they would render what was due both to Cæsar and to God; to which the archbishop of Mentz (Conrad, who, on the death of Christian, had recovered the primacy) replied, in the name of the rest, that they owed a twofold duty; that it was not for them to decide the matters in dispute, but that they would write to the pope, advising him to proceed with moderation.<sup>h</sup> They wrote accordingly, stating the emperor's case and their own view of the question;<sup>i</sup> and the pope, on receiving the letter, was astonished to find himself opposed by those whose rights he had supposed himself to be asserting.<sup>k</sup> Frederick refused to admit Volkmar as archbishop of Treves, and shut up all the ways by which appeals could be carried to the pope; Henry continued his savage outrages, and endangered the pope's person—keeping him almost a prisoner within the walls of Verona;<sup>m</sup> and Urban, exasperated to the utmost, resolved to inflict the heaviest censures of the Church on him. The citizens of Verona, where he had intended to pronounce his sentence, entreated that, "out of regard for their present service," he would choose some other scene; and, at their request, he removed to Ferrara.<sup>o</sup> But, while he was there preparing for the final act, tidings arrived from the East, which once more set all Europe in commotion; and Urban died at Ferrara on the 20th of October, 1187.<sup>p</sup>

The course of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had been alike discreditable and unprosperous.<sup>q</sup> The sympathies of

<sup>h</sup> Arnold, iii. 18.<sup>i</sup> Diceto, 632-4.<sup>k</sup> Arnold, iii. 18.<sup>m</sup> Arnold, iii. 16-7; Rob. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 252.<sup>o</sup> Arnold, iii. 18; Luden, xi. 493. See Pet. Bles. Ep. 211 (Patrol. ccvii.).<sup>p</sup> Alb. Stad. A.D. 1189; Jaffé. "Nutu Dei percussus interiit." Chron. Ursperg. 224.<sup>q</sup> The chief authorities for the account of the third crusade are the French con-

tinuator of William of Tyre (Patrol. cci.; the so-called Bernard the Treasurer, in Murat. vii., is mainly a Latin translation of this); the 'Itinerarium Terræ Sanctæ,' commonly known as the work of G. Vinisauf, but supposed to be really by Richard, canon of Holy Trinity, London (in Gale, i.; and lately republished, with a very valuable preface, by Mr. Stubbs, in his 'Memorials of Richard I.');

the 'Anonymus' in

western Christians for their brethren of the Holy Land had been greatly cooled by the experiences of the Second Crusade; the pilgrims were now few, and these were content to perform their pilgrimage without attempting or wishing to strengthen the Latin d<sup>o</sup>minion, or to take part in the incessant contest with the Infidels.<sup>r</sup> In 1167, king Amaury brought disgrace on the Christian name by attempting, in conjunction with a Greek force, to seize on Egypt in violation of a treaty; and in this treachery he was abetted by the Knights of the Hospital, although the Templars—whether from a feeling of honour and duty, or from jealousy of the rival order,—held aloof.<sup>s</sup> Baldwin IV., who in 1174 succeeded his father Amaury at the age of thirteen, had been carefully educated by the historian William, then archdeacon and afterwards archbishop of Tyre; but this young king's promise was soon clouded over by hopeless disease,<sup>t</sup> and his sister Sibylla became presumptive heiress of the kingdom. Sibylla, then a widow, was sought in marriage by many princes; but she bestowed her hand on Guy of Lusignan, an adventurer from Poitou, whose personal beauty was unaccompanied by such qualities as would have fitted him to maintain the position which it had won for him.<sup>u</sup> On the death of Baldwin IV., in 1185, the son of Sibylla's first marriage was crowned as Baldwin V.; but this boy died within a year, and his mother and her husband, who before had met with much opposition, obtained possession of the kingdom.<sup>x</sup> The princes of the Latins were distracted by jealousies and intrigues; the patriarchs and bishops were in continual strife with each other, with the chiefs, and especially with the two great knightly orders, which, relying on papal privileges and exemptions, defied all authority, ecclesiastical or secular.<sup>y</sup> The Templars were especially detested for their pride, while they were charged with treachery to the Christian cause.<sup>z</sup> The general state of morals was excessively depraved. In Acre alone it is said that there were 16,000 professed prostitutes.<sup>a</sup> The clergy and the

Canisius, vol. iii.; R. de Coggeshale, in Martene, Coll. Ampliss. v.; Richard of Devizes, de Gestis Ric. I. (English Histor. Society); Tageno, in Freher, i. (see Pertz, xvii. 499); James of Vitry, in Bongars, 'Gesta Dei per Francos'; Ansbertus, ed. Dobrowsky, Prague, 1827.

<sup>r</sup> Wilken, III., ii. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Will. Tyr. xx. 4-10; Gibbon, v. 480-1.

<sup>t</sup> Will. Tyr. xxi. 1-2.

<sup>u</sup> Will. Tyr. xxii. 1; Ben. Petrib. 443; O. Sanblas. 29; Raumer, ii. 253; Wilken, III., ii. 196.

<sup>x</sup> Bernard. Thesaur. 148-150 (Murat. vii.); Raumer, ii. 260.

<sup>y</sup> Will. Tyr. xviii. 3; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 24; Wilken, III., ii. 35-7; Raumer, ii. 231, 256-7; Vertot, i. 182.

<sup>z</sup> Wilken, III., ii. 263.

<sup>a</sup> "Sedecim millia meretricum, præter alias et occultas et similes in matri-



monks are described as infamous for their manner of life.<sup>b</sup> Their chief, the patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem, who had been recommended to Sibylla by his fine person, and through her favour had been forced into the patriarchal throne, lived in open and luxurious profligacy with a tradesman's wife of Nablous, who was generally styled the patriarchess.<sup>c</sup>

The power of the Mussulmans was advancing. Noureddin, who died in 1173, was succeeded as their most conspicuous chief by Saladin, son of a Curdish mercenary, and nephew of Siracouh, a distinguished general, who under Noureddin had been vizier of Egypt.<sup>d</sup> Saladin, born in 1137, is celebrated not only by Moslem but by Christian writers, for his skill in arms, his personal bravery, his accomplishments, his justice, his magnanimity, generosity, courtesy, and truth. In him, indeed, rather than in any Christian warrior of the time, may be found the union of some of the highest qualities which adorn the ideal character of chivalry. His piety and orthodoxy, although agreeable to the strictest Mahometan standard, were wholly free from intolerance.<sup>e</sup> Yet, superior as he appears in many respects to the Christians of his time in general, Saladin will not endure to be measured by a standard which should make no allowance for the disadvantages of his training in the creed and the habits of Islam. The manner in which he superseded Noureddin's minor son would have been unjustifiable, except on Oriental principles;<sup>f</sup> nor did the humaneness of his general character prevent him from having occasional recourse to unscrupulous bloodshed for the accomplishment of his purposes.<sup>g</sup>

"If Noureddin was a rod of the Lord's fury against the Christians," says a chronicler, "Saladin was not a rod but a hammer."<sup>h</sup> In his earlier career, while extending his conquests

monio constitutas, quarum statum solus novit Deus." *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, MS., quoted by Raumer, ii. 258; Cf. Will. Tyr. xxi. 7; Raumer, ii. 258.

<sup>b</sup> Bern. Thes. 162; Rob. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 254.

<sup>c</sup> Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 11; Bernard. Thesaur. 142-3 (Murat. vii.); Wilken, ii. 260; Bayle, art. *Heraclius*. William of Tyre opposed the election of Heraclius, and is said to have been poisoned by an emissary of the patriarch at Rome, where he was endeavouring to get it annulled. (Bernard, 142; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 10.) But it would seem that he was alive some years after the alleged date of this crime. Hist. Litt. xiv. 519; Herzog, xviii. 149; and

p. 117, below.

<sup>d</sup> Will. Tyr. xx. 12; Gibbon, v. 482; Wilken, III., ii. 153.

<sup>e</sup> Gibbon, v. 482; Raumer, ii. 247.

For the Oriental accounts, see Michaud, *Biblioth. des Crois.* iv. § 68. The writer who is known as Alberic of Trois Fontaines, says that Saladin bequeathed money to the poor, Saracens, Jews, and Christians, in order that, if his soul derived no benefit from two of these religions, it might be benefited by the third—"Et ex hoc ostendit quod non ex toto fiduciam habuerit in lege sua Saracenicâ." Bouq. xviii. 758.

<sup>f</sup> See Gibbon, v. 482.

<sup>g</sup> See Döllinger, 'Ueber Islam.'

<sup>h</sup> Will. Neubrig. iii. 10.

in every direction, he had treated them with remarkable forbearance; but at length he was roused to direct hostilities by the continual attacks of some, who plundered the borders of his territory, and seized on caravans of peaceful travellers.<sup>1</sup> In 1187, he invaded the Holy Land at the head of 80,000 men, and the Christians sustained a terrible defeat at the July 5, 1187. battle of Hittim or Tiberias—fought within sight of the very scenes which had been hallowed by many of the Gospel miracles. The cross on which the Saviour was believed to have died, having been brought from Jerusalem as a means of strength and victory, was lost.<sup>k</sup> The king and many of the Frankish chiefs were taken, together with many Templars and Hospitallers, who, with the exception of the Grand Master of the Temple, were all beheaded on refusing to apostatize from the faith. Some of the captives, however, became renegades, and betrayed the secrets of the Latins to the enemy.<sup>m</sup> Animated with fresh vigour by this victory, Saladin rapidly overran the land.<sup>n</sup> Jerusalem itself was besieged, and, after a faint defence had been made for a fortnight by its scanty and disheartened garrison, it was surrendered on the 3rd of October.<sup>o</sup> The cross was thrown down from the mosque of Omar,<sup>p</sup> amid the groans of the Christians who witnessed its fall, and the building, after having been purged with incense and rose-water, was restored to Mahometan worship. Bells were broken down, relics were dispersed, and the sacred places were profaned.<sup>q</sup> Yet Saladin spared the Holy Sepulchre, and allowed Christians to visit it for a certain payment; he permitted ten brethren of the Hospital to remain for the tendance of the sick, and

<sup>1</sup> Anon. Canis. 500.

<sup>k</sup> According to some, it fell into the hands of the infidels (Coggeshale, c. 7, p. 553; Vinisauf, i. 5; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 24; Will. Neubrig. iii. 10; and the oriental accounts in Michaud, Biblioth. 195). But others suppose it to have been lost on the field; and there is a story of a Templar who professed to have buried it, but, although men were set to dig three nights under his direction (as it would have been unsafe to dig by day), was unable to point out the place (Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 13. See Wilken, III., ii. 285-7). It was afterwards said that the sacred wood had been cut, and that, while part of it was lost at Hittim, the rest remained in the possession of the Christians (Bern. Thes. 186; Hist. Captionis Damietæ, 1, in Gale, i.). There is a curious story as

to the manner in which a portion of it found its way to Genoa, in Pertz, xviii. 53.

<sup>m</sup> R. Coggeshale, cc. 11-4; Id. Chronic. p. 812; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 12; Otto Sanblas. 30; Vinisauf, 5; Ben. Petrib. 472-7; Hoveden, 362; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 24; Wilken, III., ii. 282-291; Michaud, iv. 57.

<sup>n</sup> Coggesh. 15-25.

<sup>o</sup> R. Coggeshale (who was there during the siege), cc. 26-9; Id. Chron. A.D. 1187; Diceto, 640; Bern. Thes. 161-3; Wilken, III., ii. 299-311; Oriental accounts in Michaud, Biblioth., iv. 209.

<sup>p</sup> "Je ne di pas," says the continuator of William of Tyre, "que ce fu par le commandement de Salahadin." xxiii. 29.

<sup>q</sup> Coggeshale, 31-2; Bened. Petrib. 509; Vinisauf, 9; Gibbon, v. 488.



even endowed them with a certain income;<sup>r</sup> and to the captives, of whom there were many thousands, he behaved with a generosity which has found its celebration rather among Christian than among Mussulman writers.<sup>s</sup> The terms of ransom offered to all were very liberal; fourteen thousand were set free without payment; and at the expense of the conqueror and of the Alexandrian Saracens, many Christians received a passage to Europe, when their own brethren refused to admit them on shipboard, except on condition of paying the full cost.<sup>t</sup> The Syrian and other oriental Christians were allowed to remain in their homes, on condition of tribute.<sup>u</sup> All Palestine was soon in the hands of the infidels, except the great port of Tyre, where Conrad, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, arrived after it had been invested by the enemy, and, by his courage and warlike skill, aided by money which Henry of England had remitted for the defence of the Holy Land, animated the remnant of the Christians to hold out.<sup>x</sup> It was noted that the holy cross which had been recovered from the Persians by the emperor Heraclius,<sup>y</sup> was again lost under a patriarch of the same name; and that as Jerusalem had been wrested from the Saracens under Urban II., it was recovered by them under Urban III.<sup>z</sup>

From time to time attempts had been made by the princes and prelates of the Holy Land, to enlist the Western nations in a new enterprise for their assistance; but they had met with little success. The emperor, the king of France, and the king of England, were all engrossed by their own affairs; and, although frequent conferences took place between Henry and Louis, with a view to an alliance for a holy war, these did not produce any actual result beyond contributions of money, in which Henry's liberality far exceeded that of the French king.<sup>a</sup> In 1184, the patriarch Heraclius, accompanied by the grand master of the

<sup>r</sup> R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 256; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 26; Will. Neubrig. iii. 18; Ben. Petr. 509; Raumer, ii. 275-6.

<sup>s</sup> Michaud, iv. 64; Bern. Thes. 163-5.

<sup>t</sup> Vinisauf, 9; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 26-8; Bernard. Thesaur. 165; Wilken, III., ii. 314-8.

<sup>u</sup> R. Altiss. l. c.

<sup>x</sup> Anon. Canis. 501; Vinisauf, 7, 10, 12; Will. Neubrig. iii. 19; Sicard. Cremon. in Patrol. cexiii. 517-8; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 14, 30-1; Hoveden, 362, b; Jac. Vitriac. 1119; Gibbon, v. 489. Although it is needless to relate here the story of Conrad's former adventures (see Nicetas, Manuel. v. 8; De Is. Ang. i. 7),

it may be well to remark that the representation of him in Scott's 'Talisman' is utterly unlike the real character of this warlike and ambitious adventurer. Sicard of Cremona bestows a curious collection of epithets on him—"Vir militaris et in re militari peritus, cautus et strenuus, fortis et audax, superbus, magnanimus et devotus, humillimus." Patrol. cexiii. 530.

<sup>y</sup> See vol. ii. p. 33 (31).

<sup>z</sup> Sicard, 518; Will. Neubrig, iii. 15, p. 250.

<sup>a</sup> Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1166 (Patrol. clx.); Ben. Petrib. 244; R. de Diceto, 599.

Templars<sup>b</sup> and the prior of the Hospital, bearing with them the keys of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre, with the banner of the Latin kingdom, set out on a mission to enlist Europe to their aid. The Templar died at Verona, but the Patriarch and the Hospitaller, fortified with a letter from pope Lucius,<sup>c</sup> went on to Germany, France, and England. The general feeling, however, was lukewarm. King Henry was told by his prelates and nobles that his duties lay rather at home than in the East, and he could only offer money; whereupon Heraclius indignantly exclaimed "We want a man without money, rather than money without a man!"<sup>d</sup> But the events which had now taken place aroused all Europe. The tidings of the calamity which had befallen the Christians of the East at once made peace between the emperor and the pope, between England and France, between Genoa and Pisa, between Venice and Hungary.<sup>e</sup> Urban III. is said to have been killed by the report of the capture of Jerusalem.<sup>f</sup> His successor, Gregory VIII., issued letters urgently summoning the faithful to aid their brethren in the East;<sup>g</sup> and on his death, after a pontificate of less than two months, the cause was vigorously taken up by Clement III.<sup>h</sup> The cardinals bound themselves to give up all pomp and luxury, to accept no bribes from suitors, never to mount on horseback "so long as the land whereon the feet of the Lord had stood should be under the enemy's feet," and to preach the Crusade as mendicants.<sup>i</sup> The king of Sicily vowed to assist the holy enterprise to the utmost of his power.<sup>k</sup> Henry of England, Philip of France, and Philip count of Flanders, met at the "oak of Jan. 21, conference" between Gisors and Trie, on St. Agnes' 1186. day, and, with many of their followers, received the

<sup>b</sup> This title looks oddly in Greek—*ὁν Τεμπλουμαίστορα Λατῖνοι ὀνομάζουσι*. Cinnamus, iv. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 182, Patr. cci. There are many letters of Alexander III. in favour of the Holy Land, e.g. Epp. 588, 590, 626-7, 1047, 1233, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Ben. Petrib. 425, 429, 434-7; Pet. Bles. Ep. 98 (Patrol. ccvii.); R. de Diceto, 622-6; Girald. Cambrens. de Expugn. Hiberniæ, ii. 26; Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 14; Pauli, iii. 175-6. The patriarch's speech may have been an allusion to Walter the Pennyless.

<sup>e</sup> Murat. Ann. VII., i. 80-1.

<sup>f</sup> It is doubtful whether he lived to hear of it. But at least he knew that the battle of Tiberias was lost, that Saladin was advancing without a check, and

perhaps that he had laid siege to Jerusalem. See Ben. Petrib. 473-7; Chron. Petrib. A.D. 1188 (in Sparke); Jac. Auriae in Pertz, xviii. 54; Murat. Ann. VII., i. 77; Raumer, ii. 277.

<sup>g</sup> Epp. 1, 4 (Oct. 27, 29, 1187), Patrol. ccii. Gregory was that Cardinal Albert who had been sent as one of the legates to Henry II., after the murder of Becket. He is said to have had great designs of reform, but had no time to act on them. Chron. Ursperg. 230; Chron. Turon. in Mart. and Dur., Coll. Ampliss. v. 1030; R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 257; Cf. Ep. 23.

<sup>h</sup> Will. Neubrig. iii. 22; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 27.

<sup>i</sup> Pet. Bles. Ep. 219; Hoveden, 362, b.

<sup>k</sup> Pet. Bles. l. c.



cross from the hands of the archbishop of Tyre.<sup>m</sup> A heavy impost was laid on their subjects, under the name of "Saladin's tithe,"<sup>n</sup> and especial prayers for the Holy Land were inserted into the church-service.<sup>o</sup> William of Scotland offered to contribute money, but his nobles strongly withstood the proposal that they should be taxed in the same proportion as the English.<sup>p</sup>

In Germany, too, the Crusade was preached with great success. A chronicler tells us that, at an assembly which was held at Strasburg, in December 1187, the cause of the Holy Land was at first set forth by two Italian ecclesiastics, but that their words fell dead on the hearers. The bishop of the city then took it up, and produced a general emotion; but still men hesitated to commit themselves to the enterprise. When, however, one had at length set the example of taking the cross, the bishop began the hymn "Veni Sancte Spiritus;" and forthwith such was the crowd of people who pressed forward to enlist, with an enthusiasm which found a vent in tears, that he and his clergy were hardly able to supply them with the badges of the holy war.<sup>q</sup> In the following Lent, a great diet, known as the "Court of Christ," was held at Mentz, where cardinal Henry of Albano appeared as the preacher of the Crusade; and, although he was unable to speak the language of the country, his words, even through the medium of an interpreter, powerfully excited the assembly.<sup>r</sup> The emperor and his younger son, Frederick of Swabia, were the first to assume the cross, and were followed by an enthusiastic multitude of every class.<sup>s</sup> Thus the three greatest princes of Europe were all embarked in the enterprise. Frederick Barbarossa was now sixty-seven years of age, but retained his full vigour of body; his long contests had been brought to a peaceable end; and he might hope, by engaging in the holy war, to clear himself of all imputations which had fallen on his character as a churchman, and even to adorn his name with a glory like that which rested on Godfrey of Bouillon and his comrades in the first crusade.<sup>t</sup> Having accompanied his uncle Conrad on the second

<sup>m</sup> Vinisauf, ii. 3; Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 25; R. de Diceto, 636; Ben. Petrib. 495-6. That this archbishop was the historian William, and consequently that the story of his having been poisoned some years before (see p. 113), is untrue, see Michaud, iv. 69. A cross is said to have appeared in the sky on the occasion. Hoveden, 365.

<sup>n</sup> Ben. Petrib. 496-8; Bern. Thes. 169.

<sup>o</sup> Ben. Petrib. 524. Rigord (25) gives the rules for the Crusaders, drawn up by a council under Philip at Paris, in March, 1188.

<sup>p</sup> Id. 514-5.

<sup>q</sup> Annal. Marbac. in Pertz, xvii. 163.

<sup>r</sup> Henr. Alban. Ep. 32 (Patrol. cciv.); Ansbert. 13; Luden, xi. 510.

<sup>s</sup> Clem. III. Ep. 105 (Patrol. cciv.); Anon. Canis. 503-4; Ansbert. 18.

<sup>t</sup> See Ansbert. 6-7.

crusade, he was resolved to guard against a repetition of the errors by which that expedition had been frustrated. He ordered that no one should be allowed to join his force except such as were able-bodied, accustomed to bear arms, and sufficiently furnished with money to bear their own expenses for two years;<sup>u</sup> carriages were provided for the sick and wounded, that they might not be a drag on the progress of the army;<sup>x</sup> and Frederick endeavoured by embassies to the king of Hungary, to the Byzantine emperor, and to the sultan of Iconium (whose adhesion to the Mussulman cause was supposed to be very slight) to assure himself of an unmolested passage and of markets for provisions along the route. From all he received favourable answers;<sup>y</sup> and, having taken measures to secure the peace of his dominions during his absence,<sup>z</sup> the emperor was ready to set out at the appointed time, in the spring of 1189.<sup>a</sup>

From Ratisbon, where the forces were mustered,<sup>b</sup> some proceeded down the Danube in boats into Hungary, where they waited for the emperor and the rest.<sup>c</sup> Through Hungary their passage was prosperous. King Bela welcomed the emperor with all honour, and bestowed large gifts of provisions on the army; it is, however, complained that the natives took unfair advantages in the exchange of money.<sup>d</sup> In Bulgaria, provisions were refused at the instigation of the Greeks, and some of the crusaders were wounded by arrows; but Frederick by vigorous measures brought the Bulgarians to submission, while he restrained his own followers by strict discipline from plunder and

<sup>u</sup> Otto Sanblas. 31; Annal. Marbac. 1188; Anon. Canis. 504; Vinisauf, 20. Luden blames these precautions, as shutting out those whose motives might be the noblest, cutting off the poor from the source of grace, &c. ! (xi. 56).

<sup>x</sup> Vinis. 20.

<sup>y</sup> Nicet. de Is. Angelo, ii. 3; Ansbert. 19; Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 794-6; Anon. Canis. 504-5; Annal. Pegav. A.D. 1189 (Pertz, xvi. 266); O. Sanblas. 31; Michaud, iv. 81. A letter addressed in the name of Frederick to Saladin, and one which is supposed to be the answer, are given by many writers; but their genuineness (or, at least, that of the former letter) is for the most part disbelieved. See Pet. Bles. Ep. 213; Hoveden, 370; Ben. Petrib. 535; R. de Diceto, 640-1; Vinisauf, 8; Anon. Canis. 504-5; Coggeshale, 577-580; Schröckh, xxv. 129; Luden, xi. 70-2, 514; Raumer, ii. 282. Wilken supposes

Saladin's letter to be genuine, but the other to be a forgery substituted for a letter which is lost. iv. 52.

<sup>z</sup> The genuineness of the letter for the peace of the empire, ascribed to Frederick, is questioned by Luden, xi. 698-700.

<sup>a</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iii. 28; Chron. Ursperg. 230-1.

<sup>b</sup> The numbers are so very variously given that it is unsafe to place any reliance on the statements. See R. de Coggeshale, 53; Sicard. Cremon. Patrol. ccxiii. 521; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 29; Muratori, Ann. VII., ii. 84; Luden, xi. 518.

<sup>c</sup> Annal. Pegav. in Pertz, xvi. 266. Frederick left Ratisbon on April 9. Tageno, 6.

<sup>d</sup> Arnold. Lub. iii. 29; Annal. Colon. 797; Otto Sanblas. 32; Append. ad Radevic ap. Urstis. 560; Ansbert, 22, 26-7.



other offensive acts.<sup>e</sup> But on entering the Greek territories, more serious difficulties arose.

The old unkindly feeling between the Greeks and the Latins had not been lessened by late events.<sup>f</sup> The interest which Manuel had laboured to create with the pope and the Italians had been destroyed by their reconciliation with Frederick.<sup>g</sup> Under Andronicus, who in 1183 attained the Byzantine throne by the murder of the young Alexius, son of Manuel, a great massacre of the Latin residents had taken place at Constantinople. In this atrocity the mob was aided by the usurper's forces; the clergy were active in urging on the murderers, and burst out into a song of thanksgiving when the head of the cardinal-legate was cut off and treated with indignity.<sup>h</sup> Isaac Angelus, by whom Andronicus was dethroned in 1185, had carried on friendly negotiations with Saladin, to whom, in consideration of the cession of some churches in the Holy Land, he granted leave to erect a mosque in Constantinople itself.<sup>i</sup> The Greeks, who from time to time had continued to attack the western sojourners at Constantinople,<sup>k</sup> were naturally uneasy at the approach of a formidable host, under a commander so renowned as Frederick; Isaac himself was especially alarmed in consequence of predictions uttered by one Dositheus, who had acquired a strong influence over him by foretelling his elevation to the empire;<sup>m</sup> and, with a view of impeding the Germans, recourse was had to the arts which had already been tried in the former crusades. The patriarch had excited the populace beforehand by denouncing the strangers as heretics and dogs.<sup>n</sup> The bishop of Munster and other ambassadors whom Frederick sent to Constantinople were treated with slights, and committed to prison, where they were subjected to hunger and other sufferings;<sup>o</sup> and, notwithstanding the assurances which had been given as to supplies and other assistance, cities were deserted or shut up as the Crusaders approached them, and they were harassed by frequent and insidious attacks of Greek soldiery.<sup>p</sup> It appears on Mussulman

<sup>e</sup> Dietpold. Patav. ap. Tagen. 6; Ansb. 26-9; Annal. Colon. 797; Anon. Canis. 506; O. Sanblas. 32. Some Crusaders who afterwards overtook the main force reported that in Bulgaria they had seen the bodies of their dead brethren torn from the grave and hung upon trees. Anon. Canis. 509.

<sup>f</sup> See *e. g.* Vinisauf, i. 21.

<sup>g</sup> Gibbon, v. 365-6.

<sup>h</sup> Nicet. de Alexio, c. 11; Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 539, 542; Will. Tyr.

xxii. 10-2; Gibbon, vi. 7-8.

<sup>i</sup> Bohaëddin, in Michaud, Biblioth. iv. 270; Vinisauf, 21; Gibbon, vi. 9, 471.

<sup>k</sup> Ansb. 38-40.

<sup>m</sup> Nicet. ii. 4. Dositheus was for a short time patriarch, ib.

<sup>n</sup> Ansb. 52.

<sup>o</sup> Annal. Colon. 97; Anon. Canis. 505, 510; Vinis. 21; Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 5; Ansb. 41, 44, 52.

<sup>p</sup> Frid. ad Henricum in Mart. 104. Ampl. i. 909; Anon. Canis. 507-9, 511;

authority that the Greek emperor afterwards claimed credit with Saladin for having troubled the Germans on their expedition.<sup>a</sup> Frederick, from a resolution not to waste his strength in Europe, was desirous to avoid all quarrels; but finding himself reduced to choose between perishing by hunger and the employment of force to gain the needful supplies, he took Philippople, Adrianople, and other towns, in which he got possession of great wealth, with abundant stores of food. The Greek emperor, on hearing of these successes, changed his policy, restored the bishop of Munster and his companions,<sup>r</sup> and sent envoys of his own who were charged to offer all manner of redress and assistance if Frederick would consent to hold the west on condition of homage.<sup>s</sup> The Byzantines renewed the old war of ceremony, treating Frederick as a petty prince of whose name they affected to be ignorant—as “king of the Germans,” while Isaac was styled “emperor of the Romans.” “Does your master know who I am?” said Frederick indignantly to the Greek ambassadors at Philippople, “My name is Frederick; I am emperor of the Romans, crowned in the city which is mother and mistress of the world, by the successor of the prince of the apostles, and have held without question for more than thirty years a sceptre which my predecessors have lawfully possessed for four hundred years, since it was transferred from Constantinople for the inertness of your rulers. Let your master style himself sovereign of the Romanians,<sup>t</sup> and cease to use a title which in him is empty and ridiculous; for there is but one emperor of the Romans.” This firmness had its effect, and Isaac submitted to address Frederick as “emperor of the Germans,” and at length as “most noble emperor of old Rome.”<sup>u</sup>

After a stay of fourteen weeks at Adrianople, where vigorous measures were employed with imperfect success to counteract the enervating influence of the plenty which had succeeded to the former privations,<sup>x</sup> the army again advanced, and at

Arnold. Lubec. iii. 31; Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 3; Ansbert. 69. It is said that in churches and other buildings the Crusaders found pictures which represented Greeks as trampling on the necks of pilgrims. Anon. Canis. 514.

<sup>a</sup> Bohaëddin, in Michaud, Biblioth. iv. 275.

<sup>r</sup> Ansbert. 58-9. *Procuratum* seems to be a misreading for *propinatum*.

<sup>s</sup> Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 5; Ansbert. 41-50.

<sup>t</sup> Ansbert. 53; Anon. Canis. 511-4;

Otto Sanblas. 32-4; Annal. Colon. 798-9; Dietpold in Tageno, 7-8. It was not the imperial title of Isaac that was contested, as if there could be only one emperor in the world; but only his right to style himself emperor of the Romans.

<sup>u</sup> Ansbert. 54-5.

<sup>x</sup> Any person of either sex who was caught in an act of unchastity, after having been paraded about the town in very shameful guise, was ducked in the wintry river amid general derision. Ansbert. 65.



Easter it was conveyed from Gallipoli to the Asiatic coast in vessels furnished by the Greek emperor, who had agreed to make compensation for all injuries, and to bestow his daughter in marriage on Frederick's son Philip. The crossing of the Hellespont lasted seven days, and the whole number of those who crossed is reckoned at 83,000.<sup>y</sup>

The first few days of the march through Asia Minor were prosperous; but it soon appeared that the Greek emperor and the sultan of Iconium (who had renewed his friendly assurances by ambassadors who waited on Frederick at Adrianople)<sup>z</sup> were treacherous. No markets were to be found; the interpreters who had been furnished by the Greeks, and the sultan's ambassadors who accompanied the army, disappeared, after having lured the Crusaders into a desert. The horses broke down from want of food, and their flesh was greedily eaten; while Turkish soldiers began to hover around in ever-increasing numbers, "barking around us like dogs," says one who was in the expedition<sup>a</sup>—threatening and harassing the army, but always declining an engagement.<sup>b</sup> Yet Frederick was still able to maintain discipline. The festival of Pentecost was kept amidst danger and distress. The bishop of Würzburg delivered an exhortation to the Crusaders; all received the holy Eucharist, and on the following day they attacked and defeated a force commanded by the sultan's son.<sup>c</sup> On approaching Iconium, the emperor found that his advance was barred by a vast force of Turks,<sup>d</sup> who refused him a passage except on the payment of a bezant for every soldier in his army, while the city was closed against him. But, although his cavalry were now reduced below a thousand, and were worn out with severe sufferings from hunger and thirst, he boldly attacked the Turks, and defeated them with vast slaughter, while the younger Frederick assaulted the city, and compelled the perfidious sultan to surrender it.<sup>e</sup> As in earlier days, it is said that the Crusaders were aided by a troop of shining warriors, bearing the red cross on their white shields, and headed by the martial St. George,<sup>f</sup> whose protection, with that of God, they had invoked

<sup>y</sup> Tageno, 10; Ansbert. 70-5; Annal. Colon. 799; Arnold. Lub. iii. 31; Anon. Canis. 515; Vinis. i. 22. See Raumer, ii. 290.

<sup>z</sup> Tageno, 10.

<sup>a</sup> Tageno, 11.

<sup>b</sup> Ansbert. 82, 85, seqq.; Anon. Canis. 517-8; Otto Sanblas. 34; Append. ad Radev. ap. Urstis. 560-1; Annal. Colon. 799; Vinis. i. 23; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 32.

<sup>c</sup> Ansbert. 91; Anon. Canis. 520-1.

<sup>d</sup> The Appendix to Radevic reckons them at 200,000, p. 562; Tageno (12) at 600,000.

<sup>e</sup> Anon. Canis. 523-5; Ansbert. 93-7; Sicard. in Patrol. cexiii. 524; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 33; Vinis. i. 23-4; Append. ad Radev. 562; O. Sanblas. 34; Tageno, 12-3.

<sup>f</sup> Append. ad Radev. 561; Sicard. l. c.; Ansbert. 94.

before the fight. By these successes Frederick's fame was raised to the highest pitch throughout the east. The army, refreshed with provisions and enriched by the spoil of Iconium (although even there he compelled the observance of order and moderation)<sup>g</sup> made its way boldly through the rocky defiles of Cilicia,<sup>h</sup> and was pressing onwards with hope of speedily achieving the object of the expedition; when the hopes of Christendom sank, and the confidence of the Moslems revived, as tidings were spread that the great leader had perished in attempting to cross the river Salef or Calycadnus,<sup>i</sup> near Tarsus.<sup>k</sup> The loss to his army was immense and irreparable. Discipline was no longer preserved. On reaching Antioch, multitudes fell victims to the heat of the climate, or to the intemperance with which they indulged in food and drink after their late privations. Many of the survivors abandoned the crusade and returned to Europe; and the younger Frederick died soon after his arrival at Acre,<sup>m</sup> where his appearance at the head of a force reduced below 5000 had rather brought discouragement than hope to the beleaguered garrison.<sup>n</sup>

In the mean time some of the Germans, who had completed their preparations early, had taken ship for the Holy Land in anticipation of Frederick's march.<sup>o</sup> As in the second crusade,<sup>p</sup> many adventurers from Scandinavia and the north of Germany had assembled in the English port of Dart-

<sup>g</sup> Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 7.

<sup>h</sup> "Quæ solis ibicibus et volatilibus  
ix accessibilia erant." Ansbert. 105.

<sup>i</sup> See Milman, n. on Gibbon, v. 476.

<sup>k</sup> The statements as to the cause of his death are various—that he caught a chill in bathing, that he was carried away by the force of the stream while endeavouring to swim his horse across, &c. See Arnold. Lubec. iii. 34; Ansbert. 103-4; Conrad Schyren. in Pertz. xvii., A.D. 1190; R. Coggeshale, Chron. 188; Radulph. Niger, ed. Anstruther, Lond. 1851; Anon. Canis. 526; Annal. Colon. 800; O. Sanblas. 35; Ben. Petrib. 567; Hoveden, 403; Nicet. de Is. Angelo, ii. 8; Wilken, iv. 140-1. Benedict and Hoveden give much geographical information here. The Anchin chronicler says that Frederick was taken out alive, and, although speechless, survived three days, and received the last sacraments. A.D. 1190 (Patrol. clx.). According to Albert of Stade (A.D. 1191, in Pertz, xvi.), he exclaimed, while drowning, "Benedictus crucifixus Dei Filius, quod

aqua me suscipit quæ me regeneravit, et me martyrem facit quæ me fecit Christianum." On the other hand, Mutius of Monza says that he had taken the way by land because it had been foretold that he was to die by water. (Pertz, xviii. 467.) His enemies regarded his end as a proof that his intention in undertaking the crusade had not been pure. (Annal. Stedinburg. in Pertz, xvi. 223; see Schmidt, ii. 649.) Frederick is well sketched by Mackintosh, i. 149-151. The Byzantine Nicetas pronounces a remarkable eulogy on him as a martyr, ii. 8.

<sup>m</sup> Jan. 20, 1191. Magnus, in Pertz, xvii. 518.

<sup>n</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iii. 34; Vinis. i. 24; O. Sanblas. 35; Gibbon, vi. 290; R. Coggesh. 33; Tageno, 14-5; Magnus, in Pertz, xvii. 517.

<sup>o</sup> Annal. Marbac. A.D. 1188 (Pertz, xvii.). Ansbert speaks with contempt of those who thus avoided the dangers of the land journey, 25.

<sup>p</sup> P. 58.



mouth, from which they sailed again with increased numbers ; and, although these for the most part contented themselves with some adventures against the Moors of the Spanish peninsula, some of them found their way to the Holy Land.<sup>a</sup> William of Sicily despatched a fleet to share the expedition.<sup>r</sup> Henry of England, after having taken measures to secure himself a safe passage through Germany, Hungary, and Greece, had been prevented by a fresh rebellion of his son Richard,<sup>s</sup> and by other political troubles, from carrying out his promise,<sup>t</sup> and much of the money which had been collected for the holy war was spent in these unhappy contests at home ;<sup>u</sup> but Richard, who had been the first of all the western princes to take the cross, on succeeding to the crown in July, 1189, embarked in the enterprise with all the eagerness of his impetuous character. He submitted to penance for having borne arms against his father after having bound himself to the crusade.<sup>x</sup> To the money which was found in his father's coffers<sup>y</sup> he added by all imaginable means, in order to raise means for the expedition. Bishopricks, abbacies, earldoms, and all manner of other offices and dignities, were sold.<sup>z</sup> The late king's ministers were imprisoned, and large sums were extorted for their ransom.<sup>a</sup> Some who repented of having taken the cross were made to pay heavily for license to stay at home.<sup>b</sup> The plate and ornaments of churches were seized and were turned into money. Some fortresses and territories which had been taken from the Scots were restored to them for a certain payment ;<sup>c</sup> and the Jews were not only drained by exactions, but, as usual, were plundered and slain in the general fury against misbelievers.<sup>d</sup> The demesnes

<sup>a</sup> R. de Diceto, 645-6; Vinis. i. 27; Hoveden, 376; Luden, xi. 518.

<sup>r</sup> Raumer, ii. 279.

<sup>s</sup> Bened. Petrib. 501-3; R. de Diceto, 636-9.

<sup>t</sup> Wilken, iv. 25.

<sup>u</sup> Andr. Marcianens. in Bouq. xviii. 556.

<sup>x</sup> R. de Diceto, 646.

<sup>y</sup> See Lingard, ii. 244; Pauli, iii. 203.

<sup>z</sup> Ric. Divis. 12. "Omnia erant venalia, scilicet potestates, dominationes, comitatus, vicecomitatus, castella, villæ, prædia, et cætera his similia" (Ben. Petrib. 568). Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham, bought an earldom, but was afterwards forced to resign it. Will. Neubrig. iv. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Ricard. Divis. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Will. Neubr. iv. 5; Lingard, ii. 245-6.

<sup>d</sup> Henry, it is said, on account of their money, had encouraged the Jews, so

that they became insolent and vexatious to Christians (Will. Neubrig. iii. 26, p. 282). Coggeshale speaks of them as having houses "quasi palatia regum" (A.D. 1189). For the massacres of Jews at London (on Richard's coronation day) York, Stamford, Lynn, Bury, Lincoln, see Will. Neubrig. iv. 1, 7-10; Ric. Divis. c. 3; Hoveden, 379; Coggeshale, l. c.; R. de Diceto, 647, seqq.; Pauli, iii. 180. Jocelin. de Brakelonda, (p. 33 and note—Camd. Soc. Lond. 1840), tells us that "multi per Angliam tendere Jerosolimam properantes prius in Judæos insurgere decreverant quam invaderent Sarracenos." He disapproves of the butchery, because David had said, "Slay them not, lest my people forget it" (Ps. lix. 11); but Coggeshale thinks that they were not unjustly punished for their insolence and oppressive con-

of the crown were reduced by sales, and Richard declared himself ready to sell London itself if he could find a purchaser.<sup>e</sup> Both in England and in France the "Saladin's tithe" was rigorously exacted, and there were loud complaints of the unfairness with which the collection was managed.<sup>f</sup> The archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin, was zealous in preaching the crusade, and was himself among those who joined it.<sup>g</sup>

The kings of France and England had a meeting near Nonancourt on the 30th of December, 1189, when they bound themselves by oath for mutual help and defence—Philip swearing to defend Richard's territories as if they were his own city of Paris, and Richard swearing to defend those of Philip as he would defend the Norman capital, Rouen.<sup>h</sup> The expedition was again

June 27. delayed for a time by the death of Philip's queen;<sup>i</sup> but

at midsummer, 1190, the two kings, with the count of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy, assembled their forces at Vezelay,<sup>k</sup> where the hill on which the town stands and the broad plain below were covered by their tents. The nations were distinguished by the colour of the crosses which they wore—the French displaying the sacred symbol in red, the English in white, and the Flemings in green.<sup>m</sup> At Lyons the host separated, and Richard proceeded to embark at Marseilles, while Philip, who had no Mediterranean seaport in his own dominions, went on by land to Genoa.<sup>n</sup> On landing at Ostia, Richard was invited by the cardinal-bishop of that place, in the pope's name, to visit Rome; but, smarting from having been lately compelled to pay 1500 marks for a legatine commission in favour of his chancellor, William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely,

duct under Henry (l. c.). For the state of the Jews in France at this time, see Martin, iii. 517-8; Sismondi, vi. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Will. Neubrig. iv. 5; Ric. Divis. 12.

<sup>f</sup> R. de Dicet. 650; R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 257; Vinisauf, 17; Gervas. Dorobern. 1529-30; Michaud, iv. 73. Peter of Blois cries out against Philip Augustus for taxing the clergy, from whom, he says, nothing but prayers ought to be expected. Epp. 112, &c.

<sup>g</sup> In the Life of Giraldus Cambrensis it is related that Baldwin's preaching had little effect in Wales; but that Giraldus, although he could not address the people except in Latin and French, enlisted great numbers, as Bernard had enlisted the Germans for the second crusade—"whence it is manifest that, through the divine power of the Spirit, working within and searching the hearts,

the effect was wrought both here and there rather by things than by words." Gir. Cambr. ed. Brewer, i. 76.

<sup>h</sup> Ben. Petrib. 583; Hoveden, 378.

<sup>i</sup> Rigord, 29, where there is a description of Philip's taking the oriflamme at St. Denys on St. John the Baptist's day.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 52. It is said that many of the French nobles here offered to place themselves under Richard, but that he answered, "You shall not make me a cuckoo to bring up another bird's chickens, which will run off at their mother's voice and leave the cuckoo alone." Chron. Laudun. in Bouq. xviii. 708.

<sup>m</sup> R. de Diceto, 636; Vinisauf, ii. 6.

<sup>n</sup> Ben. Petrib. 590; Diceto, 655. The kingdom of Aragon at that time extended along the coast to between Nice and Ventimiglia. Ben. Pet. 602; Hoveden, 380.



he scornfully declared that he would not visit the source of so much corruption,<sup>o</sup> and proceeded by land along the coast to Terracina. The kings, as had been agreed between them, met again at Messina, where, during a stay of some months, Richard's impetuous and overbearing temper continually embroiled him both with the French and with the Sicilians—who, indeed, were not backward in offering him provocation.<sup>p</sup> At one time he even made himself master of the city, as a means of compelling Tancred, who had shortly before seized the government on the death of William the Good, to carry out the late king's direction as to a provision for his widow, the sister of Richard, and as to a legacy bequeathed to Henry II.<sup>q</sup>

Sept. 23,  
1190.

March 30,  
1191.

In the end of March, Richard again embarked, and after having established Guy of Lusignan as king of Cyprus, instead of a petty tyrant of the Comnenian family, who styled himself emperor of the island, and had behaved with inhospitality and treachery to the Crusaders, he entered the harbour of Acre on the 8th of June.<sup>r</sup> Archbishop Baldwin, with a part of the English force, which had proceeded direct from Marseilles, and others who had made their way by the straits of Gibraltar, had reached Acre long before;<sup>s</sup> and the king of France had arrived there on Easter-eve (April 13).<sup>t</sup>

Acre had been besieged by the Christians from the end of August 1189,<sup>u</sup> but, placed as they were between the garrison on the one hand and Saladin's army on the other, the besiegers had suffered great distress through want of food and shelter. Horse-flesh, grass, and unclean things were eaten; ships were broken up for fuel; many, unable to endure the miseries of the siege, had

<sup>o</sup> R. de Diceto, 655; Hoveden, 380; Pauli, iii. 214; Gregorov. iv. 580. For Richard's route, see Wilken, v. 160-1; for his interviews with Joachim of Fiore, see chapter xii., sect. 3, below.

<sup>p</sup> Ric. Divis. 20, seqq.; Ben. Petr. 603, 606, seqq., 638, &c.; Hoveden, 383-4, 391-2; Vinis. ii. 12, 14, seqq.; Coggesh. 818; Wilken, v. 167, seqq. The English called the natives *griffons*, and in return were accused by them of having tails. R. Divis. 21-2.

<sup>q</sup> Vinis. ii. 16; Ben. Petr. 612; R. Divis. 21-8. It is said that Richard gave Tancred King Arthur's sword, "*quem Britones Caliburne vocant.*" Hoveden, 391 b.

<sup>r</sup> R. de Diceto, 660; Nicet. de Is.

Angel. ii. 8; Ben. Petr. 644-650, 653; Vinis. ii. 35-41; v. 37; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 37; Bern. Thes. 178; Hoveden, 393; Ric. Divis. 60-1; Stubbs' Rich. I., ii. 347; Wilken, iv. 199-218; Finlay's Greece and Trebizond, 89-93. Guy of Lusignan was succeeded as king of Cyprus by his brother Amaury (afterwards king of Jerusalem), to whom Celestine wrote in 1196 about his labours to bring back the island to Catholic unity. Ep. 296 *bis*.

<sup>s</sup> R. de Diceto, 656; Ben. Petr. 567, 595, 644; Hoved. 380-1; Ric. Divis. 18.

<sup>t</sup> Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 33; Wilken, iv. 324.

<sup>u</sup> Wilken, iv. 254.

deserted to the enemy and apostatised; and scandalous vice and disorder prevailed throughout the camp.<sup>x</sup>

And now it was found that the general interest of Christendom was insufficient to overpower the jealousies of those who had allied themselves for the holy war. Richard and Philip, Leopold, duke of Austria<sup>y</sup> (with whose troops the scanty remains of the emperor Frederick's army had been united) and others, all refused to act in concert, or to submit to a common head; the Genoese and Pisans had carried their mutual hatred with them to the crusade; and to these elements of discord were added the pretensions of the Templars and Hospitallers, and the rival claims which Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat set up to the kingdom of Jerusalem on the strength of their having married daughters of the royal house, whose male heirs had become extinct.<sup>z</sup>

The siege of Acre lasted two years, during which it is reckoned that 120,000 Christians and 180,000 Mussulmans perished.<sup>a</sup> At length, on the 12th of July, the city was surrendered, on condition that the lives of the inhabitants should be forfeit, unless within forty days Saladin should restore the true cross, give up 1500 Christian captives, and pay a large sum as ransom. The fulfilment of these terms, however, was found impossible within the time, and notwithstanding Saladin's earnest entreaties for a delay, it was decided in a council of the princes that the forfeiture should be enforced. On the 20th of August, therefore, the prisoners — 8000 in all, of whom Richard's share amounted to 2600 — were led forth and remorselessly butchered in the sight of Saladin and his army, who could only look on in impotent distress. A few only of the more important Saracens were spared, in the hope that they might be the means of recovering the cross or the captives.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Vinisauf, i. 66-7, 69-70; Hoveden, 376, *b*; Hubert (bishop of Salisbury, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), in Diceto, 658; Letter from a chaplain of Abp. Baldwin, Oct. 21, 1190, in Stubbs, Rich. I., ii. 328-9; Coggeshale, 38; Jac. Vitriac. 1121; Michaud, Biblioth., iv. 299.

<sup>y</sup> Leopold had taken the route by sea, not venturing to pass through Hungary, with which he was at variance. Annal. Marbac. A.D. 1188, in Pertz, xvii.

<sup>z</sup> Vinis. i. 45; Hoved. 396-7; Jac. Vitr. 1121; Bern. Thes. 175; Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vi. 106. As to the

date of Conrad's marriage, see Stubbs, Introd. cxxvi. 211.

<sup>a</sup> Martin, iii. 541. Al Bohaëddin says that in all 600,000 Christians were engaged, the numbers of their force continually changing. (Gibbon, v. 491.) For details of the siege, see Vinisauf, books i. and iii.; Coggeshale, 34, seqq.; Gibbon, v. 489-490.

<sup>b</sup> Ben. Petrib. 663, 673-4; Hoveden, 396-7; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 37; Vinisauf, iii. 17; Coggeshale, 819; R. Divis. 68; Will. Neubrig, iv. 23; Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1191 (Patrol. clx.); Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 802; Vinisauf, iv. 2, 4;



The English king's assumption, and his continual displays of contempt for his associates, produced general irritation and disgust.<sup>c</sup> To Leopold of Austria he had offered unpardonable insults, by throwing down his banner and trampling on it, as unworthy to stand beside those of kings, and even, it is said, by kicking him.<sup>d</sup> By this behaviour to their leader, all the Germans were offended; and both they and the Italians complained that the kings of France and England divided between themselves the spoils which had been taken, without allowing any share to the other crusading nations.<sup>e</sup> The Germans and Italians, therefore, left the army in disgust, shortly after the taking of Acre.<sup>f</sup> With Philip Augustus there were continual differences. The French king claimed half of Cyprus, on the ground that Richard had agreed to share with him whatever they might win in the crusade, while Richard denied that the conquest of the island, by his separate adventure, fell within the scope of the contract.<sup>g</sup> Philip, jealous of his great vassal, not only for his superiority in prowess and in personal renown, but on account of the greater splendour which his hard-raised treasures enabled him to maintain,<sup>h</sup> found an excuse in the state of

Wilken, iv. 390-3. The reason of Saladin's failure to perform the conditions is variously reported; as, that he could not find the true cross (Chron. Ursperg, 229); or that he would not restore it (Ric. Divis. 18). But an oriental authority says that the difficulty was as to raising the money; that Saladin had the cross in his camp; that he displayed it to two English envoys, and was ready to give it up, but that after the massacre he carried it back to Damascus (Michaud, Biblioth. iv. sect. 59; Wilken, iv. 392). Richard's share in the massacre is avowed by himself in a letter to the abbot of Clairvaux—"De Sarracenis quos habuimus in custodia circa duo millia et sexcentos, *sicut decuit*, fecimus expirare." (Hoveden, 398.) But it is unjust to represent this as an act of extraordinary ferocity in the English king, since it appears that the butchery was resolved on by a council (although this statement is said to rest on English authority only), and other chiefs (as the Duke of Burgundy, who had got the French king's prisoners into his hands), did their share of it (Michaud, iv. 132; Sismondi, vi. 111). The statement, however, of Benedict of Peterborough (674), and Hoveden (397), that Saladin had two days before killed all his captives, in consequence of the refusal of a longer time, is extremely improbable in itself, and Richard's

omission to state such a circumstance in justification of his own deed is conclusive against it. (Pauli, iii. 232. See Stubbs, Introd. 22.) The Cologne annalist says that as many as 2000 prisoners were spared. Anselm of Gemblours (in Pistor. i. 1000) speaks only of Richard's 2600 as killed. According to the Cologne annalist, one of the prisoners, an Emir, was—"homo miræ antiquitatis, ita ut tempore victoriosi ducis Godofridi extitisse, et 260 annorum esse diceretur." If so, he must have been nearly 170 years old in Godfrey's time.

<sup>c</sup> Otto Sanblas. 36. The Auersperg chronicler describes him as "homo ferocissimus, favorabilis [inexorabilis?] gloriæ cupidus, pecuniæ liberalis, quocunque ipsum trahebat sequens impetum, et quem ipsi Sarraceni et populus Christianus et alii timerunt" (230). Cf. Ansbert, 109, 111. Nicetas styles him—*ὁ τῶν πελεκυφόρων κατάρχων Βρεττανῶν, οὗς νῦν φασὶν Ἰγγλίνους*. De Is. Ang. ii. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Ric. Divis. 67; Coggesh. 831-3;

Annal. Colon. 802; Matth. Paris, ap. Wendover, v. 116; Rigord. in Bouq. xviii. 36; Guill. Brito, Philippid. iv. 337-9. See Wilken, iv. 469-471.

<sup>e</sup> Sicard, in Patr. cexiii. 539.

<sup>f</sup> Otto Sanblas. 36.

<sup>g</sup> Will. Neubrig. iv. 21.

<sup>h</sup> See Ansbert, 109, 111-3. Rigord says that Philip was jealous of Richard's

his dominions at home for deserting the enterprise; and on the 31st of July—in the interval between the capture of the city and the slaughtering of the prisoners—he sailed for Europe.<sup>i</sup> On his way homewards, he visited the pope, from whom he solicited absolution from the oath which he had taken, and had lately renewed, to protect the English king's dominions; and, on his return to France, although Celestine had refused to release him, he invaded Richard's continental territories, encouraged his brother John to intrigue against him, and charged him with having caused an illness by which Philip had suffered at Acre, and with

April, 1192. having instigated the murder of Conrad of Montferrat, who, immediately after having been elected king of Jerusalem, had been stabbed by two of the fanatical body known by the name of assassins.<sup>k</sup>

Richard remained in the Holy Land more than a year after Philip's departure. During this time the "lion-hearted" king displayed the valour of a knight-errant in a degree which excited the fear and the admiration both of Mussulmans and of Christians.<sup>m</sup> A large part of the coast was recovered from the infidels; but the Christians were thinned by disease and by desertion as well as by war; their internal jealousies continued, and were so little concealed that the king of England and the duke of Burgundy hired ballad-singers to ridicule each other;<sup>n</sup> and the object of the crusade became more and more

exchanging messages and gifts with Saladin (Bouq. xviii. 36). "Richard," says M. Michelet, "est moins ennemi de Saladin que de Philippe-Auguste; et celui-ci déteste les Assassins et les Alides plus que les Chrétiens." ii. 424, ed. Paris, 1852.

<sup>i</sup> Coggeshale, 819; Ric. Diss. 62, 63, 69; Rigord, 36; O. Sanblas. 36; Ben. Petrib. 670; Hoveden, 394, 397; R. de Diceto, 662; Pauli, iii. 228-9. Richard of Devizes says that the summons to France was got up in Philip's chamber. "Abraham remanente, recessit ab eo Loth," 69.

<sup>k</sup> Coggesh. 819; Vinisauf, iii. 21-2; Will. Neubrig. iv. 22, 24, 34; Hoveden, 397, 405; Ben. Petr. 669, 720; Nicet. de Is. Angelo, ii. 1. For an account of the assassins and their chief, the "Old man of the mountain," see Will. Tyr. xx. 31. Richard is generally charged more or less positively, with the murder of Conrad, by contemporary writers in the French and German interest, as the annalist of Cologne (A.D. 1192); Arnold of Lübeck (iii. 37); Sicard of Cremona (Patrol. ccxiii. 531); Albert of Stade

(A.D. 1193); while English chroniclers declare the charge to be a foul invention (Vinis. v. 26), Hoveden, 407, b. The Auersperg chronicler states various theories (230). The letter professing to be written by the Old Man of the Mountain, in exculpation of Richard (R. de Diceto, 680; Will. Neubrig. v. 16), is generally believed to be a forgery; but modern writers are almost unanimous in acquitting Richard of a crime so inconsistent not only with his virtues, but even with the faults of his character (See Mackintosh, i. 185-7; Wilken, iv. 486; Pauli, iii. 235; Michaud, Biblioth. ii. 750). Rigord says that Philip sent to ask the Old Man of the Mountain whether it was true that Richard had employed assassins to kill him also; and that on receiving an answer in favour of Richard, he dismissed his suspicions, 37.

<sup>m</sup> For a sketch of his achievements, see Gibbon, 492-3; and for details, Vinisauf, v. vi.; Coggeshale, 827-830. See, too, Wilken, iv. 380-1.

<sup>n</sup> Vinis. vi. 8; Ric. Divis. 94; Michaud, iv. 159.



hopeless. Richard was entreated by urgent and repeated messages to return to his disturbed kingdom, while frequent and severe illnesses warned him to quit for a time the dangerous climate of Syria.<sup>o</sup> The necessity of abandoning the enterprise became manifest; and, after having advanced within one day's march of Jerusalem, the king found himself obliged to yield, with a swelling heart which vented itself in loud expressions of indignation, to the force of circumstances, and to the spiritlessness of his remaining allies.<sup>p</sup> A truce for three years, three months, three days, and three hours, was concluded with Saladin in September, 1192, on condition that pilgrims should be allowed to visit the holy places, and that the coast from Tyre to Joppa should remain in possession of the Christians.<sup>q</sup> It is reckoned that in the crusade which was ended by this compromise, more than half a million of Christians had perished.<sup>r</sup>

On the 9th of October, 1192, Richard sailed for Europe. From unwillingness to run the risk of passing through Philip's dominions, he intended to take his route through Germany; but having been recognised in the neighbourhood of Vienna, he was arrested and imprisoned by his enemy duke Leopold, who, in consideration of a large sum of money, made him over to the emperor Henry VI.—a prince who with much of his father's ability united a selfishness, a cunning, and a cruelty which were altogether foreign to Frederick's lofty character.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Vinis. v. 42; vi 27.

<sup>p</sup> Ric. Div. 94, 97; Coggesh. 822-3. Joinville, in the next century, tells a story which is not in any of the contemporary chronicles—that, when Richard was prevented by the jealousy of the Duke of Burgundy from advancing to take Jerusalem, a knight offered to point out the holy city to him; "et quant il oy ce, il geta sa cote a armer devant ses yex, tout en plorant, et dit a nostre Seigneur, 'Biau Sire Diex, je te pri que tu ne seuffres que je voie ta sainte cité, puisque je ne la puis delivrer des mains de tes ennemis.'" (Bouq. xx. 274; see Stubbs, *Introduct.* cxxx.) From Joinville also come the stories that the Saracen women used to threaten their children with King Richard, and that Saracens said to their horses when they started at anything—"Do you think that King Richard is in that bush?" (Bouq. xx. 204-5). A "*Livre de la Terre Sainte*" is cited for these, but the editors say that they do not know what book is meant.

<sup>q</sup> R. de Diceto, 668; Will. Neubrig. iv. 29; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 37; Bern. Thes. 196; Gibbon, v. 494-5; Wilken, iv. 569-571. Sicard of Cremona blames him for having omitted to stipulate for surrender of captives and thereby having left the patriarch Rudolf in prison. *Patrol.* ccxiii. 531.

<sup>r</sup> Wilken, iv. 582-3.

<sup>s</sup> Coggesh. 833; Gervas. Dorob. 1581; Sicard in *Patrol.* ccxiii. 530-1; Joh. de Oxenedes, 81-2. Otho of St. Blaise (38), Albert of Stade (A.D. 1193), and Magnus of Reichersperg (Pertz, xvii. 549, all strongly hostile to Richard, tell strange fables as to the circumstances of his capture. Ansbart says only that he was taken "in vili hospitio" (114). See Will. Tyr. *contin.* xxiv. 17; Chron. Petriburg. A.D. 1193 (in Sparke); Pauli, iii. 250. There has lately been some dispute between certain German writers as to the cause of his arrest—Albert Jäger maintaining that the alleged insult to Leopold never took place, and that Richard was seized by Leopold in

After months of severe imprisonment,<sup>t</sup> the king of England was brought by Henry before a diet at Worms, on charges of having thwarted the emperor in his claims on Sicily, of having instigated the murder of Conrad, of having wrongfully seized Cyprus, and of having insulted Leopold and the Germans. To these charges he answered in a strain of manly and indignant eloquence, which extorted the respect and pity even of those who were most hostile to him;<sup>u</sup> but he was not yet set at liberty. Philip of France used all his influence with Henry to prolong his rival's captivity;<sup>v</sup> while the pope was urged by the importunities of the queen-mother Eleanor to interfere in behalf of her son.<sup>w</sup> The emperor demanded a large sum by way of ransom, and in order to raise this Richard's subjects—especially the clergy and monks—were again severely taxed. Chalices were melted down, shrines were stripped of their precious coverings and jewels, the golden ornaments were torn from the books employed in the service of the Church. The impost was universal; even the Cistercians, who had until then been exempt from all taxes, were obliged to contribute the wool of their flocks.<sup>x</sup>

After a confinement of nearly fourteen months, the king was able  
 March 13, to return to his kingdom, which during his absence had  
 1194. been miserably distracted by feuds and intrigues; and in consequence of his complaints the pope excommunicated Leopold, and threatened the emperor and the French king with a like sentence.<sup>y</sup> The miserable death of Leopold, which took place

soon after in consequence of a fall from his horse at a  
 Dec. 1194. tournament, was interpreted as a judgment of heaven on his outrage against a soldier of the cross.<sup>z</sup> While Richard

consequence of an order from the emperor; while Walmöser supports the older story (Hefele, v. 662). As to the emperor's possible motives, see Abel, 'Philipp der Hohenstaufe,' 19, 20, 31, 304-8.

<sup>t</sup> Luden, xi. 524-5; Giesel, II., ii. 102. Ralph de Diceto says that, although not in chains, Richard suffered greatly—"Homines siquidem regionis illius, barbariem maxime redolentes, horrent verbis, habitu squalent, immunditiis feculescunt, ut intelligas eorum cohabitationem ferinam potius quam humanam." 668.

<sup>u</sup> Coggeshalle, 833; Hoveden, 422; Will. Neubrig. iv. 33; Joh. de Oxenedes, 82-3.

<sup>v</sup> Ansbert. 119-120; Will. Neubrig. iv. 40; Pauli, iii. 262; Martin, iii. 550.

<sup>w</sup> Three letters written in her name are among those of Peter of Blois. See Patrol. ccvi. 1262, seqq.; also P. Bles. Epp. 64, 143.

<sup>x</sup> Gervas. 1584; Will. Neubrig. iv. 38; Hoveden, 405, n.; Pauli, iii. 261. The emperor afterwards offered part of the ransom to the Cistercians, in order to provide censers for their churches; but they refused to share in gain iniquitously gotten. Joh. de Oxenedes, 89.

<sup>y</sup> Coelest. Ep. 193; Annal. Burton. in Gale, i. 252; R. de Diceto, 670, 672, 675; O. Sanblas. 38; Annal. Egmond., in Pertz, xvi. 171; Schröckh, xxvi. 246-8; Giesel. II., ii. 102-3. Hoveden (413) wrongly places the pope's intervention earlier.

<sup>z</sup> R. de Diceto, 678; Ansbert. 122; Coggesh. 837; Hoveden, 426; Will. Neubrig. v. 8; Joh. Oxenedes, 88; Cf. Magn. Reichersp. in Pertz, xvii. 421-3. Innocent III. endeavoured to get restitution of Richard's ransom from the representatives both of Henry and of Leopold. Epp. i. 230, 242.



was in captivity, the Christians of the east were delivered from their chief terror by the death of Saladin in March, 1193.<sup>a</sup>

Clement III. had compromised the question as to the see of Treves by agreeing that both Volkmar and his opponent should be set aside, and that the canons should proceed to a new election;<sup>b</sup> and in 1188, he had been able to establish himself in Rome, by means of an agreement with the citizens, who were inclined to peace by finding that without the pope their city could not be the capital of Christendom.<sup>c</sup> But one condition of this compact, which must have been felt as especially hard—that Tusculum, the city so faithful to the popes and so odious to their unruly subjects, should be given up to the Romans—remained unfulfilled when Clement died in March, 1191. In his room was chosen Cardinal Hyacinth, a man March 30. eighty-five years old, who had been a member of the College of Cardinals for nearly half a century.<sup>d</sup> At the time when the election took place, Henry VI. was advancing towards Rome to claim the imperial crown, and it was resolved to take advantage of the occasion in order to gain some advantage at his hands. The pope deferred his own consecration, in order that he might be the better able to negotiate;<sup>e</sup> a deputation of the Romans went forth to treat with Henry as he approached the city; and it was agreed that Tusculum should be given up. On Good Friday, Henry, without any warning to the Tusculans, withdrew the garrison with which, at their request, he had furnished them; whereupon the Romans rushed in through the open gates, razed the castle, destroyed the town so completely that no vestige of buildings later than the old imperial times is now to be seen, and glutted their hatred by deeds of savage cruelty.<sup>f</sup> On Easter-day the pope was consecrated under the name of Apr. 14-16. Celestine III., and on the two following days Henry and Constance were severally crowned by him in St. Peter's.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon, v. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. Ep. 123 (Patrol. cciv.); Gesta Trevir. in Mart. Coll. Ampliss. iv. 223.

<sup>c</sup> Concordia inter Clem. III. et Senatores Populumque Rom., Patrol. cciv. 1507-10; Milman, iii. 544.

<sup>d</sup> Ciacconius, i. 1019.

<sup>e</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iv. 4; Schröckh, xxvi. 241; Luden, xi. 547.

<sup>f</sup> Otto Sanblas, 33; Arnold. Lubec. iv. 4; Hoveden, 393; Milman, iii. 547; Gregorov. iv. 584-5. It is commonly said that the few inhabitants who escaped made huts of boughs (*frasche*)

and that hence the modern town of Frascati derives its name (Murat. Ann., VII., i. 95; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 41; Raumer, ii. 357). But the name repeatedly occurs in Anastasius the Librarian, a writer of the 9th century (see the index to Patrol. cxxviii.); and the author of the 'Handbook for Rome' (p. 362, ed. 1862) is probably correct in saying that it "was given to the hill as early as the 8th century, as a spot covered with trees and bushes."

<sup>g</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iv. 4. The ceremony is described at great length in

The emperor advanced towards the south, where, on the death of William the Good, in 1189, the inheritance of Constance had been seized by an illegitimate grandson of the first Norman king, Tancred, count of Lecce, who had received investiture from Pope Clement.<sup>h</sup> Henry took Naples after a siege of three months, and reduced the continental part of the Norman territories; but his army was ravaged by a pestilence, and his own health was so seriously affected that he was compelled to retire to Germany, while his empress, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, remained in captivity until she was at length delivered through the intercession of the pope.<sup>1</sup> After the death of Tancred, who kept possession of his crown until 1193, Henry appeared in Sicily at the head of a large army, hired with the king of England's ransom, and chiefly composed of soldiers who had been enlisted for a new crusade. A Genoese fleet co-operated with his land force; the discords between the Saracen and the Norman inhabitants favoured his enterprise; and, after a short resistance, he made himself master of the island.<sup>k</sup> His triumphal entry into Palermo was welcomed with a signal display of the wealth and luxury of the Sicilian Normans.<sup>m</sup> But almost immediately after this, a fearful series of severities began. Letters were produced which professed to implicate the leading men of the island in a conspiracy against the Germans; and Henry, in consequence, let loose without restraint the cruelty which was one of his most prominent characteristics. Clergy and nobles in great numbers were put to death by hanging, burning, and drowning, or were blinded or barbarously mutilated.<sup>n</sup> William, the young son of Tancred, after having been deprived of his eyesight,<sup>o</sup> was shut up in a castle of the

Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 187-193. Roger Hoveden says that the crowns were placed between the pope's feet, and that the emperor and empress bowed down to receive them; that the pope kicked the crown off Henry's head, "significans quod ipse potestatem ejiciendi eum ab imperio habet, si ille demeruerit;" and that it was picked up and set on again by the cardinals (392, b.). But the tale is unsupported by any other writer of the time, and is universally rejected. See Muratori, VII., i. 94; Gibbon, v. 369; Planck, iv. 447; Milman, iii. 546; Luden, xi. 710, &c.

<sup>h</sup> Arnold. *Lubec*. iv. 5; Ric. Sangerman. in Murat. vii. 471; Giannone, ii. 439, 527; iii. 2; Raumer, ii. 350-1.

<sup>1</sup> Annal. *Stederb.* in Pertz, xvi. 224;

O. Sanblas. 37; Alb. Stad. A.D. 1192; Anselm. *Gembl.* in Pistor. i. 1000-1003; Raumer, ii. 358-9; Milman, iii. 548.

<sup>k</sup> O. Sanblas. 38-9; *Gesta Innocentii*, 18 (*Patrol.* 213); Annal. *Genuenses*, in Muratori, vi. 368-370; Pertz, xviii. 108-110; Giannone, iii. 13, seqq.; Gibbon, v. 368-9.

<sup>m</sup> O. Sanblas. 40; Luden, xii. 8-9.

<sup>n</sup> O. Sanblas. 39; Henr. ad. Walter. *Rothom.* ap. R. de Diceto, 678; Giannone, iii. 16-7; Luden, xii. 10, seqq. The accusations are generally supposed to have been forged. Murat. Ann. VII., i. 114; Luden, xii. 12.

<sup>o</sup> The stories of other cruelties exercised on him are doubtful. Raumer, ii. 378; Luden, xii. 13.



Vorarlberg, where he died obscurely.<sup>p</sup> His mother and sisters were committed to German prisons. The bodies of Tancred and his son Roger were plucked from their graves, and treated with revolting indignity. It was in vain that the pope, the queen-mother of England, and other important persons, remonstrated with Henry, and even (it is said), that Celestine denounced him excommunicate.<sup>q</sup> The wealth of the Norman kings and of all who were accused as parties in the conspiracy was seized; and it is said that, after large gifts to Henry's numerous soldiers, the splendid robes, the precious metals, and the gems which remained formed a load for 160 horses and mules.<sup>r</sup> With this treasure, and by means of concessions to the princes of Germany, Henry formed a design of securing the crown as hereditary in his family. But, although he succeeded in A.D. 1196. obtaining the consent of the electors to the succession of his son Frederick, who had been born at Jesi, in December, 1194,<sup>s</sup> and was not yet baptised,<sup>t</sup> the opposition to his further project was so strong that Henry found it expedient to withdraw the proposal.<sup>u</sup>

The death of Saladin and the inferior capacity of his successor Malek al Adel held out inducements to a new crusade. With a view of stirring up the faithful, Celestine wrote letters and sent legates in all directions;<sup>x</sup> and the emperor actively forwarded the enterprise, in the hope, probably, that he might thus clear his ecclesiastical reputation. He advocated the crusade eloquently in diets at Gelnhausen and Worms, where his exhortations were followed up by speeches from cardinals and bishops; princes and prelates responded by taking the cross, and their example was followed by knights, burghers, and men of humbler condition.<sup>y</sup> In France, Philip Augustus made use of the crusade as a pretext for heavy exactions, but with the intention of converting the produce to his own purposes.<sup>z</sup> But

<sup>p</sup> O. de S. Blas, 41; Luden, xii. 13. The biographer of Innocent III. says that Henry had decoyed William by swearing to give him the county of Lecce and the principality of Taranto. C. 18 (Patrol. ccxiii.).

<sup>q</sup> Giannone, iii. 17; Milin. iii. 551; Raumer, ii. 371. See p. 135, n. p.

<sup>r</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iv. 20; Luden, xii. 14.

<sup>s</sup> Dec. 26. Raumer, ii. 378.

<sup>t</sup> Gesta Innoc. III. c. 19 (Patrol. ccxiv.). His baptism, which had been deferred in order that he might receive it from the pope, is said to have been celebrated at Assisi, on St. John's Eve, 1195, in the presence of 15 cardinals

and bishops. (Albert. Stad. A.D. 1195; Murat. Ann., VII., i. 113.) But the date is doubtful.

<sup>u</sup> See Luden, xii. 28-9; Schmidt, ii. 660; Raumer, ii. 384-5; Reiner, A.D. 1196 (Pertz, xvi.); Annal. Colon. A.D. 1196; Annal. S. Trudperti, A.D. 1197 (Pertz, xvii.).

<sup>x</sup> Celest. Epp. 224, 238, &c.; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1195.

<sup>y</sup> Arnold. Lubec. v. 1; Michaud, iv. 192-3.

<sup>z</sup> Sismondi, v. 153-5. William of Neuburgh relates that John Archbishop of Lyons, an Englishman, who had been one of Becket's chief confid-

the truest crusader among the sovereigns of the age, Richard of England, although he had never laid aside the cross, and burned with desire to complete the work which he had before so reluctantly abandoned by a fresh campaign against the infidels, found himself so much hampered by the exhaustion of his people, and by the continual petty warfare in which he was engaged with Philip, that he could take no share in the enterprise.<sup>a</sup> It was in vain that Celestine, in a letter to the English bishops, forbade the tournaments which had been instituted by the king with a view to military training;<sup>b</sup> that he desired those who wished for martial exercise to seek it, not in festive contests unsuited to the sadness of the time, but in warring against the enemies of Christ.<sup>c</sup>

In his ecclesiastical policy, Henry showed himself resolved to yield nothing to the papacy. He forbade appeals to Rome, and prevented his subjects from any access to the papal court.<sup>d</sup> He attempted to revive the imperial privilege of deciding in cases of disputed election to bishopricks. In the case of a contest for Liége, he is supposed to have instigated the murder of a candidate who was favoured by the pope and had been consecrated by the archbishop of Reims.<sup>e</sup> He refused the homage which the Norman princes had performed to the pope for their Italian and Sicilian territories,<sup>f</sup> and, returning into Italy, he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, up to the very gates of the city.<sup>g</sup> The pope had ceased for a time to hold correspondence with him, but now addressed him in a strain of apology mixed with complaint, and urged him to forward the crusade.<sup>h</sup> At Bari the emperor at Easter, 1195, entered into an engagement to maintain fifteen hundred cavalry and a like number of foot<sup>i</sup> in the Holy Land for a year;<sup>k</sup> but the zeal with which he urged on preparations had probably other objects—that of diverting the Crusaders, as before, to his

ants, on re-visiting his native country, checked some clergymen who were complaining of their king by telling them that in comparison of Philip he was a hermit; and added that Philip had paid the whole cost of his war against Richard in the preceding year by extortion from monasteries. v. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Michaud, iv. 189; Sismondi, v. 169.

<sup>b</sup> Will. Neubrig. v. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 102, Jan. 11. 1193. (Patrol. cevi.).

<sup>d</sup> Innoc. III. Ep. 29, de Negot. Im-

perii (Patrol. ccxvi. 1029); Vita S. Bernardi, in Liebnit. i. 474.

<sup>e</sup> Aegid. Aureæ-Vall. in Bouq. xviii. 647-651; Gisleb. Montensis, ib. 413, 422; Chron. Aquieinet. A.D. 1192 (Patrol. clx.); Schmidt, ii. 654-5; Luden, xi. 557-561.

<sup>f</sup> Innoc. III., Patrol. ccxvi. 1026-C.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 1029; Gesta Innoc. 8 (Patrol. ccxiv.).

<sup>h</sup> Ep. 207, March, 1195.

<sup>i</sup> "Sarganti." See Ducange, s. v. *Serviens*, p. 209. <sup>k</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 198.



own purposes, and even of using them against the Byzantine empire.<sup>m</sup> But these designs were unexpectedly cut short. Henry, after having crossed into Sicily, discovered a new conspiracy against him, and, in vengeance for it, resumed the cruelties which had made him so detested in that island; but on the 28th of September, 1197, he suddenly died, most probably in consequence of a chill produced by having drunk some water while heated by hunting.<sup>n</sup> But, as it is certain that Constance had been deeply shocked and offended by his severities towards her countrymen, and even towards some of her own near relations,<sup>o</sup> it was generally believed that the emperor fell a victim to poison, administered by his own wife.<sup>p</sup>

The crusade which Henry had contributed to set on foot was carried on without any religious enthusiasm. The Germans did not co-operate with the Latins of the East, but, "thinking only of the fertile coast, and not heeding that Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles,"<sup>q</sup> were wholly intent on gaining advantages for themselves. They achieved considerable successes, although not without loss, and recovered the sea-coast.<sup>r</sup> But their conquests were fruitless, and they engaged in fierce quarrels with the Templars, each party charging the other with having sold the interests of Christendom.<sup>s</sup> On receiving the tidings of Henry's death the Crusaders resolved to return home; and, notwithstanding the pope's entreaties that they would not abandon the holy enterprise, they carried out their resolution,

<sup>m</sup> Otto Sanblas. 43; Arn. Lubec. v. 21. Nicetas tells us that the Byzantine usurper Alexius endeavoured to buy him off; that in order to raise money for this purpose, bodies in their graves were stripped of their ornaments, and that even the tomb of the great Constantine would have been violated for this purpose, but for the tidings of Henry's death. Pp. 627-634, ed. Bonn.

<sup>n</sup> Rob. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 262; Annal. Argentin. in Böhlmer, Fontes Rer. Germ. ii. 100. See Coggesh. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 842.

<sup>o</sup> Annal. Colon., A.D. 1197; Annal. Marbac., A.D. 1197; Arnold. Lub. v. 1; Giannone, iii. 20-1.

<sup>p</sup> The Auersperg chronicle mentions this, but says that it was denied by those who knew best (233). See Arnold. Lubec. (who speaks mysteriously), v. 1; Hoveden, 439, n.; Hermann. Altahens. in Böhlmer, Fontes, ii. 492; Giannone, iii. 21; Luden, xii. 29-35; Sismondi,

Rép. Ital. ii. 20-1; Raumer, ii. 390; Milman, iii. 552. Hoveden (440), and Galvaneus Flamma (c. 227, in Mur. xi.) say that Henry died excommunicate; but Muratori shows that this was probably at most an implicit excommunication (vii. 1, 125; Cf. Gieseler, II., ii. 103; Abel. 'Philipp d. Hohenstaufe,' 315). Anselm of Gemblours says of Henry—"Hic statura personalis non fuit, sed litteratura ejus, magnanimitas, justitia et prudentia pulchritudinem Absalonis superavit" (Pistor. i. 1010); and even in late times the emperor has found champions, who were perhaps stimulated by the difficulties of his cause.

<sup>q</sup> O. Sanblas. 42.

<sup>r</sup> Bern. Thes. 181; Michaud, iv. 195-9, 208-213, 217. See Wilken, v. c. 1.

<sup>s</sup> O. Sanblas. 41; Annal. Colon. 805; Arnold. Lubec. v. 3; Albert Stad. A.D. 1198; Innoc. III., Ep. 336; Michaud, iv. 214-9.

after having concluded a truce of six years with the infidels.<sup>t</sup> In endeavouring to make their way homewards by way of Sicily and Apulia, many of them were slain by the inhabitants, on account of their connexion with the detested emperor.<sup>u</sup>

Celestine III. survived Henry only a few months, and died on the 8th of January, 1198.

<sup>t</sup> Will. Tyr. contin. xxiv. 25; Michaud, iv. 217; Hurter, i. 218-9.

<sup>u</sup> O. Sanblas. 42.



## CHAPTER XI.

THE GREEK CHURCH—SPAIN—BRITISH CHURCHES—THE NORTH—  
MISSIONS.

I.—THE Greek Church of the twelfth century hardly requires notice, except in so far as it was brought into contact with the Christians of the West. Its state was generally one of torpor. The clergy were held in strict subjection by the secular power, so that a patriarch, on attempting to withdraw a monk from secular judgment, was met by the declaration that “the emperor’s authority can do everything.”<sup>a</sup> They were devoted to a system of forms which in great part had lost their significance. Amongst the monks there was very commonly a forgetfulness of the true meaning of their profession; yet there was much of fantastic asceticism, as among the Dendrites or tree-monks, the pillar-monks (who, however, were not so called from living on the tops of pillars, like the stylites of earlier days, but from inhabiting narrow pillar-like cells, or from carrying little columns as a burden),<sup>b</sup> the fanatics who buried their living bodies in the earth, and those who aimed at sanctity by a profession of more than the ordinary monastic filthiness.<sup>c</sup> The Gnosimachi denounced all endeavour after knowledge in religion, on the ground that God requires nothing of man but good works, and prefers simplicity to curiosity.<sup>d</sup> And, while among the people there lingered, by the side of their Christianity, much of uneradicated heathen superstition,<sup>e</sup> there were some who, by the study of classical literature, were led back into an adoption of the old pagan creed.<sup>f</sup> Thus we are told of an Italian named John, who, in the reign of Alexius Comnenus, became popular as a professor at Constantinople, and taught the transmigration of souls, and the platonic doctrine of ideas. One of this man’s disciples is said to have thrown himself into the sea, exclaiming “Receive me, O Poseidon!” But the teacher himself, after

<sup>a</sup> Balsamon in Bevereg. Synodicon, i. 531, E. iv. 12.

<sup>b</sup> The former were *στυλίται*; the latter, *κιονίται*. Eustathius, p. 189, ed. Tafel.

<sup>c</sup> *ἀνιπτόποδες, ῥυπῶντες*, &c. Ibid. Neander, viii. 245-6; Cf. G. Pachymeres,

<sup>d</sup> Nicetas, Thesaur. Orthodox. iv. 39 (Bibl. Patr. Lugd. xxv. 142).

<sup>e</sup> Ib. c. 42, p. 143.

<sup>f</sup> Nicol. Methon. Refutatio Procli quoted by Gieseler, II. ii. 667.

having been subjected to the pressure of both ecclesiastical and imperial authority, consented to renounce his errors.<sup>g</sup>

Those revivals and reformations of monachism which were continually renewed in the West had no parallel in the Greek church, where the only measures of reform were the occasional attempts of the emperors to recall the monks to their spiritual duties by means which had very much the nature of confiscation. Thus Manuel found fault with his predecessors for having enriched monasteries with lands, and revived an edict of Nicephorus Phocas<sup>h</sup> against such endowments. And in order to exemplify what monachism ought to be, if freed from secular business, he removed a number of the best monks from the "Siren-like" temptations of Constantinople to a monastery which he had built in the gorges of Pontus—allowing them merely a sufficient supply for the necessities of food and clothing.<sup>i</sup>

Yet it deserves to be mentioned, to the credit of the age, that under the Comnenian emperors a spirit of learning revived.<sup>k</sup> A college of twelve professors presided over the studies of Constantinople, both in general literature and in theology;<sup>m</sup> and the Greek church of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was adorned, if not by any original genius, yet by the industry and knowledge of such writers as the commentator Theophylact, Nicetas, bishop of Chonæ or Colosse, Nicolas, bishop of Methone, Euthymius Zigadenus, Michael Psellus the younger, and Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica.<sup>n</sup>

The imperial system had a tendency to encroach on the province of theology, and this was especially dangerous under those emperors who supposed themselves to be skilled in theological questions. They were not, says Nicetas,<sup>o</sup> content to enjoy the pomps of empire, with the unrestrained power and privileges of despotism, unless they were also supposed to be, like Solomon, heaven-taught authorities on things divine and human. Thus, as we shall see hereafter, Alexius I. disputed with the Paulicians and with the Bogomiles.<sup>p</sup> His grandson Manuel, in addition to his warlike talents, was possessed of eloquence and literary accomplishments,<sup>q</sup> and although he is charged with adultery, and even

<sup>g</sup> Anna Comnena, l. v. pp. 143-9, ed. 1141. Paris; Tafel, Suppl. ad A. Comn., Tübing. 1832, p. xi.; Nicetas, ib. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Balsamon, in Beveridge, Synodic. i. 333. <sup>i</sup> Nicet. de Manuele, vii. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Anna Comn. l. v. p. 144.

<sup>m</sup> Anselm. Havelb., Patrol. clxxxviii.

<sup>n</sup> Neand. viii. 247; Giesel. II., ii. 663. As to Eustathius, see Nicetas de Andronico, i. 9. <sup>o</sup> De Manuele, vii. 5.

<sup>p</sup> See pp. 170, 173.

<sup>q</sup> Cinnamus, vi. 2. He was also skilful in surgery and medicine. Ib. iv. 22.



with incest,<sup>r</sup> was especially fond of mixing in theological controversies. One of those in which he took part related to a passage in the public Liturgy, where Christ was said to be at once priest and sacrifice.<sup>s</sup> After much discussion, the emperor was persuaded to give his adhesion to the form, A.D. 1066. and many eminent ecclesiastics who took the opposite side were deprived. At another time, Manuel started a question as to the words, "My Father is greater than I," which he maintained to relate to the Saviour's created humanity alone.<sup>t</sup> A third question arose out of the emperor's requiring the withdrawal of an anathema against the God of Mahomet from the catechetical tables.<sup>u</sup> The patriarch Theodosius replied that the anathema was not directed against the true God, but against the imaginary deity whom Mahomet described as "neither begetter nor begotten, but holosphyrus."<sup>x</sup> On this the emperor drew up a form which he violently required the clergy to subscribe—threatening them with a council to which the Pope of Rome should be invited; and some of them, among whom Eustathius of Thessalonica was conspicuous, were in danger on account of their opposition. But at length the matter was compromised by the subscription of an anathema against Mahomet himself with "all his doctrine and succession."<sup>y</sup> A later emperor, Andronicus, was so far from sharing in Manuel's theological tastes that, on hearing a discussion as to the words "My Father is greater than I," he threatened to have the disputants thrown into the river.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Nicet. de Man. i. 22. The words which impute to him an adulterous intercourse with his niece, are, however, wanting in some copies.

<sup>s</sup> *προσφέρειν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ προσφέρεισθαι*. Nicet. vii. 5. On this affair there is much in Tafel's Supplement to Anna Comnena (see above, p. 138, n. 3). The proceedings of the synod at which it was discussed are given by Mai, 'Spicileg. Romanum,' x. 1-93.

<sup>t</sup> Nicet. vii. 5; Tafel, p. xvi.; Hefele, v. 604-6. The acts of the synod at which this was discussed in 1166 are given by Mai, 'Scr. Veterum Nova Coll.,' iv. 1-96.

<sup>u</sup> Compare the opinions of a party in Spain, vol. ii. p. 381 (358).

<sup>x</sup> Nicet. vii. 6-7 (Koran, c. 112). The word *δολόσφυρος*, derived from *σφῦρα*, a hammer, means *entirely made by hammering*, and thence *solid*. Thus the equivalent *holosphyratos* is used by Pliny of a *solid* statue (Hist. Nat. xxiv. 4), and is defined by Facciolati as mean-

ing "*solida, plena, non inanis, quæ scilicet non conflata est, sed malleo ducta.*" But the Arabic word which was thus translated by the Greeks, is, when applied to God, understood by Arabic commentators on the Koran, and by later translators as meaning *eternal* (Sale, in loc.; Schröckh, xxix. 650; Murdock, n. on Mosheim, ii. 491). Euthymius Zigadenus (quoted by Ducange, Gloss. Græc. in voc.) says that *δολόσφυρος* has the same meaning with *σφαιρικὸς* (with which it is etymologically connected—see Passow, s. v. *σφῦρα*). Gieseler translates *σφαιρικὸς* as "die Weltkugel erfüllend" (II. ii. 669); but it seems rather to mean *globular*, and thence *self-complete*, which would agree with Manuel's contrast, "neither begetter nor begotten." Sylburg (quoted by Ducange, l. c.) says that Mahomet used his word in the sense of *μονοπρόσωπος*.

<sup>y</sup> Nicet. l. c.

<sup>z</sup> Nicet. de Andron. ii. 5.

From time to time attempts were made to bring about a reconciliation between the Greek and the Latin churches. The council of Bari, under Urban II., at which Anselm of A.D. 1098. Canterbury played the principal part, has been already mentioned.<sup>a</sup> In 1112, Paschal sent Peter Chrysolanus or Grosolanus, the dispossessed archbishop of Milan,<sup>b</sup> to Constantinople, for the purpose of discussing the points of difference,<sup>c</sup> and in 1115, the same pope addressed to the emperor Alexius<sup>d</sup> a proposal for another conference, but with the unacceptable condition that the primacy of Rome should be acknowledged in all things.<sup>d</sup> About the year 1135, Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, who had been sent by Lothair II. as ambassador to the emperor John, engaged in discussions with Nicetas, bishop of Nicomedia, and one of the twelve principal teachers of Constantinople;<sup>e</sup> and in 1150, at the request of Eugenius III., he drew up a report of the conference.<sup>f</sup> The chief points debated were the procession of the Holy Ghost, the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the eucharist, and the authority of the Roman see. On the first of these, the disputants appear to have approached to an agreement by means of mutual explanations.<sup>g</sup> On the question of the papacy, Nicetas is represented as strongly protesting against the Roman pretensions;<sup>h</sup> and he proposed a general council as the most hopeful means towards a reconciliation.<sup>i</sup> Although Anselm's report of the arguments is naturally favourable to the author and his cause, the Greek champion is allowed to acquit himself creditably; and they parted with expressions of mutual respect. Another discussion was held at Constantinople about 1179, by Hugh Eterianus, a Tuscan, whose conduct in it was approved by Alexander III.;<sup>k</sup> a Greek abbot named Nectarius maintained the Greek views at the Lateran synod of 1179, and on his return was hailed "like another Olympian victor;"<sup>m</sup> and the subject of reunion often engaged the attention of the popes.<sup>n</sup> But, on the whole, the

<sup>a</sup> Vol. ii., p. 738 (672).

<sup>b</sup> See vol. ii., p. 747, note 1 (687, n. h).

<sup>c</sup> See Patol. clxii. 1007, seqq.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. 437 (Patol. clxiii.).

<sup>e</sup> Anselm, in Patol. clxxxviii., Prolog.; col. 1162.

<sup>f</sup> Prolog.

<sup>g</sup> Anselm, Dial. ii. 27.

<sup>h</sup> The Greeks now often maintained that Rome had lost its ecclesiastical with its political greatness; and that this was the just punishment of its heterodoxy. See Cinnamus, v. 10; Nilus

Doxopatrius, 'Notitia Patriarchatum,' in Le Moync, 'Varia Sacra,' i. 242-3, Lugd. Bat. 1694; Schröckh, xxix. 375, 377; and passages from Greek writers against the Roman arrogance in Gieseler, II., ii. 672.

<sup>i</sup> Anselm, Dial. ii. 27; iii. 19-20.

<sup>k</sup> Patol. ccii. 227, 230, seqq.; Alex. Ep. 1322 (ib. cc.).

<sup>m</sup> Hard. vi. 1687-8.

<sup>n</sup> E.g. Eugen. III., Ep. 204 (Patol. clxxx.); Adrian IV., Ep. 198 (ib. clxxxviii.).



increasing claims of Rome, the invasion of the East by Latin patriarchs, bishops, and clergy, the collisions between the Eastern and the Western churches which took place in the crusades, and other political causes, contributed to render the Greeks less and less favourable to such proposals;<sup>o</sup> and the massacre of the Latins under Andronicus<sup>p</sup> was at once a fearful proof of the bitter feeling with which they were regarded by the Greeks, and a pledge of further hostilities.<sup>q</sup>

II. The Nestorians continued to carry on their missionary work in the East, although the successes which they claimed may in many cases have been only nominal.<sup>r</sup> About the middle of the eleventh century, stories began to be circulated in Europe as to a Christian nation of north-eastern Asia, whose sovereign was at the same time king and priest, and was known by the name of Prester John. Amid the mass of fables with which the subject is encumbered, it would seem to be certain that, in the very beginning of the century, the khan of the Keraït, a tribe whose chief seat was at Karakorum, between Lake Baikal, and the northern frontier of China, was converted to Nestorian Christianity—it is said, through the appearance of a saint to him when he had lost his way in hunting.<sup>s</sup> By means of conversation with Christian merchants, he acquired some elementary knowledge of the faith, and, on the application of Ebed-Jesu, metropolitan of Maru, to the Nestorian patriarch Gregory, clergy were sent, who baptized the king and his subjects, to the number of 200,000. Ebed-Jesu consulted the patriarch how the fasts were to be kept, since the country did not afford any corn, or anything but flesh and milk; and the answer was, that, if no other Lenten provisions were to be had, milk should be the only diet for seasons of abstinence.<sup>t</sup>

The earliest western notice of this nation is given by Otho of Freising, from the relation of an Armenian bishop who visited the court of pope Eugenius III. This report is largely tinged with fable, and deduces the Tartar chief's descent from the

<sup>o</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 672.

<sup>p</sup> See p. 119.

<sup>q</sup> St. Bernard, in remonstrating with Eugenius III. on the lack of missionary zeal in the Roman church, says—"Ego addo et de pertinacia Græcorum, qui nobiscum sunt et nobiscum non sunt, juncti fide, pace divisi, quamquam et in

pace ipsa claudicaverint a semitis rectis." De Consideratione, III., i. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Neander, vii. 62.

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 187. Neander (vii. 62) points out the likeness of this story to that of the conversion of the Iberians. See vol. i., p. 302.

<sup>t</sup> Mosheim, Hist. Tartar. Eccles. 23.

Magi who visited the Saviour in His cradle.<sup>u</sup> It would seem that the Nestorians of Syria, for the sake of vieing with the boasts of the Latins, delighted in inventing tales as to the wealth, the splendour, and the happiness of their convert's kingdom;<sup>x</sup> and to them is probably to be ascribed an extravagantly absurd letter,<sup>y</sup> in which Prester John is made to dilate on the greatness and the riches of his dominions, the magnificence of his state, and the beauty of his wives,<sup>z</sup> and to offer the Byzantine emperor, Manuel, if he be of the true faith, the office of lord chamberlain in the court of Karakorum. In 1177, Alexander III. was induced by reports which a physician named Philip had brought back from Tartary, as to Prester John's desire to be received into communion with the pope, to address a letter to the king, recommending Philip as a religious instructor.<sup>a</sup> But nothing is known as to the result of this; and in 1202, the Keraït kingdom was overthrown by the Tartar conqueror Genghis Khan.<sup>b</sup>

In explanation of the story as to the union of priesthood with royalty in Prester John, many theories have been proposed, of which two may be mentioned here: that it arose out of the fact of a Nestorian priest's having got possession of the kingdom on the death of a khan;<sup>c</sup> or that, the Tartar prince's title being compounded of the Chinese *wang* (king), and the Mongol *khan*, the first of these words was confounded by the Nestorians of Syria with the name John, and the second with *cohen* (a priest).<sup>d</sup>

### III. Among the triumphs of Gregory VII., was the submis-

<sup>u</sup> Otto Fris. vii. 32-3; Mosh. Hist. Tart. 25-6.

<sup>x</sup> Rubruquis (A.D. 1253) in 'Purchas, his Pilgrimes,' iii. 14 (Lond. 1625); Mosh. Hist. Tart. 16.

<sup>y</sup> Mut. Modoet. in Pertz, xviii. 579, seqq.; Mosh. Hist. Tart. Append. 29-33. See Schröckh, xxv. 190; Oppert 'Der Presbyter Johannes, in Sage u. Geschichte,' Berlin, 1864, pp. 36, 167; Herzog, vi. 765-7.

<sup>z</sup> The Christianity of Prester John, therefore, was not inconsistent with polygamy. Mosh. Hist. Tart. 33.

<sup>a</sup> Epp. 1322 (Patrol. cc.); Oppert, 53. Oppert says that the pope styles him "King of the Indians," and not "Prester John," and would hence infer that he knew nothing of the Khan's priest-

hood. But the address is, "Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo."

<sup>b</sup> Mosh. Hist. Tart. 27-33. For later notices, see Book VI. c. vi.; Käuffer, Gesch. v. Ost-Asien, iii. 169, 172 (Leipz. 1860).

<sup>c</sup> This is the opinion of Mosheim (Hist. Tart. 20; Ch. Hist. ii. 422), who infers it from Rubruquis (in Purchas, 15), and some other old writers.

<sup>d</sup> See Gieseler, II., ii. 658; Neander, vii. 63-4; Käuffer, iii. 170-1. The identification of Prester John's kingdom with Abyssinia (Lobo, in Pinkerton, xvi. 20) was a mistake of Portuguese explorers some centuries later. See Oppert, 7-9. For this writer's own views, see pp. 120, 140, &c., of his treatise.



sion of the Spanish church, which had until then been independent, and had looked to no higher authority than the primate of Toledo.<sup>e</sup> The Spanish kings were induced to favour this submission by the wish to ally themselves with the rest of Christendom, as a means of strength against their unbelieving neighbours; and it was forwarded by the influence of many Frenchmen who had been promoted to ecclesiastical dignities in Spain.<sup>f</sup> In consequence of the union, Gregory wrote to Alfonso VI. of Castile, and Sancho of Aragon, exhorting them to adopt the Roman ritual as a symbol of unity;<sup>g</sup> and it is said that Alfonso referred the question to an ordeal, by setting up champions to fight for the Roman and the Mozarabic liturgies respectively. The national champion was victorious, and this result was hailed with great delight by the people; but Alfonso, at his queen's instigation, declared that the decision must be made by fire, and the rival books were placed on a blazing pile, from which the Mozarabic office leaped out unhurt, while the Roman or Gallican was consumed. But, says the chronicler who relates this, "Laws go as kings will;" and notwithstanding its double victory, the national liturgy was abolished, except in a few monasteries.<sup>h</sup> On the recovery of Toledo from the Saracens by Alfonso, Urban II. bestowed on that city the primacy over all Spain, which it had enjoyed under the Gothic kings; but the other Spanish metropolitans contested this primacy until the Lateran council of 1215.<sup>i</sup>

A.D. 1088.

The popes further interfered in the Spanish peninsula, by acknowledging Portugal as an independent kingdom, under the especial protection of the Roman see, and professing to grant the kings a right over all that they might be able to rescue from the Saracens. In consideration of the connexion with Rome, an annual tribute was paid to St. Peter's successors.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Compostellana, ii. 1 (Patrol. clxx. 1032). The first archbishop of Toledo who received the pall from Rome was Bernard, in 1087. Mariana, vi. 123.

<sup>f</sup> Giesel, II. ii. 231.

<sup>g</sup> Ep. i. 64 (A.D. 1074); Cf. Epp. i. 63; iii. 18 (Patrol. cxlviii.).

<sup>h</sup> Roderick of Toledo, who died in 1247, is the oldest authority for this story in its complete form (vii. 26, in Rer. Hisp. Script. t. i., Francof. 1597); although, as Guéranger observes (i. 289), the germ of it is found in the Chron. Malleacense, which ends in 1134. See Labbe, Biblioth. MSS. ii. 211.

Eugenius III. orders the partisans of the Mozarabic liturgy to conform. Ep. 537 (Patrol. clxxx.). See Hard. vi. 1693; Mariana, v. 145-6; vi. 124.

<sup>i</sup> See vol. ii. p. 62 (57); Urban II. Epp. 5-8, &c. (Patrol. cli.); Vita Urb., ib. 41; Nat. Alex. xiii. 293-4.

<sup>k</sup> Alex. III. Ep. 1424 (A.D. 1179). It is said that the title of king was assumed in 1139, and was sanctioned by Innocent II. in 1141. See Lucius II. Ep. 26 (Patrol. clxxxix.); Ep. 1 ad Lucium (ib.); Schröckh, xxvi. 120; Gieseler, II. ii. 94. The archbishops of Braga were disposed to claim indepen-

IV. In 1125, England was visited by a legate, John of Crema, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, whose exactions and insolence excited general disgust.<sup>m</sup> The primate, William of Corboyl, feeling himself injured by the precedence which this legate, although only a priest, assumed over archbishops and bishops,<sup>n</sup> accompanied him on his return to Rome, with a view of vindicating the rights of his see; and the matter was accommodated by the pope's bestowing on the archbishop, for his own person, a commission as ordinary legate in England.<sup>o</sup>

William of Corboyl, in 1135, sanctioned the usurpation of the crown by Stephen;<sup>p</sup> and it was remarked as a sign of the Divine displeasure, that he died within a year.<sup>q</sup> During the troubles of Stephen's reign, much invasion of ecclesiastical and monastic property took place. Churches were burnt or were converted into fortresses, and the wealth of monasteries was violently plundered by the irregularly-paid mercenaries who held the country in terror.<sup>r</sup> "Never yet had more wretchedness been in the land," says the Saxon chronicler, in his striking description of the miseries of Stephen's reign, "nor did heathen men ever do worse than they did; for everywhere at times they forbore neither church nor churchyard, but took all the property that was therein, and then burned the church and all together. Nor forbore they a bishop's land, nor an abbot's, nor a priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man another, who anywhere could. The bishops and clergy constantly cursed them, but nothing came of it; for they were all

dence, but are ordered to be subject to Toledo, Adrian IV. Ep. p. 80; Lucius II. Ep. 36; Eugen. III. Ep. p. 22, 370-1, 450.

<sup>m</sup> Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1125; Rob de Monte, A.D. 1125; R. Wendover, ii. 205; Collier, ii. 193; Inett, ii. 153. In the schism of a later date, John was at first for Innocent, then for Anacletus, then for Innocent again. See Bernard. Ep. 163 (Patrol. clxxxii.); Baron. 1135-8. His name will again occur, c. xiii. sect. i. 7.

<sup>n</sup> Gervas. Dorob. 1663; Hen. Huntingd. l. viii. (Patrol. cxcv. 956).

<sup>o</sup> Honor. II. Ep. 57, Jan. 1127 (Patrol. clxvi.); W. Malmesb. 693; Sym. Dunelm. 253; Gervas. 1663. See Wharton, Ang. Sac., i. 792; Lingard, ii. 46. Wharton's remarks as to the archbishop's having betrayed the independence of his church seem too strong; but Lingard's citation from Eadmer—"inauditum scilicet in Britannia cunctis sæculis, quem-

libet hominem super se vices apostolicas gerere nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ." See vol. ii. p. 753 = 692—and his references to William of Malmesbury) do not fairly meet the case. The peculiarity was, that Abp. William took out a special and personal commission as legate, instead of resting on the general right of his see.

<sup>p</sup> Gesta Stephani, edited by R. C. Sewell (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 7-8; Gervas. 1664; Lappenberg, ii. 296-9.

<sup>q</sup> Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1135; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1135 (in Gale, II.). Others who, in breach of their oaths to Henry I., joined Stephen, are also said to have ended badly. (Ib.) Stephen was acknowledged by Innocent II. Ep. 250 (Patrol. clxxxix.).

<sup>r</sup> Will. Malmesb. 707; Gesta Steph. 97-8; Hist. Abendonensis (Chron. and Mem.), ii. 210; Lingard, ii. 96; Lappert. ii. 347.



accursed, and forsworn, and lost.”<sup>s</sup> But on the other hand, the clergy were in such times a body whose support could not but be very valuable; and thus they were able to increase their privileges and their power. Henry, bishop of Winchester, and brother of the king, had obtained the office of legate after archbishop William, and was the most powerful member of the episcopate, while he was devoted to high hierarchical principles. It is said that he had a design of erecting his see into an archbishoprick, with seven suffragans;<sup>t</sup> and Stephen, although greatly indebted to him for assistance at the outset of his reign, found it necessary to balance the legate’s power by promoting Theobald, abbot of Le Bec, to Canterbury;<sup>u</sup> whereupon Henry in disgust transferred himself to the party of the legitimate claimant of the kingdom, Matilda, daughter of Henry I., and widow of the emperor Henry V., pretending, at an assembly of the clergy in 1141, that the right of electing a sovereign belonged chiefly to that order.<sup>x</sup> The new primate found himself greatly embarrassed by the position of the legate, who, although his own suffragan, claimed authority over him, and presided at councils as his superior, until Lucius II., on succeeding to the papacy, instead of renewing the bishop of Winchester’s legation, gave Theobald a commission by which the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being was appointed *legatus natus* of the pope.<sup>y</sup> By these legatine commissions, the English Church was brought into more direct connexion with Rome; and it is to the time of Henry of Winchester’s legation that the frequency, if not the origin, of appeals from England to the pope is traced.<sup>z</sup>

In the beginning of Stephen’s reign, the bishops, on swearing fealty to him, “so long as he should preserve the liberty of the Church, and the rigour of discipline,” had exacted from him an oath that he would redress the grievances which had been inflicted on the Church by Henry I., with a very full assurance of privileges and immunities; but these promises were ill observed.<sup>a</sup> The clergy, however, continued to make good their interest. When the bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Salisbury had

<sup>s</sup> A.D. 1137 vol. ii. 231, ed. Thorpe, See Mackintosh, i. 135.

<sup>t</sup> Annal. Winton., in Wharton, i. 300; R. Wendover, ii. 234; Inett, ii. 200. For his grandeur and assumptions, see Girald. Cambr. de Vitis vi. Episcoporum, in Wharton, ii. 425.

<sup>u</sup> Gesta Steph. 5-6; Inett, ii. 180.

<sup>x</sup> W. Malmesb. Hist. Novell. iii. 44; Gervas. 1248. Hallam shows the ground-

lessness of this pretension. M. A. i. 515.

<sup>y</sup> Gervas. 1348; Joh. Hagustald. A.D. 1145 (Twysden, col. 273).

<sup>z</sup> Gervase of Canterbury says that until then they had been “*inusitatæ*” (1369). See Inett, ii. 195-6; Lappenb. ii. 363.

<sup>a</sup> W. Malmesb. Hist. Novella, i. 15-6, Comp. Gesta Steph. 16; Lappenb. ii. 309.

built themselves strong castles, which they held out against the king, Henry of Winchester, as legate, declared that these prelates ought not to be liable to any other than ecclesiastical judgment. The archbishop of Rouen maintained that, if bishops were allowed to possess castles, the king ought, as in other countries, to hold the keys, and to have the right of entering. But Stephen, in fear of Matilda's growing power, submitted to appear by proxy when summoned before a council for his treatment of the three bishops, and did penance in obedience to its sentence.<sup>b</sup>

The relations between Stephen and Theobald became less friendly than they had been at first. At the instance, it is said, of his brother, who had again changed sides, the king forbade the archbishop to attend the council held by Eugenius III. at Reims in 1148. The archbishop, however, resolved to disregard this; and, as the coasts were guarded, he crossed the sea in a small open boat. He was welcomed by the pope with the remark that he "had come rather by swimming than by sailing;"<sup>c</sup> but on attempting to return, he was met by a sentence of banishment and confiscation, to which he replied by pronouncing an interdict.<sup>d</sup> In 1152, the primate was again embroiled with the king, in consequence of having refused to crown his son Eustace; but peace was restored by the death of Eustace, and by the arrangement which secured the reversion of the crown to Henry II., the son of Matilda.<sup>e</sup>

V. In Scotland, the Church was led during this time to discard the peculiarities of its earlier system, and was gradually assimilated to the church of southern Britain. The beginning of this change is ascribed to the influence of the English princess Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, wife of Malcolm Canmore, A.D. 1070- and mother of David I. of Scotland and of "Maud the 1093. Good," the first wife of Henry Beauclerc. Margaret's piety, charity, and ascetic life are celebrated with enthusiasm by her confessor and biographer, Turgot, a monk of Durham and bishop of St. Andrew's.<sup>f</sup> She built churches, redeemed captives,

<sup>b</sup> *Gesta Steph.* 47-51, 63, &c.; *W. Malmesb. Hist. Nov.* ii. 20-8; *Rob. de Monte*, A.D. 1139-40, &c.; *Florent. Vigorn. contin.* ii. 107; *Inett*, ii. 184; *Lingard*, ii. 76.

<sup>c</sup> *Thom. Cantuar. Ep.* 37 (*Patrol. exc.*).  
<sup>d</sup> *Ælred*, in *Twysden*, 509; *Gervas. ib.* 1364; *Collier*, ii. 240; *Inett*, ii. 202; *Lingard*, ii. 92.

<sup>e</sup> *Gervas.* 1371, 1668; *Lingard*, ii.

92. For later notices of English Church-history during the century, see pp. 92-3, 99-100, 104, 116, 123, and the biography of Becket, by the same author, Lond. 1859.

<sup>f</sup> *Acta SS.*, June 10, where it is ascribed to one Theodoric; but it is now generally regarded as the work of Turgot. See also, as to Margaret, *Pulgrave*, 'Norm. and Eng.' iv. 317, seqq.; *E. W. Robertson*, i. 148.



and provided hospitals for the use of pilgrims.<sup>g</sup> Her husband's affection for her was unbounded; in token of it we are told that, although himself unable to read, he used to handle her books with interest, to kiss those which he observed that she loved most, and sometimes to surprise her by presenting her with one of her favourite volumes in a new and splendid binding.<sup>h</sup> Under Margaret's influence, the Celtic element was depressed in Scotland, while the court took an English tone and character. Councils were assembled for the reformation of the Church; and at one of these it is said that Margaret, almost unaided except by the king's presence and countenance, maintained for three days, with "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," the cause of opposition to the usages or abuses which prevailed in Scotland.<sup>i</sup> The beginning of Lent had been reckoned forty days before Easter, without excepting Sundays;<sup>k</sup> communion, even at Easter, had been disused, even by the clergy,<sup>m</sup> who alleged that they were unworthy to receive the sacrament; and marriages had been allowed which the general law of the Church denounced as incestuous. Against these and other irregularities Margaret contended, and she succeeded in doing away with them.<sup>n</sup>

To this time is also referred the more thorough and regular division of the country into dioceses, which seems to have been in progress from the reign of Malcolm Canmore (A.D. 1057-93) to that of David I. (A.D. 1124-1154)<sup>o</sup> whose munificence in the endowment of bishopricks and abbeys has earned him the zealous praise of the monastic writers,<sup>p</sup> and has not wanted defenders in later times against those who have censured it as tending to the impoverishment of the crown and the oppressive taxation of the people.<sup>q</sup> Nor did David, who had been educated in the

<sup>g</sup> Vita, cc. 17-23.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 10.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. 13.

<sup>k</sup> The biographer speaks of this as contrary to the practice of all other churches; but the editor remarks that the same has been the custom of Milan from St. Ambrose's time, 332.

<sup>m</sup> As to the difficulties connected with this statement, see Grub, i. 196.

<sup>n</sup> Vita, 13-5; Palgrave, iv. 328-332. She died in 1093, three days after her husband had been killed at Alnwick, and was canonised by Innocent IV. in 1251.

<sup>o</sup> See Spottiswoode, i. 59; Skinner, i. 212-3, 217, 241; Grub, i. 218.

<sup>p</sup> See Ælred, in Patrol. cxcv. 713; Vita Bernard. Tiron., ib. clxxii. 1426; W. Malmesb., ib. clxxix. 1357; Sym. Dunelm., A.D. 1128; Joh. Hagustald., p. 281.

<sup>q</sup> See Spottisw. i. 69-71, in reply to Holinshed; C. Innes, i., c. iii.; Grub, i. 260; 272-6. The wealth of the church would not seem to have been very excessive in this century, if Albert of Stade speaks truly in saying that of two Scotch bishops who were consecrated at the Lateran council of 1179, "unus solo equo venerat, alter pedes cum solo pedite" (Pertz, xvi. 349). Bishop Keith's Catalogue does not afford the means of identifying these bishops.

English court, neglect, in his care for religion, to use other means of advancing the civilisation of his subjects, who, notwithstanding the influence of many English and Norman settlers, were generally in a very rude condition.<sup>r</sup> Among other changes which took place during this period, may be mentioned the extinction of the ancient order of clergy styled Culdees, who, although not without a struggle, were superseded by canons living under the same rules as those of other western churches.<sup>s</sup>

After the death of bishop Turgot, in 1115, a remarkable case of difference took place as to the see of St. Andrews. Alexander I. of Scotland applied to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground that the bishops of St. Andrews had always been consecrated either by the archbishop of Canterbury or by the pope, until Lanfranc allowed them for a time to be consecrated at York.<sup>t</sup> The vacancy continued until 1120, when Alexander again wrote to the archbishop, requesting that Edmer, the monk of Canterbury to whom we are chiefly indebted for the knowledge of St. Anselm's life and character, should be allowed to accept the see; and to this Ralph assented, and obtained the consent of Henry I.<sup>u</sup> But after Edmer had been invested, although he was not yet consecrated, a serious disagreement arose. The Scottish king, who had intended nothing more than to evade the claims of York, was disgusted at finding that the monk asserted the title of Canterbury to jurisdiction over all Britain. Edmer, on the other hand, declared that he would not, for St. Andrews or for all Scotland, give up his connexion with Canterbury; and, although a friend named Nicolas advised him to solve the difficulty by seeking consecration from the pope,<sup>x</sup> it seemed to Edmer that all hope of usefulness in the northern Church was shut out by his difference with the king. He therefore returned the episcopal ring to Alexander, laid his cross on

<sup>r</sup> C. Innes, i. 86-9. William of Newburgh highly celebrates the wisdom of David, as well as his piety and bounty—"Vir propter regni negotia ad divina nequaquam officia segnior, vel propter divina quibus insistebat officia ad negotia regni obtunsior" [*sic*] (i. 23; Cf. W. Malmesb. l. c.; E. W. Robertson, c. viii., especially p. 227). The savage ferocity of the Scots in their inroads into England is denounced by all the old English chroniclers (*e. g.* Henr. Huntingd., in *Patrol.* cxcv. 959; Joh. Hagustald., 260, 268; Ric. Hagustald., 316-8; R. de Diceto, 573; Order. Vital.

xiii. 17, fin., 19; W. Neubrig. ii. 32; R. Wendover. ii. 221; *Annal. Waverl.*, A.D. 1138; Bromton, 1090). The later Scottish writers are indignant in their protests against such statements, but have unhappily no evidence to show on the other side.

<sup>s</sup> Gieseler, II. ii. 232; Palgrave, iv. 333; Grub, c. xvi.; E. W. Robertson, i. 336-7.

<sup>t</sup> Eadmer. *Hist. Nov.* l. v. (*Patrol.* clix. 495). See Grub, i. 207-9.

<sup>u</sup> *Ib.* 510-2; Spottiswoode, i. 65-8.

<sup>x</sup> See his letter in Wharton, ii. 234-6.



the altar from which he had taken it, and returned to England.<sup>7</sup> Robert, prior of Scone, an Englishman by birth, who was appointed in his stead, refused to profess obedience to York so long as Alexander lived; but after the king's death he submitted to be consecrated by Archbishop Thurstan, with the understanding that there should be no prejudice to the rights of either see.<sup>8</sup> A.D. 1128.

The claims of the see of York to jurisdiction over Scotland—claims which had no real foundation except in so far as concerned that part of Scotland which had formerly been within the Northumbrian kingdom<sup>a</sup>—were now renewed and kept up, chiefly perhaps with a view of counterbalancing the increased greatness of the southern metropolitan.<sup>b</sup> But as to the details of this question, there is a difference between the English and the Scottish writers, as the ancient chronicles of Scotland have perished, and the later Scottish authors charge the English chroniclers not only with falsehood but with forgery.<sup>c</sup> On a vacancy in the see of Glasgow, the archdeacon Ingelram, having been sent by Malcolm IV. to Alexander III., was consecrated by him at Sens, and returned with an acknowledgment that the Scottish Church was exempt from all jurisdiction except that of the pope.<sup>d</sup> A.D. 1164. In 1175, according to the English writers, when William of Scotland had been taken prisoner at Alnwick, his bishops and abbots swore at York that they would pay such submission as was due and customary to the see of York, and that the bishops of Scotland should repair to that archbishop for consecration.<sup>e</sup> But at a meeting at Northampton in the following year, the Scottish bishops denied that there had ever been, either by right or in fact, any such subjection as was claimed. Roger of York produced documents in proof that the bishops of Candida Casa (Whitherne) and Glasgow had formerly been subject to York; but, fortunately for

<sup>7</sup> Eadmér, 513-5.

<sup>8</sup> Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1224; Spottisw. i. 68; Keith's Catalogue, 6, ed. 4to.; Grub, i. 216-7.

<sup>a</sup> See Lloyd, quoted by Skinner, i. 264; Russell, i. 103-4.

<sup>b</sup> Pauli, iii. 146. The archbishops of Canterbury had added Wales to their jurisdiction under Henry I. (Lingard, ii. 51). For their gain as to Ireland, see the next section. As to the Orkneys, see Lanfranc, Epp. 11-2; Collier, ii. 52. On the question between York and the Scottish church, see Calixt. II. Epp. 165-6, 255 (Patrol. clxii.); Innoc. II. Epp. 40,

71 (Ib. clxxix.); Adrian. IV. Ep. 20 (Ib. clxxxviii.); Alex. III. Ep. 1241, (Ib. cc.); Wilkins, i. 480-1. For the quarrels of Canterbury and York, see Nat. Alex. xiii. 295-9.

<sup>c</sup> See Spottisw. i. 76; Skinner, i. 267-8.

<sup>d</sup> Spottisw. (i. 73) and Keith wrongly place the consecration at Rome; and I have been surprised to find that Prof. Innes (ii. 35) interprets "Senonis" by *Sienna*. See a letter of Alexander in Keith's Catalogue, 139 (4to. ed.).

<sup>e</sup> Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1175; Ben. Petrib. 136; Bromton, 1103; Alex. III. Ep. 1241; E. W. Robertson, i. 375.

the Scots, a dispute arose between the two English archbishops as to the claims of their sees over Scotland, and the matter remained undecided.<sup>f</sup> Both parties appealed to Rome, and in 1176 a legate named Vivian (who had formerly been employed as a commissioner in the differences between Henry II. and Becket) was sent into Scotland, where he is described by the Melrose chronicler as "treading down and breaking to pieces all that fell in his way—alert to take, and not slow to seize."<sup>g</sup> The bishop of Whitherne declined the legate's summons to a council, on the ground that he was subject to the see of York;<sup>h</sup> and a war of ecclesiastical censures followed, without any decisive result. A dispute also took place as to the appointment of a bishop of St. Andrews, which brought the Scottish king into collision with the archbishop of York and with the pope. Roger of York, who had received a commission as legate for Scotland, issued a sentence of excommunication and interdict in 1181; but after the death of this turbulent prelate the question was settled by an arrangement favourable to William, who was absolved by Lucius III. in 1182, and obtained from Clement III. and Celestine III. an acknowledgment of the freedom of the Scottish Church from all jurisdiction but that of the pope himself, or of legates specially commissioned by him.<sup>i</sup>

VI. In Ireland also this period is marked, even more strongly than in Scotland, by changes which obliterated the ancient peculiarities of the Church, and reduced it under the same power which had mastered the rest of Western Christendom. We have already seen that the Danes who had established themselves in

<sup>f</sup> Ben. Petrib. 136; R. Hoveden, 314*b*.; Bromton, 1108; Wilkins, i. 483; E. W. Robertson, i. 377-9. The story of a young canon named Gilbert (afterwards bishop of Caithness), standing forward as the champion of the Scottish church, seems to be an invention of Fordun. See Spottisw. i. 77-8; Skinner, i. 268; C. Innes, ii. 84; Grub, i. 291.

<sup>g</sup> A.D. 1176.

<sup>h</sup> Ben. Petr. 211; Hoveden, 324. The see of Candida Casa had been thrice founded, the last foundation having been by King David. As the second line of bishops had been English, those of the third regarded themselves as subject to York (Grub, i. 268-9). "The bishops of Whitherne received consecration from the Metropolitan of York,

even after they were permitted to take their seats in the Scotch Parliament, in the fourteenth century." C. Innes, ii. 207.

<sup>i</sup> See Ben. Petrib. 331, 347-9, 362, 369-371, 379, 380, 384, 510-4, 528-531, 538; Alex. III. Ep. 1470; Luc. III. Ep. 46 (Patr. cci.); Urban. III. Epp. 49, 50 (ib. ccii.); Clem. III. Ep. 33 (ib. cciv.); Coelest. III. Ep. 64 (ib. ccvi.); Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1178-80; R. Hoved. 341, 350-2, 354, 360-1, 368-9; Spottisw. i. 78-80; Planck, IV. ii. 60-3; Pauli, iii. 145; Grub, i. 292-5; Raine, i. 250-1. The exemption was renewed by Honorius III. in 1218, and by Gregory IX. in 1247. See Theiner, 'Monumenta,' 8, 15-6, 49.



that country were led, on embracing the Christian faith, to seek their pastors not from among the natives whom they had dispossessed, but from their own Norman kindred who had become masters of England.<sup>k</sup> It was to the archbishops of Canterbury, that the bishops of the Danish cities, Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford repaired for consecration, and made profession of canonical obedience; and these bishops, although sometimes of Irish birth, were generally persons who had been trained in English monasteries.<sup>m</sup> The connexion thus begun, although at first it reached no further than England, could not fail in time to bring the Irish Church into new relations with Rome.

A letter in which Gregory VII. appears as addressing the Irish king Torlogh, and claiming Ireland for the Roman see, would seem to have had no effect.<sup>n</sup> But in the beginning of the next century, Gille or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick (who had known Anselm as abbot of Le Bec, and had renewed his intercourse with him by letters after the conclusion of his struggle with Henry I.),<sup>o</sup> received a commission as legate for Ireland, perhaps through Anselm's influence with the pope.<sup>p</sup> As legate he presided over a synod at Rathbreasil,<sup>q</sup> at which his influence was successfully exerted in favour of Roman customs. Ireland was to be portioned out into regular dioceses, instead of having bishops unlimited in number and without local jurisdiction;<sup>r</sup> and the form of discipline and divine service was

<sup>k</sup> Vol. ii. p. 461 (431). Ussher, 'Religion of Ancient Irish,' c. viii. (Works, vol. iv. 326); Lanigan, iii. 336.

<sup>m</sup> See the letters to and from Lanfranc, Anselm, &c., in Ussher, 'Sylloge,' Epp. 25, seqq.; (Works, iv. 488, seqq.); Eadmer. Hist. Nov. ii. (Patrol. clix. 393); Bernard. Vita Malachie, 8 (ib. clxxxii.); Lanigan, iv. 146; King's Primer, 420-1, 426-432. Some of the letters by the English primates are in reproof of irregularities in the Irish church. One of Lanfranc's ('Sylloge,' 28) is in answer to the enquiry of an Irish bishop named Donnald, whether the communion of infants were supposed in England to be necessary for their salvation. Lanfranc assures him that there is no such opinion. See Lanigan, iii. 457.

<sup>n</sup> This letter was printed by Archbishop Ussher ('Sylloge,' 29), from a MS. at Cambridge, in which it was annexed to the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and it also exists among the Cotton MSS. It contains nothing improbable, and seems to be received without suspicion

by writers on Irish history (see King, 427); yet it not only is missing in the collections of Gregory's letters, but the date, "Sutrii, 6 Kal. Mart." does not fall in with his movements in any year of his pontificate, as registered by Jaffé. He was certainly not at Sutri on February 24, 1085, the year to which Ussher refers the letter.

<sup>o</sup> Patrol. clviii. 510-3.

<sup>p</sup> King, 450. Gille has been supposed by some to have been an Ostman. But see Lanigan, iv. 24-6. Mr. King is inclined to think him "a foreigner" (Memoir on Armagh, 89).

<sup>q</sup> This place has been supposed to be Mountrath, in Leinster. Lanigan dates the council in 1118 (iv. 38); Mr. King in 1110 (Memoir, 83).

<sup>r</sup> In the latter part of the century, Richard of Canterbury still complains of "pseudo-episcopi Hibernienses aut Scoticæ linguæ simulantés barbariém" as invading English dioceses. Pet. Bles. Ep. 53 (Patrol. ccvii.).

to be reduced to the Roman model, an object which Gille had before endeavoured to promote by a treatise which is still extant.<sup>s</sup> It is not to be wondered at that the clergy in general were glad, in the fearful miseries of their country, to catch at any scheme which appeared to promise strength to the Church; yet it would seem that Gille's Romanizing policy was not universally acceptable.<sup>t</sup>

In this policy Gille was followed by Maolmaadhog or Malachy, whose fame has been greatly enhanced by the circumstance that St. Bernard became his biographer. Malachy, of whom Bernard says that he was no more affected by the barbarism of his nation than fishes are by the saltiness of the sea,<sup>u</sup> was born about the year 1095 at Armagh, where his father, an ecclesiastic, was chief lecturer.<sup>x</sup> After having acted as vicar under Kellach (or Celsus) archbishop of Armagh,<sup>y</sup> he was consecrated to the see of Connor in 1125. "But," says the biographer, "when he began to perform the duties of his office, then the man of God came to understand that he had been destined not to men but to beasts. Nowhere had he yet experienced such people, so shameless as to manners, so dismal<sup>z</sup> as to rites, so impious as to faith, so barbarous as to laws, so stiff-necked to discipline, so filthy as to life." But by the zealous labours of Malachy, who went throughout his diocese on foot, "distributing even to the ungrateful the measure of heavenly wheat," we are told that "their hardness ceased, their barbarism was stilled; the barbaric laws were done away with, the Roman were introduced; everywhere the customs of the Church were received, and those contrary to them were rejected; churches were rebuilt, and clergy were ordained in them."<sup>a</sup>

In 1127, Celsus of Armagh on his death-bed recommended Malachy as his successor. But for five years the new bishop was kept out by Murtogh, a layman of a family which for fifteen successions had occupied the temporalities of the see—the last eight holders having moreover been married men;<sup>b</sup> and, after Murtogh's death, he had for two years longer to encounter the opposition

<sup>s</sup> See Ussher, iv. 500-510, or Patrol. clxx. Lanigan, unlike the Romanists of our own day, is strongly against Gille's opinion as to the necessity of uniformity. iv. 28.

<sup>t</sup> King, Primer, 454-5; Memoir, 83.

<sup>u</sup> Vita. Mal. i. (Patrol. clxxxii.)

<sup>x</sup> King, Memoir, 87. Lanigan, in the interest of clerical celibacy, endeavours

to argue that the office of lecturer did not imply ecclesiastical orders. iv. 52-4.

<sup>y</sup> Bern. 6-7.

<sup>z</sup> "Ferales." But perhaps Bernard derived the word from *ferus*. <sup>a</sup> Bern. 16-7.

<sup>b</sup> Bern. 19-20. See vol. ii. 67 (430). The abuse of such lay abbots was not unknown in Scotland. See E. W. Robertson, i. 339.



of one Niall, whose influence among the Irish was rendered formidable by the possession of the episcopal insignia.<sup>c</sup> At length Malachy obtained peaceable possession of the see; and he then insisted on fulfilling a resolution that, whenever this should be achieved, he would resign.<sup>d</sup> Returning to his old diocese of Connor, he restored the ancient division of it into two, and chose for himself the inferior of these, the bishoprick of Down. Here he laboured with the same zeal and energy which he had displayed elsewhere—preaching, hearing confessions, founding monasteries, and endeavouring to enforce the observance of the regular hours and manner of psalmody, which in Ireland had hitherto been unknown beyond the monasteries.<sup>e</sup>

The government of the church was still but imperfectly organised. The see of Armagh had retained a superiority in consideration of its connexion with St. Patrick; but there were no regular archbishops in other sees, and Malachy resolved to remedy the defect by asking for palls in favour of Armagh and the newly-founded see of Cashel.<sup>f</sup> It was not without much difficulty that the Irish nobles and clergy would allow him to set out for Rome; but after lots had been thrice cast, and always in favour of the expedition, their consent could not be withheld.<sup>g</sup> At Rome he was received with great honour by Innocent II., who bestowed on him the legatine commission which Gille had resigned on account of age and infirmity.<sup>h</sup> The pope also confirmed the archiepiscopal dignity of Cashel; but, in answer to Malachy's proposal as to the palls, he said that it was a matter to be managed with greater solemnity—that an application ought to be made for them by a national council of bishops, clergy, and nobles.<sup>i</sup> Malachy requested the pope's leave to become a monk at Clairvaux, which he had visited on his way to Rome; but was told that he must continue his more active labours.<sup>k</sup> On his journey homewards he again visited the abbey, where he left some of his companions for instruction; and by these, and some of Bernard's disciples who accompanied them on their return, the Cistercian order was introduced into Ireland.<sup>m</sup>

Malachy carried out his legation rigidly as to the enforcement of the Roman usages, while in his personal habits he

<sup>c</sup> Bern. 20-7. The superstitious attachment of the Irish to such relics is mentioned not only by Bernard (24), but by Giraldus Cambrensis, 'Hib. Expugnata,' iii. 33-4.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 31.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 32. Cf. 7-8.

<sup>f</sup> Bern. 33; King, Prin. 447, 472.

<sup>g</sup> Bern. 34.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 38.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. 38.

<sup>k</sup> Ib.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. 39. The first monastery was Mellifont, near Drogheda, founded in 1142. Lanigan, iv. 117.

still retained his original simplicity and severity.<sup>n</sup> But it would seem that Pope Innocent's caution as to the palls was borne out by the actual result—that the legate found his countrymen reluctant to submit to such an acknowledgment of the Roman superiority; for he allowed the matter to rest for several years. At length, in 1148, he resolved to take advantage of Pope Eugenius's visit to France for the purpose of renewing his suit, in the hope that his friendship with St. Bernard might recommend it to a pope who had formerly been a monk of Clairvaux. The consent of an Irish council was obtained, although it was again with difficulty that Malachy was allowed to go abroad in person. In passing through England, he was delayed by the suspicions of King Stephen, who had forbidden that any bishop should be allowed to embark for the continent; and thus he was unable to reach Clairvaux until the pope had already returned to Rome.<sup>o</sup> He was received at Clairvaux, says St. Bernard, "like a real day-spring from on high visiting us;" but a few days after his arrival he fell ill, and on All-Souls' Day, 1148, he died in the arms of the abbot—in the place which he had desired, and on the day which he had foretold.<sup>p</sup>

It would seem that, notwithstanding Malachy's death, the application of which he had been the bearer reached the pope; and in 1152 a cardinal legate, John Paparo, held a synod at Kells, where palls were bestowed, not only on the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, but also on those of Dublin and Tuam.<sup>q</sup> "And this," says Robert of Mont St. Michel, "was done contrary to the customs of the ancients, and to the dignity of the church of Canterbury, from which the bishops of Ireland had been wont to ask and to receive the blessing of consecration."<sup>r</sup>

Amongst the earliest acts of Adrian IV.'s pontificate was the grant of a privilege to the sovereign of his native country, at the instance of John of Salisbury. In this document the pope asserts for himself a right to dispose of all islands, "on which Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, hath shined;" and in virtue of this right (which, as John of Salisbury informs us, A.D. 1164-5. was grounded on the Donation of Constantine), he authorises Henry to invade Ireland with a view to the extension

<sup>n</sup> Bern. 42-3.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. 67-9.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 69, 70-5; Sermo ii. in S. Malach., Patrol. clxxxiii. 482.

<sup>q</sup> Girald. Cambrens. 'Hibernia Expugnata,' iii. 17 (in Camden, 'Anglica, Normannica,' &c.); Joh. Hagustald. in

Twysden, 279; Pagi, xix. 54; Ware, Antiq. c. 16; Lanigan, iv. 142; King, Primer, 482-4; Memoir on Armagh, 104-5. The place of this synod is supposed to have been in Meath. Ware, ii. 58; Lanigan, l. c. <sup>r</sup> A.D. 1152, Patrol. clx. 470.



of the church, and the increase of religion and virtue, on condition that a penny shall be yearly paid from each house to the see of Rome.<sup>s</sup> In 1155, accordingly, the project of an expedition against the Irish—a project which had been entertained by William the Conqueror and by Henry I.<sup>t</sup>—was proposed by the king to his council, but out of deference to the objections of his mother, Matilda, it was abandoned.<sup>u</sup> Many years had passed, when Dermot Macmurrough, the expelled king of Munster, waited on Henry in Aquitaine, and entreated aid for the recovery of his kingdom.<sup>x</sup> Henry, although too much engaged in other business to undertake the matter on his own account, gave license for his subjects to enlist under Dermot; and a body of adventurers, under Richard de Clare, Earl of Strigul or Chepstow, who was known by the name of Strongbow, succeeded in restoring Dermot to his throne, and in winning for themselves a footing in Ireland.<sup>y</sup> On the death of Dermot, in 1171, Strongbow, who had married his daughter Eva, succeeded to his territories; but, finding that his own force was insufficient, he repaired to Henry, and entreated his intervention, offering to make over to him part of his acquisitions, and to hold the rest in fee under him.<sup>z</sup> In October, 1171, accordingly, the king of England landed with an army at Waterford. A council had already been held at Armagh, in which the Irish bishops concluded that the success of the English was a judgment on their countrymen for the practice of buying English slaves,<sup>a</sup> and, in the hope of escaping the full retribution of being themselves enslaved by the English, it was decreed that all English slaves should be set free. At Waterford Henry received the homage of many princes, and of almost all the Irish prelates;<sup>b</sup> and a council was soon after held at Cashel, under the legate, Christian, bishop of Lismore, at which the English king was represented by two ecclesiastics.

<sup>s</sup> Adrian, Ep. 76 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Joh. Sarisb. Metalog. iv. 42 (ib. cxcix.). See Fleury, lxiv. 8; Lingard, ii. 177-8; Lanigan, iv. 159-160 (who ventures to speak of "this nonsense of the pope's being the head owner of all Christian islands"); Pauli, iii. 95. It is amusing to see how in such writers as Lanigan the feeling of race overpowers the reverence for the papacy in this stage of the history.

<sup>t</sup> Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 1087 (transl. p. 189); Lingard, ii. 177; Lappenberg, ii. 151.

<sup>u</sup> Pauli, iii. 95; King, 'Primer,' 492.

<sup>x</sup> Girald. Camb. Hib. Expugn. i. 1. See Lappenberg in Ersch and Grüber's Encyclopædia, II., xxiv. 63.

<sup>y</sup> Girald. i. 2-17; Will. Neubrig, ii. 26.

<sup>z</sup> Bromton, 1070; Trivet. A.D. 1171; Pauli, iii. 98.

<sup>a</sup> The modern Irish writers delight in the statement that the English, whose chroniclers are so severe on the habits of the Irish, were themselves accustomed to sell their children. See Lanigan, iv. 197; King, 'Primer,' 502.

<sup>b</sup> Ben. Petrib. 28; Girald. i. 31; Di-ceto, 558.

This synod, says Giraldus Cambrensis, endeavoured by all means to reduce the Irish church to the form of the English.<sup>c</sup> It was enacted that baptism should be administered in the name of the Trinity, and in the fonts of baptismal churches; for, say the English chroniclers, it had been the custom in Ireland that the child, immediately after birth, should be dipped by the father in water (or, if the father were a rich man, in milk), and that the liquid should afterwards be thrown away without any reverence. The payment of tithes, which the synod of Kells had before ordered, but seemingly in vain, was now again enacted. Another canon ordered that marriages should be according to the laws of the church; for, it is said, the Irish were in the habit of having as many wives as they thought fit, and of disregarding the ecclesiastical prohibitions as to kin.<sup>d</sup> The clergy were to be exempt from all taxes and lay exactions,<sup>e</sup> a privilege which, in combination with the wealth provided by the introduction of tithes, had the effect of raising the Irish clergy from their previous subordination under the lay chiefs to a position like that of their brethren in other parts of the Latin church.<sup>f</sup> The payment of Peterpence<sup>g</sup> was also enacted; and it was ordered that the service of the church should everywhere be conformed to that of England.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>c</sup> i. 33. Throughout the account of these transactions, Lanigan (iv. 203, seqq.) is in a frenzy of anti-English zeal. See Mr. King's remarks on him, 'Primer,' 505-7.

<sup>d</sup> Girald. i. 34; Ben. Petrib. 30; Bromton, 1077. Lanigan argues that the Irish irregularity had not reached beyond a disregard of the prohibitions which extended to the seventh degree; and he interprets St. Bernard's statement that St. Malachy, when vicar of Archbishop Celsus, restored "the contract of marriage," which (with other things) the people "were ignorant or negligent of" (Vita Mal. 7), as meaning that he substituted *sponsalia de præsenti* for *sponsalia de futuro* (iv. 70-2, 88, 211). But the old writers, whether truly or not, meant to charge the Irish with more than this. (See Lanfranc. Ep. 37, and D'Achery's notes; Anselm, Ep. iii. 142.) Giraldus says that "in some parts brothers take the widows of brothers, in this adhering not to the sap, but to the bark of the Old Testament." (Hib. Exp. iii. 19.) So Alexander III. had been informed that "novercas suas publice introducunt, et ex eis non erubescunt filios procreare; frater uxore fratris, eo vivente, abutitur; unus duabus se so-

roribus concubinis immisceat, et plerique illorum, matre relicta, filias introducunt." (Ep. 1002.) See also as to the synod of Kells, John of Hexham, in Twysden, 279. Similar abuses are imputed by Gregory VII. to the "Scots" (Patrol. clxviii. 644),—i. e., apparently, to the Irish (see vol. ii., p. 719); and the council of Westminster, in 1173, enacted that the Welsh "non consanguineis adhæreant, vel commutent uxores." Perhaps, as has been suggested (Smith's Dict. Geogr., art. *Scoti*), these later charges may have grown out of what St. Jerome says as to the Scots of his day—"Scotorum natio uxores proprias non habet; et, quasi Platonis Politiam legerit, et Catonis sectetur exemplum, nulla apud eos conjux propria est, sed ut cuique libitum fuerit, pecudum more lascivunt." Adv. Jovinian. ii. 7; Cf. Ep. lxxix. 3.

<sup>e</sup> One part of this exemption was "quod de villis ecclesiarum cibus ille detestabilis qui quater in anno a vicinis comitibus exigitur, de cætero nullatenus exigatur." Girald. i. 34.

<sup>f</sup> King, 'Primer,' 559-560.

<sup>g</sup> Girald. i. 33-4; Ben. Petrib. 30; Bromton, 1071; King, 'Primer,' 521-5.



The proceedings of the synod were reported to the pope, who, in three letters, dated in September, 1172, expressed his approval of them, and desired the princes, nobles, and clergy of Ireland to co-operate for the reformation of religion.<sup>h</sup>

The chroniclers of the time tell us that, while Henry was in Ireland, all communication with England or the continent was prevented by the violence of the winds;<sup>i</sup> but it has been suspected that this stoppage of communication was partly caused by the king's wish to shut out the risk of dangerous missives from Rome, on account of the recent murder of Becket.<sup>k</sup> On Easter-day, 1172, in consequence of information that two legates had arrived in Normandy with a commission to decide in that matter, he embarked at Cork, and, after a rapid journey across England, proceeded to meet them at Avranches. His departure was followed by a rising of the Irish; and in order to suppress this he availed himself of the papal authority, by causing to be published in a council at Waterford the long-neglected letter of Adrian IV., together with a bull of Alexander III. to the same effect.<sup>m</sup> The insurrection proved unsuccessful; in 1175, Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, made his submission to Henry at Windsor,<sup>n</sup> and Ireland was—partly through the influence of English clergy who were put into the highest dignities of the church<sup>o</sup>—gradually reduced to the same ecclesiastical condition as other countries of the west. Many of the old Irish monasteries, which had been desolated by the Danish invasions, were now replaced by brotherhoods of Cistercians and of Augustinian canons;<sup>p</sup> and, among other outward changes, may be mentioned the abandonment of the rude style of church-building in wood and wattles which was known by the name of "Scottish work,"<sup>q</sup> and to which the Irish had been in some districts so exclusively addicted that, when St.

<sup>h</sup> Epp. 1002-4 (Patrol. cc.). Lanigan vehemently denies that the synod made a report to the pope; but see King, 'Primer,' 525; Pauli, iii. 100.

<sup>i</sup> R. de Diceto, 559; Girald. i. 35.

<sup>k</sup> Lingard, ii. 190.

<sup>m</sup> Ussher, 'Sylloge,' No. 47. See King, 'Primer,' 530.

<sup>n</sup> Ben. Petrib. 122; Bromton, 1106.

<sup>o</sup> This was the same system which the Normans had followed in England. As an instance of it, Mr. King remarks that, from the appointment of John Cumine, an Englishman, as archbishop of Dublin, in 1181, no Irishman held that see until 1663! ('Primer,' 574, 604-7.) Honorius III., in 1220, desired

his legate to abolish a rule that no Irish clerk, "quantumcunque litteratus et honestus existat," should be admitted to any dignity in England. Theiner, Monumenta, 16, 23.

<sup>p</sup> King, 563, 573.

<sup>q</sup> "Opus scoticum" (Bern. Vita S. Mal. 14). So Bede says that Finan built his cathedral in Lindisfarne, A.D. 652—"More Scottorum, non de lapide sed de robore secto atque harundine contextuit." (iii. 25, init.) Benedict of Peterborough states that Henry II. ordered a wattled church to be built in honour of St. Andrew, "ad morem patriæ illius." 31.

Malachy attempted to build a church of stone, he was met by an indignant cry of "We are Scots, and not Frenchmen!"<sup>r</sup>

The English and other writers of the time are very strong in their denunciations of the Irish national character, and of the alleged barbarism of the people;<sup>s</sup> but, without rejecting these charges so entirely as the patriotism of the more injudicious later Irish writers requires,<sup>t</sup> we cannot doubt that they are much exaggerated, while it seems certain that the calamities of the Danish invasions had thrown the civilization of Ireland greatly backward.<sup>u</sup> Giraldus expresses surprise that a nation which had professed Christianity from the days of St. Patrick should still be so ignorant and barbarous; but he accounts for this by the fact that the Irish were more inclined to religious contemplation than to such work as required courage and zeal, and that therefore their clergy had been rather monks than evangelists.<sup>x</sup> Hence, he says, it is remarkable that the saints of Ireland are all confessors, and not one of them is a martyr; and he reports the answer which an Irish bishop made to this remark in the age of the English invasion, when the murder of Thomas of Canterbury was fresh in all memories. "Our people, however rude, have always respected the church, so that there has been no opportunity of martyrdom. But now a nation is come which is in the habit of making martyrs, and Ireland will have its share of them."<sup>y</sup> We must, indeed, modify Giraldus's statement as to the clergy by the recollection of the many missionaries whom the Irish church sent forth; but it would seem that the zeal which sought an exercise in foreign missions disdained the humbler labours of the pastoral office at home.<sup>z</sup>

VII. The claims of the archbishops of Hamburg or Bremen to jurisdiction over the Danish church had been resisted or impatiently endured.<sup>a</sup> Adalbert of Bremen, who had even conceived the idea of erecting his see into a patriarchate,<sup>b</sup> obtained A.D. 1054, from Leo IX. and Alexander II. privileges by which 1062. he and his successors were authorised to consecrate

<sup>r</sup> Bernard, 61. There were, however, stone churches (although small) in some parts of the country, as will appear from Mr. Fergusson's 'Handbook' (917, seqq. ed. 1), if we distrust Lanigan's (iv. 128) testimony to the same purpose.

<sup>s</sup> E.g. Bernard, Vita Mal. 16-7, and elsewhere; Girald. de Rebus a se gestis, i. 14; Hibernia Expugn. iii. 10, 19-22, 27; Bromton, 1075-7; Will. Neubrig,

iii. 9, p. 237.

<sup>t</sup> As Lanigan, Book xxx.

<sup>u</sup> See Lappenberg, in Ersch and Grüber's Encyclopædia, II., xxiv. 61; Pauli, iii.

<sup>x</sup> Hib. Exp. iii. 28-30.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 32.

<sup>z</sup> Neander, Bern. 479.

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii., p. 478 (445).

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 594 (551).



bishops for all the northern kingdoms, even against the will of the sovereigns,<sup>c</sup> and Alexander forbade the king of Norway to violate the rights of Bremen by getting bishops consecrated in France or England.<sup>d</sup> But, on the other hand, the Danish kings entreated that their kingdom might have an independent primate;<sup>e</sup> and, at the council of Bari, in 1097, Eric the Good, who was present, obtained from Urban II. a promise to that effect—a promise which was the more readily given because archbishop Liemar, of Bremen, was obnoxious to the pope on account of his adherence to Henry IV.<sup>f</sup> The Danish king died in Cyprus, on his way to the Holy Land; but in 1103 or the following year a legate appeared in Scandinavia, and made choice of Lund, in Schonen (which then belonged to Denmark), as the seat of a primate to whom the northern kingdoms, with Iceland, Greenland, and other dependencies, should be subject. It would seem, however, that the bull for this arrangement was not completed;<sup>g</sup> and, through the influence of the emperor Lothair, who wished to recover the old superiority of Germany over the north, Innocent II., in 1133, addressed letters to the archbishop of Hamburg and other persons concerned, by which the jurisdiction of that see was confirmed in all its former extent, and the claims of Lund were in no way recognised.<sup>h</sup>

The archbishops of Lund afterwards recovered their independence of Hamburg, but the Swedes and the Norwegians were discontented on account of their subjection to Lund. The mission of Cardinal Breakspear (afterwards Adrian IV.) under Eugenius III. resulted in the establishment of Nidarôs (or Drontheim) as the seat of a primate for Norway, the islands, and Greenland.<sup>i</sup> The legate provided for the erection of a primacy of Sweden, which was afterwards fixed at Upsal; while Eskil of Lund was in some measure consoled for the loss of his metropolitan rights over Sweden and Norway by being invested with the office of *legatus natus* for the whole north.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Leo IX., Ep. 77 (Patrol. cxliii.); Adam. Brem. iii. Supplem. (ib. cxlvi. 620); Münter, ii. 81.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. 3 (Patrol. cxlvi.).

<sup>e</sup> See Greg. VII., Epp. ii. 51, 75.

<sup>f</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, l. xii., pp. 227-9; Münter, i. 84; Dahlmann, i. 208-213.

<sup>g</sup> See Münter, ii. 89; Dahlmann, i. 238.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. 138-141 (Patrol. clxxix.). In addition to older popes, Innocent refers

to his immediate predecessors, Calixtus and Honorius.

<sup>i</sup> Anast. IV., Ep. 84, Nov. 1154 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Saxo Gram. l. xiv., p. 263; Snorro, iii. 261; Münter, ii. 93-6, 105, 108.

<sup>k</sup> Saxo, l. xiv., p. 264; Anastas. Epp. 86-7; Alex. III., Epp. 260-1; Münter, ii. 102-7, 307. There are many letters of Alexander III. as to the northern kingdoms, e. g. 415-6, 633-4, 636-7, 973-7, 979, 984, 1447.

It was also ordered by Alexander III. that the archbishops of Upsal should be consecrated by those of Lund;<sup>m</sup> and this became a subject of contention which lasted even into the fifteenth century.<sup>n</sup> The German prelates, however, had not yet relinquished their pretensions to jurisdiction over the Scandinavian kingdoms, as appears from a letter of Lucius III., who tells Hartwig, archbishop of Hamburg, in 1185, that the consideration of the question must be deferred, because the troubled state of the north prevented the attendance of the bishops in order to an investigation of it.<sup>o</sup> And in another quarter the archbishops of Nidarôs were involved in contentions with those of York, as to jurisdiction over the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man.<sup>p</sup>

The gospel, in making its way in the northern kingdoms, had to struggle both against the barbarism of the people and against the faults of its own ministers. The cost of the new religion gave occasion to serious troubles. In Sweden, complaints were raised that dying persons were induced to make bequests to the church without the consent of their heirs; and Alexander III. ordered that the amount of such bequests should be limited.<sup>q</sup> In 1087, the imposition of tithes in Denmark produced a commotion in which Canute the Good—afterwards the patron saint of the kingdom—was slain;<sup>r</sup> and a century later the same impost, with the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy, provoked a violent outbreak in Schonen, where it was demanded that the archbishoprick should be abolished as a matter of useless expense, and that the clergy should marry, “lest, as heretofore, they should abuse the wives and children” of the peasantry.<sup>s</sup> Breakspear, on his legation, succeeded in imposing the payment of Peterpence in Norway and Sweden,<sup>t</sup> and a very similar exaction—although Danish historians indignantly deny that it was the same—appears to have been established in Denmark.<sup>u</sup> To Absalom, bishop of Roskild, and afterwards archbishop of Lund, a prelate who united to his ecclesiastical function the characters of a warrior and a statesman,<sup>x</sup> is ascribed

<sup>m</sup> Ep. 260, Aug. 1, 1164.

<sup>n</sup> Münter, ii. 109-122. See Innoc. III. Ep. 419 (Patrol. ccxiv.).

<sup>o</sup> Ep. 231 (Patrol. cci.).

<sup>p</sup> Münter, ii. 97-9; Grub, i. 251-5.

<sup>q</sup> Alex. Ep. 1147; Geijer, i. 144. In this and another letter (975), Alexander complains of strange and scandalous disorders in the Swedish church.

<sup>r</sup> Saxo Gramm. l. xii., pp. 219-221;

Dahlmann, 201-3.

<sup>s</sup> Saxo, l. xv., pp. 366-8; Gieseler, II., ii. 284; Münter, ii. 344-5; Dahlmann, 317-321.

<sup>t</sup> Geijer, i. 138.

<sup>u</sup> Dahlmann, i. 184-6. See Münter, ii. 455-467.

<sup>x</sup> “Non minus piratam se quam pontificem gessit.” Saxo, l. xiv., p. 281. See Dahlm. i. 279, seqq., 348-9; Münter, ii. 349-351. He died in 1201.



the reduction of the Danish church to uniformity in the celebration of divine offices.<sup>y</sup>

The Finns were subdued by Eric IX. of Sweden in a war to which a religious character was given, and attempts were made to spread the gospel among them.<sup>z</sup> About Alex- A.D. 1157. ander III. complains that their pretence of conversion was commonly given up when it had served the purpose of saving them from danger.<sup>a</sup> Henry, archbishop of Upsal, an English- A.D. 1158. man, who met his death among this people, was canonised by Adrian IV., and is celebrated by the title of their apostle.<sup>b</sup>

VIII. The conversion of the Pomeranians, a rude and fierce Slavonic people, who were at continual war with their neighbours of Poland,<sup>c</sup> had been attempted as early as the year 1000 by Boleslav, king of Poland, who, with a view to it, founded the see of Colberg;<sup>d</sup> but the attempt was fruitless, the bishoprick ended with its first holder, Reinbern, and later endeavours on the part of the Poles had succeeded only in producing false and transient appearances of conversion.<sup>e</sup> About the year 1120 a Spaniard named Bernard, who had been consecrated by Paschal II. (probably in the room of some bishop deposed for adhering to the imperial cause), on finding that he could not gain possession of his see, resolved to undertake a mission to the Pomeranians. But the poverty of his appearance excited the contempt of the people, who are described as living in such plenty that no poor man or beggar was to be seen among them.<sup>f</sup> "How," they asked, "can we believe that a man so miserable as not even to have shoes can be the messenger of God to whom all things belong?" It was in vain that Bernard offered to prove his truth by allowing a house to be burnt over him, and even that he assailed a sacred pillar with an axe; he was put on board a boat, and dismissed, with a charge to exercise his zeal, if he would, in preaching to the fowls and to the fishes.<sup>g</sup> After this failure he withdrew to a monastery at Bamberg; and there his

<sup>y</sup> Arnold. Lubeç. iv. 18.

<sup>z</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 279; Hardwick, 222.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 976.

<sup>b</sup> Geijer, ii. 142; Schröckh, xxv. 279-280.

<sup>c</sup> See Chron. Polon. ii.-iii., (Patrol. clx.). The name of Pomerania is derived from *pommo*, near, and *moriz*, the sea. Note on Herbord, Vita Ottonis, ii. 1 (Pertz, xii.).

<sup>d</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 221. Thietmar (iv.

28) mentions Colberg as a bishoprick suffragan to Gnesen, when that archbishoprick was erected, A.D. 1000.

<sup>e</sup> E.g. Chron. Polon. ii. 44 (A.D. 1108).

<sup>f</sup> Herbord, ii. 7, who tells us in particular that "*carratam pro denario recentis acciperes allecis, de cuius sapore vel crassitudine gulositatis arguerer si dicerem quod sentio.*" ib. 40.

<sup>g</sup> Ebbo, Vita Ottonis, ii. 1 (Pertz, xii.).

reports as to Pomerania were heard with interest by the bishop, Otho.

Otho, a native of Swabia, was born about 1060, and had, in his youth, sought a livelihood as a schoolmaster in Poland, where he learned the language of the country.<sup>h</sup> The duke, Wladislav (for this prince had given up the royal title),<sup>i</sup> made him his chaplain, and employed him to negotiate a marriage with a sister of Henry IV.; and thus Otho became known to the emperor, who invited him to his court, A.D. 1088? appointed him his chancellor,<sup>k</sup> and in 1102 nominated him to the see of Bamberg. The canons of the cathedral expressed their disappointment that a clerk of obscure origin was recommended to them, whereas they had expected some man of distinguished family and already known to them. "If you wish," said Henry, "to know who he is, know that I am his father, and that your church must be his mother."<sup>m</sup> Otho had already refused two bishopricks, from a scruple that such preferment, being intended by the emperor as a reward for his services, might involve something of simony; but he regarded the third offer as a sign of God's will, and accepted it.<sup>n</sup> He received investiture in the usual form from the emperor, but, not being satisfied with this, he waited on Paschal II. at Anagni, laid the Whitsun-day, 1106. episcopal ring and staff at his feet, and received a second investiture from the pope, who then proceeded to consecrate him.<sup>o</sup> In the contests between Henry V. and the pope, Otho took the hierarchical side, but with a moderation which was so unsatisfactory to the zealots of his party that Albert of Mentz even threatened him with excommunication.<sup>p</sup> He was distinguished for his exemplary life and successful labours as a bishop,<sup>q</sup> and was especially famous for an unrivalled power of preaching to the people in their native tongue.<sup>r</sup> In 1111 Paschal, in acknowledgment of his merits, bestowed on him and his successors the privilege of using the archiepiscopal pall and crosier.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Herbord, i. 1; Monach. Priefling, i. 2 (Pertz, xii.). There is a life in Patrol. clxxiii., reprinted from Ussermann's 'Episcopatus Bambergensis,' S. Blas. 1802.

<sup>i</sup> Roëpell, i. 206, 667.

<sup>k</sup> Herbord, i. 2-3; Ebbo, i. 3; Roëpell, i. 208.

<sup>m</sup> Herb. i. 7; Cf. Ebbo, i. 8.

<sup>n</sup> Otto, Epp. 8, seqq. (Patrol. clxxiii.); Ebbo, i. 11.

<sup>o</sup> Otto, Ep. 11; Herb. i. 9-10; Köpke,

in Pertz, 753.

<sup>p</sup> Otto, Epp. 17, 21, 34, 47; Codex Udalrici, Epp. 33, 336, 337, &c. (in Eccard, ii.); Ekkehard, A.D. 1106, 1114; Herbord, i. 12, and Köpke's note; Ussermann, c. 29 (Patrol. clxxiii.).

<sup>q</sup> Innoc. II., Epp. 58, 353; Herb. i. 24-30, 41-2, 45, &c.; Ebbo, i. 16-9; ii. 14, &c.; Ekkeh. 1124.

<sup>r</sup> Herb. i. 22.

<sup>s</sup> Otto, Ep. 13; Monach. Priefl. i. 7.



Boleslav III. of Poland, a prince whose zeal for religion was quickened by remorse for having put to death his brother and competitor Zbigniew,<sup>t</sup> reduced the eastern part of Pomerania to tribute in 1121. Eight thousand of his prisoners, with their wives and children, were settled on the Polish frontier and compelled to profess Christianity; and the duke conceived the design of converting the whole country.<sup>u</sup> Finding that his bishops, discouraged by the failure of former attempts, hung back, the duke bethought him of the bishop of Bamberg, whom he had known as his father's chaplain; and Otho, with the consent of pope Calixtus and of the emperor, gladly undertook the work.<sup>x</sup> Warned by Bernard's experience, he resolved to present himself to the Pomeranians in such fashion as should prove to them that his expedition was not undertaken for the sake of gaining by them. He furnished himself largely with horses, splendid vestments, rich stuffs, precious vessels for sacred uses, and with various things which were likely to be acceptable as presents; and in April, 1124, he set out attended by a numerous body of clergy.<sup>y</sup>

At Gnesen, the missionaries were received with great honour by Boleslav, who supplied them with interpreters, a military guard, and provisions; and, after having overcome the difficulties of the journey into Pomerania, they were welcomed by the duke, Wartislav, who had been baptised when a prisoner or a hostage in Poland, although he had not since ventured to avow himself a Christian.<sup>z</sup> At Pyritz, the first considerable town which they reached, seven thousand converts were speedily made; and these, after a week's instruction in the faith, followed by a fast of three days, were baptised in large casks or troughs, which were sunk into the earth, and were surrounded by curtains. The solemnity and decency with which the rite was performed is said to have made a great impression, and this was doubtless strengthened by the presents which were bestowed on every convert. Among the duties which Otho inculcated in his addresses were the abandonment of polygamy and of the custom of putting female infants to death; the doctrine of the sacraments was laid down; the converts were charged to communicate three or four times a year; and they were exhorted to devote their sons to be educated for the ministry of the church.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Roëpell, i. 260-1.<sup>u</sup> Herb. ii. 5; Roëpell, i. 267-8.<sup>x</sup> Otto, Ep. 25; Herb. i. 5; ii. 6; Ebbo, ii. 3; Ekkeh. A.D. 1124.<sup>y</sup> Herb. ii. 7-8; Ebbo, ii. 2-3.<sup>z</sup> Herb. ii. 9-11.<sup>a</sup> Herbord, ii. 14-7, 32; Ebbo, ii. 5; Mon. Prieft. ii. 13.

At Camin, Otho found the duchess, a Christian, who eagerly exerted herself for the furtherance of his mission. The duke agreed to give up the twenty-four concubines who had shared his bed; many who had been Christians professed repentance for having forsaken the faith; a church was built, and, in the course of forty days, a great number of converts was made.<sup>b</sup> A wealthy lady, annoyed at finding that labour on the Lord's Day was forbidden,<sup>c</sup> broke out into blasphemous words against the new religion, called her servants to reap as they had been used to do under the gods who had hitherto prospered the country, and proceeded to show them the example; but hardly had she begun, when she suddenly fell down, and "breathed forth her guilty soul into the fire of hell." This judgment, we are told, produced a general awe, and served to procure obedience to Otho's precepts.<sup>d</sup>

At Julin Otho's life was in danger, and he was driven out of the town; but he afterwards obtained from the chief inhabitants a promise that they would be guided by the example of the capital, Stettin.<sup>e</sup> To Stettin, therefore, he repaired, but for some time his preaching was ineffectual. The Pomeranians, it is said, were free from the vices which poverty engenders; they were surprised that the missionaries locked up their property, as among themselves no such protection was necessary.<sup>f</sup> "Why should we turn Christians?" they asked; "among Christians there are thieves and robbers, men are punished by loss of eyes and feet, and they practise all manner of cruelty and wickedness towards each other." It was agreed, however, that the Duke of Poland should be consulted, and in the mean time Otho preached on market-days to attentive audiences of the country people.<sup>g</sup> His first converts were two youths, the sons of an influential man named Domuzlav. Their mother, who had been brought up as a Christian, was delighted at finding that they had been baptised, and by her the servants of the family, with many of their kindred and neighbours, and at length Domuzlav himself, were brought over to the faith. The boys themselves, by celebrating the kindness, munificence, and charitable labours of the bishop, as contrasted with the behaviour of the heathen priests, persuaded many of their own age to become converts, and the people were disposed to look on him as a god who had descended among them for the good of their country.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Herb. ii. 18-21.

<sup>c</sup> Ebbo, ii. 12.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 23-4.

<sup>g</sup> Herb. ii. 24.

<sup>a</sup> Herb. ii. 22.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. i. 40.

<sup>h</sup> Herb. ii. 26-8; Ebbo, ii. 9; Mo-  
nach. Priecl. ii. 9.



An answer was at length received from Boleslav, who styled himself "the enemy of all pagans," and rebuked the Stettiners for their treatment of Otho, but declared that for his sake, and as an inducement to receive the yoke of Christ, he would remit one-half of the tribute which they were bound to pay.<sup>1</sup> Fortified by this assistance, Otho told the people that he would prove to them the impotence of their gods. After having received the Eucharist, he and his clergy made a general attack on the idols, which fell without resistance, and the effect of this was heightened by the disinterestedness with which he refused to accept any share of the vast wealth of the principal temple. The triple head of Triglav, the Slavonic Neptune, was sent as a trophy to Pope Honorius, and the temple was converted into a church, dedicated to the martyr St. Adalbert.<sup>k</sup> A splendid black horse, which had been employed to decide questions of peace and war by walking over nine lances laid on the ground, was sent into another country for sale, "as being fit rather for a chariot than for prophesying;" and the priest who had the charge of him—the only person who ventured to oppose the general movement—was suddenly struck dead.<sup>m</sup> The people of Julin—a town which claimed Julius Cæsar as its founder, and reckoned among the objects of its idolatry a rusty spear which was said to have been his<sup>n</sup>—fulfilled their promise by conforming to the example of Stettin. Two and twenty thousand of the inhabitants received baptism; and Otho, after having built two churches there, and appointed a bishop, returned to Bamberg, where he arrived on Easter-eve, 1125.<sup>o</sup>

Otho again visited the scene of his missionary labours in 1127 or 1128,<sup>p</sup> when he sailed down the Saale and the Elbe, and entered the country from the west. At Demmin, he ransomed and baptised many Leutician captives whom Duke Wartislav had taken, and thus made an impression which was strengthened by the duke's commendations of his wealth, his greatness, and his disinterested zeal.<sup>q</sup> As he advanced into the country, he found that the rapid successes of his former labours had not been

<sup>1</sup> Herb. ii. 29-30.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. 30-1; Ebbo, iii. 1. See as to another image of Triglav, Ebbo, ii. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Herb. ii. 33. Saxo Grammaticus tells us of a white horse on which Swan-tevit, the god of Rügen, was believed to ride at night; i. xiv., p. 320.

<sup>n</sup> Mon. Priecl. ii. 6, 16.

<sup>o</sup> Herb. ii. 36-40; Ebbo, ii. 11-18;

Ekkehard, A.D. 1125.

<sup>p</sup> 1126, according to Mosheim, ii. 418; 1127, Mansi in Baron. xviii. 419; Köpke, in Pertz, xii.; 1128, Pagi, in Baron. l. c.; Neand. vii. 23; Roëpell, i. 252.

<sup>q</sup> Herb. iii. 2; Ebbo, iii. 6, 9.

lasting. The number of clergy had been insufficient, and the heathen party had used all possible means to recover their influence. At Wolgast, the people had been exasperated against the missionaries by the trick of a priest who dressed himself up, and, showing himself to a rustic in a wood, declared himself to be the old god of the country.<sup>r</sup> At Stettin, a mixed religion, "after the manner of the Samaritans," had been established. A priest had taken advantage of an unfavourable season, attended by disease among men and cattle, to assault the altar of St. Adalbert; but the hand which held his hammer fell powerless. On this he exclaimed, "It is useless to strive against the Germans' god; let us worship both him and our old gods;" and a heathen altar had been erected beside the Christian altar. As Otho was preaching, a burly and loud-voiced priest excited the people to fall on him; but, as they lifted up their spears, their arms were stiffened in the air. Then Otho proceeded to discourse on the power of the true God, and at his blessing the use of the stiffened limbs was restored. The pagan altar was demolished; and the catching of a fish so large that all the people of Stettin partook of it was regarded as setting the seal of heaven on their reconversion.<sup>s</sup> At Julin, a man, being reprov'd by one of the missionaries for reaping on the Festival of the Assumption, said "Yesterday we were forbidden to reap because it was the Lord's day, and to-day we are again told to be idle. What is the meaning of this religion, which bids us cease from good and necessary things? or when shall we get our harvest in?" But as he began to cut his corn, he fell down dead, and his wife, who had followed his example, was unable to unloose her hold on either her sickle or the corn which she had grasped, until after her husband had been buried.<sup>t</sup> In addition to the effect of his preaching and of his alleged miracles, Otho was powerfully aided by the support of the Duke of Poland, and by prevailing on him to give up a projected invasion of Pomerania he increased his own influence among the people.<sup>u</sup> The conversion of Pomerania, rapid, wholesale, and in part effected by force,<sup>x</sup> could not but be very imperfect; yet from the time of Otho's second mission the country always retained its profession of Christianity.<sup>y</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Ebbo, iii. 8; Herb. iii. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Herb. iii. 13-20; Ebbo, iii. 1, 17; Mon. Prieft. iii. 8.

<sup>t</sup> Herb. iii. 30; Ebbo, iii. 22.

<sup>u</sup> Herb. iii. 10; Ebbo, iii. 13.

<sup>x</sup> Ebbo, i. 18.

<sup>y</sup> Neand. vii. 23, 41.



After an absence of somewhat more than a year, Otho returned to Bamberg, in obedience to a summons from the emperor,<sup>z</sup> and he died in 1139.

Among the designs which Otho entertained was that of a mission to the heathens of Rügen. The chief idol of these people, Swantevit, was worshipped with human sacrifices; no merchant was allowed to trade on the island until after having made some offering to the god;<sup>a</sup> and so strongly were the Rugians attached to their religion, that, on being informed of the conversion of Stettin, they broke off all intercourse with the traders of that city, sank such of their ships as were within reach, and threatened to kill any missionaries who should venture to land on their shore.<sup>b</sup> One of Otho's companions, named Ulric, resolved to brave the danger; but he was thrice driven back by storms, and Otho himself was unable to make any attempt.<sup>c</sup> In 1135, the Rugians agreed to receive Christianity from the Danes, on condition that Swantevit should be spared; but as soon as the Danish fleet was gone, they drove out a bishop who had been left among them, and resumed their profession of paganism.<sup>d</sup> It was not until 1168 that the paganism of the islanders was overcome by the arms of Waldemar king of Denmark, and by the skilful management of Absalom, then bishop of Roskilde, to which see the island was subjected by Alexander III.<sup>e</sup> But the annalist of Magdeburg speaks of the Christianity thus "impressed" on the Rugians as "a shadow, which in a short time was done away with by Waldemar's avarice, and by the scantiness and inactivity of the teachers."<sup>f</sup>

In the neighbouring country, where the Christian king Gottschalk had reigned in the preceding century,<sup>g</sup> the progress of the gospel was urged on by the power of the emperor Lothair, of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg, and Henry the Lion of Saxony, while it was resisted by the discontent of the Slavonic

<sup>a</sup> Herb. iii. 32; Ebbo, iii. 24.

<sup>a</sup> Herb. iii. 10; Helmold, i. 36, 52; ii. 12; Saxo Gramm. l. xiv., pp. 319-21. It is said that in the ninth century Rügen was given by Lothair I. to the abbey of Corvey, from which some monks were sent into the island, and there built a chapel in honour of their patron St. Vitus; and that on the expulsion of the monks *St. Vitus* was turned into the idol *Swantevit*. Helmold, vi. 12; Schröckh, xxiii. 64-7; Münter, ii. 765; Saxo, l. xiv. 319.

<sup>b</sup> Ebbo, iii. 23; Herb. iii. 31.

<sup>c</sup> Herb. iii. 10; Ebbo, iii. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Dahlmann, i. 248.

<sup>e</sup> Helmold, ii. 12-3; Saxo, l. xiv., 324-6 (who says that on the destruction of Swantevit, the devil was seen to run out of his temple in the shape of a small dark animal); Alex. III., Ep. 632; Pagi, xix. 238; Dahlmann, i. 291-6; Neand. vii. 42-4.

<sup>f</sup> A.D. 1169 (Pertz, xvi.).

<sup>g</sup> See vol. ii. p. 473 (441).

population at the sway of their German masters.<sup>h</sup> At one time a formidable insurrection was excited by the exactions of Norbert, as archbishop of Magdeburg; churches were destroyed, the Christians were slain or driven out, and the people loudly declared that they would rather die than again become Christians.<sup>i</sup> During the general fervour against infidels in 1147, while Louis and Conrad led their hosts to the East, and other Crusaders fought the Moors in Spain, a crusade was set on foot against the pagans of north Germany, under Henry the Lion, and Albero, archbishop of Hamburg. The country was invaded by two German armies, which are reckoned at 60,000 and 40,000 respectively; and two rival claimants of the Danish crown combined for the holy cause. But the war was carried on with little spirit, and was ended by the submission of the Slaves to receive a nominal baptism.<sup>k</sup>

In this region, the most eminent preacher of the gospel was Vicelin,<sup>m</sup> a pupil of Anselm of Laon, and afterwards a Præmonstratensian, who was consecrated as bishop of Oldenburg, and laboured with singleminded zeal from 1121 until disabled by palsy two years before his death, which took place in 1154.<sup>n</sup> When required by Henry the Lion to do homage for his bishoprick, Vicelin was strongly dissuaded by the archbishop and clergy of Hamburg. "We submit to the emperor," they said, "because by this submission to one we gain the power of ruling over many; for what duke or marquis is there who does not desire to become the church's vassal, whether it will or no?"—but they urged that to do homage to a duke would be a degradation of the church. After some hesitation, however, Vicelin complied, in order to ensure Henry's support;<sup>o</sup> and Frederick Barbarossa afterwards bestowed on the duke authority to nominate and invest bishops for all the Slavonic territory which had been subdued by his ancestors or himself. In consequence of this grant, Vicelin's example was followed by his successor, Gerold, and by the bishops of Ratzeburg and Mecklenburg, "for His sake who humbled himself for us, and that the newly-planted church

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 250, seqq.

<sup>i</sup> Ebbo, *Vita Ottonis*, iii. 3; Schröckh, xxv. 252.

<sup>k</sup> Eugen. III., *Epp.* 166, 214 (*Patrol.* clxxx.); *Annal. Magdeb.*, in *Pertz*, xvi. 188-9; *Helmold*, i. 62-5; *Wilken*, iii. 89, seqq.; *Luden*, x. 258-261; *Dahlmann*, i. 238 For a striking description of the

country, see [Pseudo] *Gunther*, i. vi., init. (*Patrol.* cexii. 404-5).

<sup>m</sup> There is a metrical life of him in *Leibnitz*, i. 774, seqq. See too, *Helmold*, i. 42 seqq.; *Münter*, ii. 776-780; *Herzog*, art. *Vicelin*.

<sup>n</sup> *Vita*, 778; *Helmold*, i. 75, 78.

<sup>o</sup> *Helmold*, i. 69, 70, 73.



should take no damage;"<sup>p</sup> but on the fall of Henry, in 1180, Frederick withdrew the three bishopricks from their subjection to the dukes of Saxony.<sup>q</sup> As great numbers of the Slaves had perished in war, many Germans, Hollanders, and Flemings, were brought in to supply their places; and this contributed powerfully to establish the profession of Christianity in those regions.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Helmold, i. 70, 87, 89.

Pertz, xvi. 349; Schröckh, xxv. 276.

<sup>q</sup> Arnold. Lub. ii. 24; Albert Stad. in

<sup>r</sup> Helmold, i. 83, 87.

## CHAPTER XII.


## SECTARIES — VISIONARIES.

I. ALEXIUS COMNENUS receives from his daughter Anna the title of "Thirteenth Apostle,"<sup>a</sup> for his zeal against the Paulicians of Thrace, who, in addition to their heterodoxy, had offended him by deserting him in his wars with the Normans of Southern Italy.<sup>b</sup> Under the same emperor, another remarkable party attracted for a time the attention of the Byzantine government.

The Euchites or Massalians, who derived their name from their practice of praying,<sup>c</sup> are mentioned among the sects of the fourth century by Epiphanius<sup>d</sup> and Theodoret,<sup>e</sup> and are said to have held that every man has within him from his birth an evil spirit, who is to be kept down only by unceasing prayer.<sup>f</sup> The party had been generally supposed to have been long extinct; but in the eleventh century it either emerged again from obscurity, or a new sect, known by the same name and holding similar opinions, arose independently.<sup>g</sup> These later Euchites, being persecuted by the Greeks, sought a vent for their opinions among the Bulgarians and Slaves who bordered on the empire; and they now, perhaps with opinions somewhat affected by contact with the Paulicians,<sup>h</sup> attempted, under the name of Bogomiles, to regain a footing at Constantinople.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> L. xiv., p. 453, ed. Paris.

<sup>b</sup> A. Comn. l. v., p. 131; l. xiv., pp. 451-7; Gieseler, II., ii. 678.

<sup>c</sup>  in Chaldee, meaning to *pray*.

Petav. n. in Epiphan. Hæres. 80.

<sup>d</sup> Hær. 80.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Eccl. iv. 10; Adv. Hær. iv. 14. Cf. Phot. Biblioth. cod. 52.

<sup>f</sup> Theodoret. adv. Hær. iv. 11; Gieseler, I., ii. 15; II., i. 401; Theophil. Cpol. de Receptione Hæreticorum, in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 48.

<sup>g</sup> See Neand. vi. 345-7; Gieseler, II., i. 401.

<sup>h</sup> Anna Comn. l. xiv., p. 486.

<sup>i</sup> Among the authorities as to the Bogomiles, one of the chief is Euthymius Zigabenus (or rather Zigadenus), in c. 27 of his 'Panoplia Dogmatica,' of which a Latin translation may be found in some

editions of the Bibliotheca Patrum, and in D'Argentre's 'Collectio Judiciorum,' i. 2, seqq. The only edition of the original (for M. Migne has postponed the volume of his 'Patrologia,' which should contain it), was printed at Tergovist, in Wallachia, in 1710. In this the section on Mahometanism is omitted, for a reason like that which caused the section against the Papacy to be omitted in some western editions of the Latin. The copy in the British Museum is interesting, as having been one of the "four very learned books" sent by the eastern clergy to the section of Nonjurors who corresponded with them under the name of the "Catholic remnant of the British Churches." (See Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors, 354.) Euthymius drew up his account of the Bogomiles at the desire of Alexius (p. ρξθ'. 2). Anna



The name of these sectaries has been variously derived—from Bulgarian words which might refer to their frequent prayers for the divine mercy; and as meaning in Slavonic “Friends of God.”<sup>k</sup> In many respects, their opinions resembled those of the early Gnostics. God, they said, had two sons, the elder of whom, Satanael, was associated with Him in the government of the world, until for rebellion he was cast down from heaven, with a third part of the angelic host, who had shared his crime.<sup>m</sup> Satanael, like the Gnostic Demiurge, framed the world, and created man, on whom God, at his entreaty, bestowed a living soul.<sup>n</sup> But Satanael became jealous of the privileges granted to his creature, and in the form of a serpent he begat Cain; in consequence of which he was stripped of the divine form which had until then been left to him, and of his creative power.<sup>o</sup> Continuing his enmity against mankind, he gave the law by his servant Moses, and deluded the Jews into the belief that he was the supreme God. But in the 5500th year of the world, God in compassion sent forth his Son or Word, the archangel Michael, as to whose birth and humanity the doctrine of the sect was docetic.<sup>p</sup> Satanael, like the Demiurge, instigated the Jews to persecute and slay the Christ; and after the Resurrection he was punished by being deprived of the *el*, which he had retained as part of his name, and thus was reduced to Satan.<sup>q</sup> It was held that the Son and the Spirit (who was said to be begotten by the Son)<sup>r</sup> would be reabsorbed into the Godhead when their work in relation to man should be completed; but that in the mean time respect should be paid to Satan and his angels, although not out of love, but lest they should do hurt.<sup>s</sup> It was said that God, although immaterial, had the form of an old man with a flowing beard; that the Son appeared as a bearded man, the Spirit as a

Comnena (l. xv., p. 590) says that her feeling as a woman and a princess forbids her to report the doctrines and practices of the sect, and refers to this account. For his other works against them, see Gieseler, II., ii. 679. J. C. Wolf's *Historia Bogomilorum* (Witemb. 1712) is chiefly founded on Euthymius. See too, C. Schmidt, *Hist. des Cathares*, ii. 57, seqq.

<sup>k</sup> Βογ μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Βουλγάρων γλῶσσα καλεῖ τὸν Θεόν, μίλουι δὲ τὸ ἐλέησον. (Euthym. Panopl. 27, init.) But the Slavonic etymology seems to be now generally received. Gieseler, II., ii. 680; Neand. viii. 277; C. Schmidt, ii. 285.

<sup>m</sup> Euthym. Panopl. ρξθ'—ρδ, α; Apocryphal Gospel of St. John, in Thilo, Cod. Apocryph. 885-7; Psellus de Operatione Dæmonum, 3-4, ed. Boissonade, Norimb. 1838; Neand. vi. 344-5.

<sup>n</sup> Euthym. ρδ, β; Thilo, 888.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. ρδ, c.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. ρξθ', d, ρδ, α, c; Thilo, 838-9, 892.

<sup>q</sup> The *el* had been left to him ὡς ἀγγελικόν. Enth. ρνδ, α.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. ρξθ', d.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. ρξθ', c; ροβ', d; Cf. Epiphan. lxxx. 3; Euthym. 'Investivus contra Fundagiatas,' in Foggini, *Anecdota Literaria*, iv. 43 (Rom. 1783); Neand. viii. 282.

smooth-faced youth; and under these forms the Bogomiles professed to see them in dreams and visions.<sup>t</sup> As in older heretical systems, it was taught that men are by nature of various classes;<sup>u</sup> and it was held that at death the body is to be shaken off as an unclean garment, and is to be annihilated for ever.<sup>x</sup>

In their worship the Bogomiles were distinguished by a simplicity which has in later times raised up champions to deny their manifest heterodoxy.<sup>y</sup> They disparaged the sacraments of the church—maintaining that its baptism was but the baptism of John, whom they despised as a teacher of legality; and that the eucharist was a sacrifice of devils, whom they supposed to dwell in all consecrated buildings.<sup>z</sup> They professed to have a true baptism of their own, which they administered to converts, with other rites of gradual initiation into their mysteries.<sup>a</sup> For the Lord's Supper, they substituted the repetition of the supplication for daily bread; and, while they objected to prayers in churches, their own devotions consisted of repeating the Lord's prayer in stated numbers (as two or fifteen) and at stated times.<sup>b</sup> They denounced images and relics, and paid honour to the memory of the iconoclastic emperors.<sup>c</sup> They disparaged the saints of the church,<sup>d</sup> and, although they admitted the miracles done by the relics of saints, they supposed these to be wrought through the power of evil spirits.<sup>e</sup> They were enemies to all learning, classing "grammarians" with the Jewish scribes. They rejected much of Holy Scripture, and, when pressed with texts from those books which they admitted, they escaped by allegorical explanations of them.<sup>f</sup> They maintained the lawfulness of disguising their tenets, on the ground that our Lord enjoined an outward conformity to authorities which we disapprove, and that his own parables are instances of disguise.<sup>g</sup> In their appearance and manners they affected a monastic solemnity and austerity;<sup>h</sup> yet with this it need hardly be said that, as in all similar cases, their enemies

<sup>t</sup> In *ἑνὰ* as well as in *ἐν*. Euthym. 832-6.

Panopl. *ρξθ'*, *c*; *ργ'*, *c*.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. *ρδ*, *d*, *ρδ*, *a*.

<sup>x</sup> Neand. viii. 286.

<sup>y</sup> Such as Godfrey Arnold, Spanheim, and Beausobre. See Schröckh, xxix. 468; Foggini, iv. 17; Gieseler, II., ii. 680.

<sup>z</sup> A. Comnena, p. 468; Euthym. Panopl. *ρδβ'*, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*; *ρδδ'*, *a*; Thilo, 893-4.

<sup>a</sup> Euthym. Panopl. *ρδβ'*, *b*, *c*; Thilo,

<sup>b</sup> Euthym. Panopl. *ρδβ'*, *b*, *c*, *d*; Invectiv. 40-1; Thilo, 832.

<sup>c</sup> Euthym. Panopl. *ρδ*, *d*, *ρδβ'*, *a*, *b*. See Neander, viii. 283.

<sup>d</sup> Euth. Panopl. *ρδβ'*, *b*; *ργ'*, *b*. Thus they called St. Chrysostom *φυρσόστομον*, *foul-mouth*. Euthym. Invectiv. 37.

<sup>e</sup> Euth. Panopl. *ρδβ'*, *a*.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. *ρξθ'*, *c*; *ργ'*, *d*.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. *ργ'*, *a*.

<sup>h</sup> Anna Comn. I. xv. p. 486.



accuse them of combining not only abominable rites, but gross licentiousness.<sup>1</sup>

This sect had made great progress among the subjects of Alexius,<sup>k</sup> when his attention was called to it by public rumour. On this, he ordered some suspected persons to be seized; and one of these, Diblatius, was brought by torture to avow himself one of twelve apostles sent out by Basil, the chief teacher of the Bogomiles.<sup>m</sup> Basil, who is described as a physician,<sup>n</sup> was a man far advanced in life; it was said that he had spent fifteen years in learning his system, and fifty-two in teaching it.<sup>o</sup> The emperor, having caused him to be arrested, affected to treat him with great reverence, admitted him to his own table, and professed a wish to receive instruction from him; and after some hesitation, Basil fell into the snare.<sup>p</sup> In a secret chamber of the palace, he was drawn into unfolding his doctrines to Alexius and his brother; and, when the exposition was complete, the emperor, drawing aside a curtain, showed him a scribe who had noted down his words. The doors of the room were then opened, and the heresiarch found himself confronted with the patriarch, the senators, and the clergy of the city. As it was impossible to deny the truth of the written report, he strongly asserted the truth of his opinions, and declared himself willing to endure innumerable deaths for them.<sup>q</sup> After this scene, all who were suspected of heresy were seized, and were brought before the emperor in a place where two great fires had been made, one of them having a cross beside it. Alexius told them that they were all to be burnt, but desired that those who held the orthodox faith would range themselves under the cross, since it would be better to die in orthodoxy than to live under suspicion of heresy. After

<sup>1</sup> Euthym. Panopl. ρογ', c; Invect. 28, 38, 40. See Gieseler, II., i. 403.

<sup>k</sup> Euthym. Victoria de Massalianis, quoted by Gieseler, II., ii. 685.

<sup>m</sup> Anna Comn. l. xv., pp. 486-8. As Anna places the beginning of the affair in the patriarchate of Nicolas, who died in 1111, Mr. Finlay dates it in 1110 (ii. 85). But since, from the way in which Nicolas is again mentioned (492) it appears as if the death of the Bogomile teacher (which Mr. Finlay himself dates in 1118), were under the same patriarch, it would seem that Anna is mistaken in naming him. The interval of eight years is also improbably long, and Gieseler's date, 1116 (II., ii. 679), seems preferable to 1110. Mr. Finlay

supposes the Bogomile movement to have been national on the part of the Slaves as against the corrupt, simoniacal, ceremonial church of the Greeks, 82.

<sup>n</sup> Euthym. Panopl. ρξθ'. 2. Wolf thinks that he affected this character in order to gain opportunities of spreading his doctrine. 17.

<sup>o</sup> Zonaras, xviii. 23, p. 300, ed. Paris.

<sup>p</sup> Anna's eulogies on her father's craft are remarkable (488). Euthymius professes to have gained his knowledge of the Bogomile doctrine in a similar way. Invectiv. 36.

<sup>q</sup> μυρίους. A. Comn. 488-9. The princess tells us that after this Basil was stoned during the night by demons, enraged at his betrayal of their secrets. 489.

this not infallible test, all who had chosen the side of the cross were set free ; the others were imprisoned, and were plied from time to time with inducements to recant. Many of them died in prison ; but Basil alone, on whom repeated conferences made no impression, was condemned to the flames, and, after having in vain expected an angel to appear for his deliverance,<sup>r</sup> suffered in the hippodrome of Constantinople.<sup>s</sup>

The opinions of the Bogomiles did not die out with Basil. In the reign of Manuel, similar doctrines were taught by Constantius Chrysomalos, and by a monk named Nephon, whose sway over the patriarch Cosmas was such that for his sake the patriarch submitted to deprivation.<sup>t</sup> Bogomilism was secretly spread by teachers of both sexes ;<sup>u</sup> it found adherents among the Greek monks ;<sup>w</sup> in Egypt, although it does not appear to have made any progress, it excited so much apprehension that the patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria wrote a treatise against it ;<sup>x</sup> and even after the middle of the thirteenth century, the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople found it necessary to compose discourses in refutation of this obstinate heresy.<sup>y</sup>

II. In the West, many circumstances concurred to favour the growth of sectarianism. Foremost among these was the corruption of the clergy ; and the very efforts of Gregory VII. and others at a reform in the interest of Rome tended, by marking out the defects of the clergy for reprobation, to encourage a spirit of opposition to them.<sup>z</sup> Among other causes which contributed to the same result were the fierce quarrels between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers ; the growing pretensions of the hierarchy to authority over the things of this world ; the narrowing of the limits of thought allowed within the church ; the frequent and scandalous contests of bishops for particular sees ; the interdicts and curses which inclined the minds of many to seek from some other quarter the religious ordinances and consolations which the church denied them.<sup>a</sup> Accordingly, we now meet with sectaries in many quarters, and of various characters.

<sup>r</sup> A. Comn. 489.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 491-3.

<sup>t</sup> Cinnamus, ii. 10 ; Neand. viii. 293-4. Nicetas says that the Emperor made the intimacy with Nephon a pretext for removing Cosmas, who had been represented to him as disaffected. De Manuele, ii. 3.

<sup>u</sup> A. Comn. 487.

<sup>w</sup> Cinnamus, ii. 10.

<sup>x</sup> See Neale's Holy Eastern Church,

Patriarchate of Alexandria, ii. 240-2. The date seems to have been about 1120.

<sup>y</sup> Schröckh, xxix. 475. For other traces, see Wolf, Hist. Bogom. 39 ; Gieseler, II. ii. 620, 685-6 ; Schmidt, Hist. des Cathares, i. 14.

<sup>z</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 560, 619 (543, 575).

<sup>a</sup> "Tempore interdicti exultant ; quia tunc plures corrumpunt." Reinerius, Adv. Waldenses, 266.



(1.) The name of Tanchelm has already been incidentally mentioned.<sup>b</sup> This man appeared in Flanders early in the twelfth century, and the chief scene of his activity was Antwerp, where the people had been prepared to welcome irregular teaching by the circumstance that their populous town was under the charge of a single priest, whose life is said to have been scandalous. The accounts of Tanchelm, as has been truly remarked,<sup>c</sup> have much in common with those of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. He affected a royal state, being attended by a bodyguard of 3000 ruffians, wearing a crown, and having a banner and a sword borne before him when he preached. It is said that he claimed a divine character; that hymns were sung to him, that a church was dedicated in his honour, and that the water in which he had bathed was drunk or treasured up by his followers. He inveighed violently against the priesthood and the sacraments; and it is said that he combined with his lofty pretensions not only the practice but the teaching of the grossest licentiousness. The career of this blasphemous and sanguinary fanatic was cut short by a blow on the head from a priest, about the year 1116; and, although the sect did not immediately come to an end, his followers were reclaimed by Norbert about 1124.<sup>d</sup>

(2.) Another fanatical teacher of this time was Eudo or Eon de Stella, who spread his opinions chiefly in Brittany. Although not sprung from the lowest class of society, he is said to have been almost ignorant of the alphabet, and the accounts of him are incredible unless on the supposition that he was insane. He lived in great splendour, ordained bishops and priests, distinguished his chief followers by the names of apostles and of cardinal virtues, and is said to have kept his party together by means of food prepared by the spirits of the air, of which the effect was such that they who had once tasted it became irrevocably attached to the sect.<sup>e</sup> Eon was brought before Eugenius III. at the Council of Reims, in 1148, and, on being questioned, avowed his belief that he was He who should come to judge the quick and the dead.<sup>f</sup> At the request of the bishop

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii. p. 777 (711).

<sup>c</sup> Milman, iv. 180; Wilmans, in Pertz, xii. 690.

<sup>d</sup> Codex Udalrici, 288 (Eccard, ii.); Sigebert. Contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1124; Abælard. Introd. ad Theologiam, ii. 4 (Patrol. clxxviii.); D'Argentré, i. 10; Pagi, xviii. 395; Hahn, i. 439, seqq. Some writers (as C. Schmidt, i. 45) con-

nect Tanchelm with the Catharists and other sects; but against this, see Hahn, i. 462.

<sup>e</sup> Will. Neubrig. i. 19.

<sup>f</sup> It is said that he identified his own name, *Eon* or *Eun*, with "*Eum* qui judicaturus est, &c." So Guibert of Nogent tells us that a heretic at Soissons, on being questioned by Bishop

who had brought him to the council, his life and limbs were spared; and the pope committed him to the care of Samson, archbishop of Reims, in whose custody he soon after died.<sup>g</sup>

(3.) A sectary of a more respectable kind was Peter of Bruis, whose followers were known by the name of Petrobrusians.<sup>h</sup> After having, for some unknown cause, been deprived of a pastoral cure which he had held,<sup>i</sup> Peter, about the beginning of the century,<sup>k</sup> appeared as an independent teacher in the Alpine dioceses of Embrun, Gap, Digne, and Arles; and, on being driven from that region, he removed into Gascony. There he found a population prepared by the earlier prevalence of sectarian opinions to receive him;<sup>l</sup> he is described as "no longer whispering in hamlets, but openly preaching to multitudes in towns;" and his success, especially in the important city of Toulouse, was such as to astonish those who had been disposed to attribute his earlier successes to the ignorance of the mountaineers whom he had addressed.<sup>m</sup> He vehemently attacked the system of the church in doctrine and in government; his aim was to restore a nakedly scriptural Christianity, without any allowance for change of circumstances, or any consideration for the historical development of ages.<sup>n</sup> Yet it would seem that, while professing to regard scripture as the only source of religious knowledge, he was inclined to discard the Old Testament, and perhaps to retain no part of the New except the Gospels.<sup>o</sup>

The points on which Peter chiefly insisted were five in

Lisiard, alleged for himself the words of Scripture, "*Beati eritis*" — "*Cum esset enim illiteratus, quod *eritis* significaret *hæreticos* aestimabat. Putabat enim quod *hæretici* dicerentur quasi *hæreditarii*, *haud dubium quin Dei*." (De Vita sua, iii. 17, Patol. clvi.) Martin improbably supposes the story as to Eon to have arisen out of his identifying himself with a Gnostic *Æon*. iii. 458.*

<sup>g</sup> Sigeb. Contin. Gemblac. A.D. 1146; Contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1148 (Patol. clx.); Will. Neubrig. i. 19; Pet. Cantor, Verb. Abbrev. 78 (in two texts), Patol. ccv. 229, 546 (see Gieseler, II. ii. 534); Gesta Eugenii in Bouq. xv. 425; Otto Frising. de Gestis Friderici, i. 54-5, (who names Suger of St. Denys instead of the Archbishop of Reims); Annal. Magdeb. in Pertz, xvi. 190. Gieseler supposes Eon's sect to have been that against which Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, wrote in 1145 (II. ii. 532). But Hugh indicates a difference of opinion

among the sectaries whom he combats (l. i. 13, Patol. excii.), and the treatise altogether seems to be rather directed against the Henricians (see below).

<sup>h</sup> Peter was probably a native of Bruis, near Montélimar, in Dauphiny. He is mentioned by Abelard in company with Tanchelm (see p. 175, n. d).

<sup>i</sup> "*De ecclesia quam tenebat, scit ipse quare ejectus*" (Pet. Clun. 790).

<sup>k</sup> He is said to have taught for twenty years (Pet. Clun. adv. Petrobrusianos, Patol. clxxxix. 722, 726); whence, as Abelard (l. c.) in 1121 speaks of him as dead, Neander dates his beginning in 1101 (viii. 338). Schröckh (xxix. 515-7), Gieseler (II. ii. 535), and Hahn (i. 410-1) place it in 1104; Baronius (1126. 15) as late as 1126.

<sup>l</sup> Hahn, i. 412. <sup>m</sup> Pet. Clun. 727.

<sup>n</sup> Neand. viii. 338; 'Der heil. Bern,' 429.

<sup>o</sup> Pet. Clun. 728-9. See Neander's Bernard, 431; Hahn, i. 436.



number: (1) That infants ought not to be baptised, inasmuch as conscious personal faith is necessary in order to receive the benefits of the sacrament.<sup>p</sup> (2) That there ought to be no churches or other places hallowed for worship, forasmuch as the true Church consists of the congregated faithful, and God hears prayer equally wherever it may be offered.<sup>q</sup> (3) That crosses ought not to be revered, but, as being the memorials of the Saviour's sufferings, ought to be dishonoured, broken, and burnt.<sup>r</sup> (4) He not only denied the change of the eucharistic elements into the Lord's Body, but held that the sacrament, having been celebrated by our Lord once for all, ought not to be repeated.<sup>s</sup> (5) He taught that prayers, alms, and masses were unavailing for the dead.<sup>t</sup>

The preaching of these doctrines was attended with great effects. Multitudes who had been baptised in infancy submitted to be rebaptised;<sup>u</sup> churches were profaned and destroyed; altars were overthrown, crosses were burned, priests were beaten by excited mobs, and monks were compelled by torture to marry.<sup>x</sup> Once, on Good Friday, Peter caused all the crosses in the town where he was to be thrown into a bonfire, at which, in disregard of the solemn fast, he roasted flesh, and then invited the spectators to partake of it.<sup>y</sup> But the feeling which usually waited on his preaching was not universal; for, after a career of twenty years, he was seized by the populace of St. Gilles in Provence, and, in vengeance for his outrages against the cross, was himself burnt to death.<sup>z</sup>

Peter of Bruis was still alive, when the "venerable" Peter of

<sup>p</sup> Pet. Clun. 722, 752, seqq.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. 762, seqq.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 722, 771, seqq., 789. "If," the Petrobrusians used to ask, amid the applause of the multitude, "one were to produce for your adoration the rope with which he had strangled your father, or the sword with which he had pierced your friend or your brother, would you not rise against him with all indignation?" Peter of Cluny replies, that in such a case the indignation ought to be directed against the slayer, not against the innocent and unconscious instrument (773). I have not seen any ground for Neander's inference from Peter of Bruis' violence against the cross, that he denied the redemptive effect of the Saviour's death. viii. 340.

<sup>s</sup> Pet. Clun. 722, 787, seqq.; Hahn, i. 423. Bread and wine, argues the abbot of Cluny, are daily converted into

our own bodies; why then deny the eucharistic change (803)? If it be said that in our own case the form is changed, look at the change of water into ice, and of ice into crystal, where the form still remains, (805). Hahn (i. 431) remarks that here Peter of Cluny says nothing of miracles wrought on the Host, although he dwells much on such things in his book 'De Miraculis.'

<sup>t</sup> Pet. Clun. 722, 819, seqq.; Cf. Abælard. *Introd. in Theolog.* ii. 4.

<sup>u</sup> The sectaries denied that this was rebaptism, the first baptism being altogether null according to them (Pet. Cl. 729). Peter of Cluny blames them for insisting on their own baptism as indispensable, whereas the church, agreeably to Scripture, allowed a dispensation in case of necessity. (754).

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 726.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 771-2.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 722.

Cluny, in passing through his original haunts, found his opinions largely prevailing there, and thus was induced to compose a treatise which is almost our only source of information as to the sect. In this book he defends the whole system of the church, although it need hardly be said that his arguments are often of a questionable kind. The preface, written after the heresiarch's death, is addressed to the four prelates whose dioceses were infected, and in it the abbot expresses a hope that they may find his tract useful in argument, which he declares to be the more Christian manner of dealing with heretics, although he holds that, in case of necessity, the secular power may lawfully be called in to coerce them.<sup>a</sup>

In the mean time, as the abbot of Cluny mentions, the heresiarch had found a successor in one Henry,<sup>b</sup> whom some suppose to have been an Italian, and others to have been a Swiss.<sup>c</sup> Henry was a deacon, and had been a member of the Cluniac order. In his habits he still affected the severity of a monk or a hermit, wearing a long beard, walking barefooted even in the depth of winter, living on alms, and professing to limit himself to such things as were merely necessary.<sup>d</sup> Yet Hildebert and Bernard charge him with licentiousness of life, and especially with a fondness for gaming.<sup>e</sup> His eloquence was said to be such that nothing but a heart of stone could resist it, and it was believed that by his mere look he could read the secrets of the heart. He also enjoyed the reputation of learning; but his right to this is denied by his opponents, who allow him no other accomplishments than those of preaching and dicing.<sup>f</sup> The first place at which Henry is described as having made himself conspicuous was Lausanne; and, as we soon after find that opinions closely resembling his were entertained by some persons at Treves and at Cologne,<sup>g</sup> it is probable that he may have visited those cities

<sup>a</sup> Præf. col. 721. Peter seems to have anticipated the argument of the 'Horæ Paulinæ,' although we cannot suspect Paley of having borrowed from him.—*"Cum ergo tanta evidentia evangelistæ et apostoli verba convenient, ut quod ille historico hic epistolari stylo gestum referat, et uterque tam concors sibi invicem veritatis testimonium perhibeat, quid ultra quæritis? Nonne sufficientem auctoritatem evangelicus liber apostolicis litteris conferre videtur?"* (737.) And he goes on to argue for the unity of Scripture from the manner in which one part bears witness to another.

<sup>b</sup> Pet. Clun. 150.

<sup>c</sup> See Mabillon, Præf. in Bernard. 50 (Patrol. clxxxii.). Neander's account of Henry (viii. 341, seqq.) very remarkably exemplifies the writer's manner of constructing, from scanty and adverse materials, an imaginary portrait of a spiritual hero.

<sup>d</sup> Pet. Clun. 790; Gaufrid. Vita Bern.; Patrol. clxxv. 427; l. iii. 16; Gesta Epp. Cenomann. in Mabillon, Analecta, 315-6.

<sup>e</sup> Bern. Ep. 241; Hildeb. Ep. 24.

<sup>f</sup> Gesta Epp. Cenom. in Mabill. Anal. 315-7.

<sup>g</sup> Gesta Trevir. in Patrol. cliv. 1214-6



on his way from Switzerland to Le Mans, where he appeared in 1116. Having obtained from the bishop, Hildebert, permission to preach during Lent, he made use of it to excite the people against the clergy, who were insulted, attacked, and plundered, and were only saved from yet worse outrages by the interference of the civil power. He also made strange attempts at moral reform by encouraging marriages with prostitutes and women of servile condition; and it is said that all such unions were unfortunate in their consequences. During these proceedings, Hildebert had been absent on an expedition to Rome; but on his return he was able, although not without much difficulty, to drive out Henry,<sup>h</sup> who afterwards preached at Poitiers and Bordeaux—everywhere, according to St. Bernard, leaving such an impression that he could not venture to revisit the place.<sup>1</sup> In the south of France he met with Peter of Bruis, and after Peter's death<sup>k</sup> he became the leader of the sect, to whose errors he is said to have made some additions,<sup>m</sup> although the only further difference from the system of the church that is recorded is a denunciation of the system of chanting.<sup>n</sup>

Peter of Cluny's tract against the Petrobrusians was not without effect. At the council of Pisa, in 1135, Henry was brought by the archbishop of Arles before Innocent II., by whom he was condemned as a heretic, compelled to a retraction, and given over for custody to Bernard, who furnished him with an order that he should be received as a monk at Clairvaux.<sup>o</sup> After a short detention he was set at liberty, on condition that he should not return to his former haunts; but he speedily resumed his labours in the south of France, and with such effect that, according to St. Bernard, the churches were soon without people, the people without priests, the priests without due respect; that holy places were reckoned unholy, festivals were neglected, sacraments were scorned, children remained unbaptised, and sinners

(about the year 1116). The account of the sectaries at Cologne is thirty years later (Everwin. ap. Bernard. Ep. 472); yet Henry may have been their founder.

<sup>h</sup> Gesta Epp. Cenomann. 316-7; Hildeb. Epp. 23-4; Neand. viii. 347; Hahn, i. 446-7.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 241.

<sup>k</sup> At Le Mans the messengers of Henry appeared before Hildebert with staves tipped with crosses, and at his entrance into the town, a cross was borne before him, so that, during the

time of his independent labours, he had not shared in Peter's objections to the cross (Mosh. ii. 502; Neander's Bernard, 446). Neander supposes that he did not join the Petrobrusians until after their master's death (ib. 444). But see Gieseler, II., ii. 535, 538.

<sup>m</sup> Pet. Clun. 722.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. 847; Hahn, i. 434.

<sup>o</sup> Gesta Epp. Cenomann. 323; Gaufrid. Vita Bern. (Patrol. clxxxv. 412); see Pagi, xviii. 497.

died without penance or the holy communion.<sup>p</sup> In 1147, Eugenius III., who was then in France, desired Alberic, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, to undertake a mission against Henry, and Bernard, then fresh from his triumphs in preaching the crusade, was persuaded by Alberic to accompany him.<sup>q</sup> Nowhere had the abbot's successes been more signal than on this mission. At Albi, where the people were especially infected with error, the cardinal was received with insult; but when Bernard arrived, five days later, his appearance was hailed with enthusiasm. The cathedral was unable to contain the multitudes which pressed to hear him; and when, after having discoursed on the chief points of difference, he desired that all who preferred the catholic faith to heresy would hold up their hands, every hand in the assembly was raised.<sup>r</sup> Miracles were performed in such abundance that the heretics slunk off in dismay, and wherever Bernard appeared, so great was the excitement that he was even afraid to encounter the crowds of his admirers.<sup>s</sup> On one occasion, when bread was carried to him for his blessing (as was usual) he declared that, for the decision of the question between the church and the heretics, every sick person who should taste of that bread should be made whole. "If they receive with right faith, they will be healed," interposed Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, who feared that the abbot had been carried too far by his enthusiasm. "That is not what I say," cried Bernard, "but of a truth those who taste shall be healed, that they may know us to be the true and faithful messengers of God!" The miracle is said to have followed,<sup>t</sup> and the effect of it was decisive. Henry, driven from the city, had found a refuge among the nobles of the neighbourhood, who, although indifferent to his doctrines, were favourable to him as an enemy of the clergy.<sup>u</sup> But at Bernard's instance, he was given up in chains to the bishop of Toulouse.<sup>x</sup> His further history appears to be unknown, and the

<sup>p</sup> Ep. 241, init.; Cf. *Gesta Epp. Cenom.* 323.

<sup>q</sup> Gaufrid. *Vita Bern.* iii. 17. See *Hist. de Languedoc*, ii. 443-7.

<sup>r</sup> Gaufr. coll. 414-5. <sup>s</sup> *Ib.* 411-3.

<sup>t</sup> Gaufrid. iii. 18. William of Puylaurrens has a story that at a place called Verfeuil (*Viride-folium*) the people would not listen to Bernard; whereupon he exclaimed, "*Viride folium, desiccet te Deus!*" and the curse was fulfilled in its speedy decay. c. i.; Bouq. xix. 194.

<sup>u</sup> *Ib.* col. 412.

<sup>x</sup> Gaufr. 313, 412. Cf. *Bern. Ep.* 242. According to some writers, who have been misled by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (*Bouq.* xiii. 701), Henry was condemned by Eugenius at Reims, in 1148, to be kept in custody by Samson, archbishop of that city. But this story has arisen out of a confusion between Henry and Eon. (See Gieseler, II. ii. 539, in refutation of Neander, viii. 350.) Allix refers to Baronius, A.D. 1147, for the statement that Henry was burnt at Toulouse "at the solicitation of St. Bernard, by the



sect, as a distinct body, seems to have become speedily extinct, partly through the effect produced by a young girl of Gascony who, about the year 1151, used to lie insensible three days in each month, and on awaking, to testify eloquently and learnedly against the errors of the Henricians.<sup>7</sup>

(4.) The heretical opinions most widely spread during this time were those of a Manichæan character,<sup>z</sup> which are found from England to the south of Italy, from the Hellespont to the Ebro.<sup>a</sup> Appearances of this kind have already come before us in the early part of the eleventh century.<sup>b</sup> But whereas those appear-

cruelty of Albericus." (On the Albigenses, p. 147, ed. Oxford, 1824.) But I have not been able to find this in Baronius, or anywhere else, although Baronius would no doubt have warmly approved of such proceedings.

<sup>y</sup> R. de Monte, A.D. 1151; R. de Dico, 527.

<sup>z</sup> The relationship to Manichæism, however, is denied, notwithstanding the many points of resemblance—as by C. Schmidt, in Herzog, vii. 469.

<sup>a</sup> Among the writers cited in the account of the Cathari and Waldenses, the following may be here enumerated:—

Alanus, 'Contra Hæreticos sui Temporis' (Patrol. ccx.) That this is the work of the famous Alan of Lille (de Insulis), has been denied, on the ground that the author seems to have been connected with the south of France (C. Schmidt, Hist. des Cath. ii. 234). Yet Gieseler thinks it possible that Alan of Lille, as a monk of Cîteaux, which had much intercourse with the South, may have been the writer. II. ii. 258.

Bernard, abbot of Fontcaud, 'Adversus Waldenses,' Patrol. cciv.

Bonacursus, 'Contra Catharos,' ibid.

Disputatio Catholici contra Hæreticos, in Martene, Thes. v.

Eberhard of Bethune, in Bibl. Patr. xxiv. The treatise is wrongly said to be against the Waldenses, being really against the Cathari. See Maitland, 'Facts and Documents,' 98, 100, &c.; Giesel, II., ii. 555.

Eckbert, abbot of Schönau, 'Sermones contra Catharos,' Patrol. cxcv.

Ermengaud, 'Adversus Hæreses,' ib. cciv.; and also in the Appendix to Abelard, ib. clxxviii. (See Giesel., II. ii. 557.)

Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ (A.D. 1307-1323), printed with

Limborch's History of the Inquisition. See Maitland, 260, and his extracts of remarkable cases, 270, seqq.

Lucas Tudensis [i. e. bishop of Tuy, in Galicia], 'Adv. Albigensium Errores,' in Bibl. Patr. xxv.

Moneta Cremonensis, 'Adversus Catharos et Valdenses,' ed. Ricchini, Rom. 1743. [A copy of this, lettered 'Moneta Cremonensis—Ricchini,' was lately to be seen in the Cambridge University library, catalogued as the work of the editor, and classed among numismatic books!]

Peter of Pilichdorf, in Bibl. Patr. xxv.

Peter of Vaux Cernay, 'Historia Albigensium,' Patrol. ccxiii.

Reinerius Sacconi, 'Summa de Catharis et Leonistis,' in Martene, Thes. Anecd. V. 1762, seqq. and in D'Argentré, i. 48, seqq. This work was afterwards interpolated by way of adapting it for use in various countries, and thus was formed the book 'Contra Waldenses,' in Bibl. Patr. xxv., a South-German adaptation. See Quétif, i. 154; Maitland, 'Facts and Doc.' 431-7, 538; Letter to Rose, 1834, p. 41; Reply to J. King, 1836, pp. 29-30; Giesel, II., ii. 613; C. Schmidt, Hist. des Cath. ii. 227, and in Herzog, Encycl. art. *Ranerio Sacconi*.

Stephen de Borbone. Of this writer only extracts have as yet been printed by D'Argentré, i. 85, seqq., and elsewhere.

Yvonet. This has been supposed to be the name of the author of the 'Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno,' in Martene, Thes. v. 1777, seqq. (Gieseler, II., ii. 613.) But it is now said to be the work of David of Augsburg, a Franciscan who lived early in the 13th century. See Herzog, art. *Yvonetus*.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 447 (417), seqq. Map supposes the heretics to have existed in obscurity even from the time of the Saviour's passion! De Nugis Curialium, 61.

ances, however similar to each other, seem to have been isolated, we now find in the heretics a knowledge of their own numbers and of the wide extent of their communion, with a formidable system of organization. The connexion with the East becomes more distinct, and the oriental tone of their doctrine is too plain to be mistaken.<sup>c</sup>

Among the names by which these sectaries were known, the commonest was that of *Cathari* (in Italian, *Gazari*, and in German, *Ketzer*), as to which, although other derivations have been proposed for it, there appears to be no reason for doubting that it is of Greek origin, and relates to their profession of purity.<sup>d</sup> Among their other names were—*Publicani* or *Poplicani*, which seems to point to a connexion with the Paulicians;<sup>e</sup> *Patarini*, a name which, from having belonged to the opponents of clerical marriage at Milan in the preceding century, was now transferred to parties which disparaged all marriage, or perhaps had come to be used, in forgetfulness of its origin, as a convenient designation for sectaries;<sup>f</sup> *Apostolici*, from their pretension to an aposto-

<sup>c</sup> Neand. viii. 296; C. Schmidt, i. 54-5. In 1224, 184 heretics were burnt at Provins, "qui, ut ipsi confessi fuerant, ex eorum progenie erant quos imperator Theodosius temporibus Augustini de Africa expulerat, qui etiam de secta Manichæorum fuisse creduntur." Annal. Erphord. in Pertz, xvi. 33.

<sup>d</sup> See Ricchini, Dissert. in Monet. xii.; Gieseler, II., ii. 539; C. Schmidt, ii. 271, 276-8; Append. vi. Alan gives various etymologies, e. g. "*A catto*, quia, ut dicitur, osculantur posteriora cati, in cujus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer." (Contra Hæreticos, i. 63, Patrol. cex.) Gretser also derives the name from the German *Kater*, but would explain it by the stealthy and cat-like habits of the sectaries (Bibl. Patr. xxv. 253). Mosheim's idea (ii. 392) that it points to a connexion with the country of the Chazars is unsupported by historical evidence. Schröckh, xxiii. 351-2; Gieseler, l. c.

<sup>e</sup> Hahn derives this name from *populus* (i. 51). A passage in the 'History of Vézelay' seems to hint at a derivation, by styling them "*Telonarii seu Poplicani*" (Patrol. exciv. 1681)—*τελώνης* meaning a *publican*. But *Telonarii* is a conjecture of Baluze for *Deonarii*, and seems to be mistaken, since we find Herbert of Bosham writing to the abbot of Vézelay about some heretics who had been found there, and were called

"Dageneis seu Deonas" (Ep. 29, Patrol. exc. 1462). Perhaps these names may be connected with Dugunthia or Dugunithia (see below, p. 186, n. <sup>a</sup>). The derivation given in the text seems to be the most likely, especially when the Greek pronunciation of the *v* in *Παυλικιανοί* (like *v*) is considered. See Maitland, 'Eight Essays,' 171-2. (Lond. 1852); Neand. viii. 296.

<sup>f</sup> See vol. ii. 580 (543); Ricchini, in Monet. 18; Giesel. II., ii. 540. As applied to the Cathari, this name has been derived from *pati*, either on account of their exposure to suffering, or from their alleged indulgence of their passions (Mapes, De Nugis Curialium, 62). "*Patarenos se nominant, quasi expositos passioni*," says the Emperor Frederick II., in Pertz, Leges, ii. 327. The Anchin chronicler (Patrol. clx. 320) says "*Isti hæretici nullius hæresiarchæ muniuntur præsidio; quidam dicunt Manichæos, alii Cataphrygas, nonnulli vero Arrianos, Alexander autem Papa vocat eos Paternios*" (Paterinos). Dr. Maitland observes that the earliest form of the word, as applied to these sectaries (e. g. by Reiner and by the council of Lateran in 1179), is *Patrini*, and supposes that they may have been called *godfathers* by the converts, whom they rebaptised (447). Allix utterly misrepresents the Milanese patarini as the *enemies* of celibacy (133).



lical manner of life;<sup>g</sup> *Bonshommes*, a name which was affected by themselves and bestowed on them by those who favoured them;<sup>h</sup> *Bulgari* or *Bougres*, which connects them with Bulgaria, but came to bear a meaning of the most odious kind.<sup>1</sup> In Flanders, they were styled *Piphles*, as belonging to the "people" or poorer classes;<sup>k</sup> in the south of France, *Tisserands*, because many of them were weavers;<sup>m</sup> some of them were called after the names of leaders, as the *Arnoldists*, who probably were connected with an "arch-catharist" of Cologne named Arnold;<sup>n</sup> while other names were derived from places—such as that of *Agenenses*,<sup>o</sup> and, at a later time, the more celebrated name of *Albigenses*.<sup>p</sup>

Sectaries who may be identified with the Cathari appear during this time in many quarters—at Cologne<sup>q</sup> and Bonn,<sup>r</sup> at Reims<sup>s</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Neander's Bernard, 412.

<sup>h</sup> Hoveden, 317, b; Hahn, i. 55; Pet. Sarn. 4. Another name is *Abnoitæ* (Reiner. Leod. in Pertz, xvi. 663), possibly a corruption of *Agnoëtæ* (see vol. i. p. 529).

<sup>i</sup> Ricchini, xvii.; Gibbon, v. 284.

<sup>k</sup> Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, c. i. "De Piphilis;" Eckbert. Sermon. i. adv. Catharos, Patol. cxcv. 13; Hahn, i. 51.

<sup>m</sup> Conc. Rem. l. c.; Eckbert, l. c. This class was much given to sectarianism. It is said that Bernard, on his mission against the Henricians, found at Toulouse "de textoribus quos *Arianos* ipsi nominant, nonnullos" (Gaufrid. in Patol. clxxv. 411). That the Cathari were sometimes called Arians, see Chron. Aquicinct. quoted above, n. f; Hoveden, 327; and Bernard himself says, "Clerici et sacerdotes, populis ecclesiisque relictis, intonsi et barbati inter textores et textrices plerumque inventi sunt." In Cantica, Sermon. lxxv. 5.

<sup>n</sup> Eckbert. Sermon. viii. 3; Caesar. Heisterb. v. 19. See Maitland, 'Facts and Documents,' 447, and C. Schmidt, art. *Arnoldisten*, in Herzog. The Arnoldists mentioned by Bonacorsi (791), do not seem to have been Manichæans, and may have been followers of Arnold of Brescia.

<sup>o</sup> Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1178. Radulphus Ardens, in 1101, mentions the prevalence of Manichæan error about Agen, and gives the chief heads of the errors. (Hom. in Epp. et Evang. Dominic. 19, Patol. clv. 2011.) Reiner says that in his time the heretical church of Agen was almost extinct. Mart. Thes. v. 1768.

<sup>p</sup> Roger Wendover supposes this name

to have been taken from the city of Albi, as having been the first place where these heretics were condemned (ii. 267). But it was really derived from the district of the Albigeois, and was first applied by foreign soldiers, in the campaign of 1208, to those who until then had been styled simply "heretics" (Pet. Sarn. Prolog. s. fin.; Hist. Langued. iii. 4, 533-5; Schröckh, xxix. 569-572; notes on Mosh. ii. 392, 610; Maitland, 'Facts and Doc.' 95-6; Giesel. II., ii. 584; Hahn, i. 153). Odo de Sully, bishop of Paris, in 1196, orders his clergy to warn their people "ut in *Albigenses* hæreticos se accingant" (*Præcepta Synodalia*, 43, Patol. cexii. 67). Dr. Maitland supposes this language to be of a later date (184); but the difficulty will disappear if we understand the words to mean *the heretics of the Albigeois*, not *the heretics styled Albigenses*; and the same explanation will apply to the words of Godfrey of Vigeois (*Vosiensis*) who uses the name with reference to the year 1181. Hist. Lang. iii. 57.

<sup>q</sup> Annal. Braunweiler. A.D. 1143 (Pertz, xvi.); Everwin, in Patol. clxxxii. 676; Caesar. Heisterb. v. 19, 24; Annal. Aquens. A.D. 1163 (Pertz, xvi.); Eckbert. in Patol. cxcv. 13; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1163 (Pertz, xvii.).

<sup>r</sup> Eckbert. Sermon. viii. 3.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Burburgen. A.D. 1136 (Patol. clx.); Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, c. 1, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 74; Eckbert. in Patol. cxci., Sermon. i. 2; v. 11; viii. 3; xi. 1-8. Ralph of Coggeshale tells a story of an old woman at Reims, who threw a ball of thread from a win-

and Toul,<sup>t</sup> at Liège,<sup>u</sup> Arras,<sup>x</sup> and other places in Flanders;<sup>y</sup> at Soissons,<sup>z</sup> at Auxerre (where a bishop named Hugh was styled the "hammer of the heretics"<sup>a</sup>), and at Vézelay;<sup>b</sup> at Besançon,<sup>c</sup> and perhaps at Perigueux (although the Manichæism of the sectaries there is somewhat doubtful).<sup>d</sup> An English writer of the time describes them as numerous in Anjou, but as swarming in Burgundy and Aquitaine.<sup>e</sup> Spain was also infested by them;<sup>f</sup> and in England itself a party of about thirty "Publicans" was discovered<sup>g</sup> at Oxford about 1160. They were all Germans, except a female English convert, who afterwards recanted; and all are described as utterly illiterate, with the exception of their leader, one Gerard. A council was held for the examination of these sectaries, and, by the command of Henry II., who was present, they were branded in the face, severely flogged, and driven out of the town;<sup>h</sup> after which, according to some writers, they perished in the fields by cold and hunger, as the people would hold no communication with them,<sup>i</sup> while other authorities tell us that they were sent across the sea.<sup>k</sup>

dow, holding the end of the thread, and crying "Accipe!" whereupon she was raised into the air and vanished, while her less instructed disciple remained below and was burnt. Bouq. xviii. 92.

<sup>t</sup> Hugo Metellus, cited from MS. by Mabillon, *Analecta*, 475; Hahn, i. 453.

<sup>u</sup> *Annal. Rodenses*, A.D. 1139 (Pertz, xvi.); Ep. 4, ad Luc. II. (Patrol. clxxix.), where the heresy is said to have come "a Monte Guimari, quo nomine quidam vicus in Francia dicitur," which Martene supposes to be Montélimar. But although this might suggest a connection with Peter of Bruis (see p. 176), the Liège sectaries were clearly Cathari.

<sup>x</sup> Eugen. III., Ep. 560 (A.D. 1153); *Chron. Aquicinct.* A.D. 1182-3 (Patrol. clx.); C. Schmidt, i. 92-3.

<sup>y</sup> Ludov. VII. ad Alex. III., Patrol. cc. 1376; Alex. Ep. 182; Will. de Nangis, A.D. 1183; Rigord. in Bouq. xviii. 11.

<sup>z</sup> Guibert. *Novig. de Vita sua*, iii. 17 (Patrol. clvi.).

<sup>a</sup> "Hæreticorum Malleus." *Hist. Epp. Antissiod.* in Bouq. xviii. 726; Innoc. III., Ep. v. 36.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 1167, *Hist. Vizeliac.* l. 4, fin. (Patrol. exciv.); Herb. Bosham. Ep. 29 (ib. exc.).

<sup>c</sup> *Cæsar. Heisterb.* v. 18. Gieseler dates this in 1200 (II., ii. 542); but C. Schmidt's date is about 1163. (i. 89-90.)

<sup>d</sup> For the Perigueux sectaries the authority is a letter of a monk named Herbert, in Patrol. clxxxi. 172. Their Manichæism is denied by Neander (viii. 36), and Mabillon supposes them followers of Henry and Peter of Bruis (Praef. in Bern., Patrol. clxxxii. 51). On the other side are Gieseler (II., ii. 541) and Hahn (i. 453). It is suspicious that, according to some copies of Ademar (Patrol. cxli. 71), the Manichæism which appeared at Orleans in 1122 (see vol. ii. 448=418) was brought from Perigueux; and, if nothing distinctly Manichæan appears in Herbert's account of the later sectaries at Perigueux, it is possible that he may not have got to the bottom of their doctrines.

<sup>e</sup> W. Mapes, *de Nugis Curialium*, 62.

<sup>f</sup> W. Neubrig. ii. 13.

<sup>g</sup> Map says sixteen. 62.

<sup>h</sup> R. Coggesh. in Bouq. xvii. 92.

<sup>i</sup> W. Neubrig. ii. 13 (who says that this was the first heresy that had appeared in Britain since the Pelagianism of early times, and highly approves of the treatment of the heretics); Bromton, 1050.

<sup>k</sup> R. de Diceto, 539; Mapes, 62; Hemingburgh, i. 88-9. See Lingard, ii. 227; C. Schmidt, i. 97-8. In the 'Livres des Reis de Brittain' (*Chron. and Mem.*) it is said that each of them "perdi le un pee" [*i. e.* pied], 218. There is a letter of later date from Peter of Blois to



In the treatment of such persons in general, the king of England is honourably distinguished from most of his contemporaries; for we are told that "while the Publicans were burnt in many places throughout France, King Henry would by no means allow this in his dominions, although there were many of them there;" and it would seem that even warnings and calamities, which were represented as miraculous, were unable to change his policy in this respect.<sup>1</sup> In most places where heretics were found, they were committed to the flames under the authority of bishops and princes, or by the violence of the multitude, and it is generally related that they bore their fate with a courage, and even with an appearance of exultation, which were traced to demoniacal influence. Yet there were eminent teachers who took a truer view of the manner in which error should be dealt with, and among these Bernard was conspicuous. In 1146 he received from Everwin, provost of Steinfeld, an account of some sectaries at Cologne, who were divided into two parties—the one unquestionably Manichæan, while the other seems to have been nearly akin to the Petrobrusians and Henricians.<sup>m</sup> It was through the dissensions of these parties among themselves that they had been discovered; some of them, after a discussion with the clergy, had been hurried away and burnt by the mob; and Everwin expresses his regret for this violence, and asks Bernard to furnish him with arguments and authorities against the errors which he reports to him.<sup>n</sup> In consequence of this application, Bernard composed two sermons on the text, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines."<sup>o</sup> In these sermons he argues zealously against the sectaries, and strongly denounces their peculiarities. But as to the right manner of dealing with them, his opinion is decidedly against persecution and bloodshed. "They are to be taken," he says, "not with arms but with arguments; and, if possible, they are to be reconciled to the Catholic church, and recalled to the true faith. And that this is the will of Him who 'will

Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York, exciting him against heretics in his province; but there is nothing distinctive in the description of them. Ep. 113.

<sup>1</sup> R. Hoved. 352, b, who tells a story of a warning conveyed through Abbot Eustace of Flai, and of the deaths of two of the king's sons which followed.

<sup>m</sup> See Gieseler, II., ii. 545; Neander's Bernard, 419, 420; Cf. Eckbert. Sermon. v. 11. Mabillon supposes some of the

Cologne sectaries to have been followers of Tanchelm, Præf. in Bern. 51.

<sup>n</sup> Ap. Bern. Ep. 472.

<sup>o</sup> Cantic. ii. 15; Bern. Sermon. in Cantica, 65-6. The comparison of sectaries to Samson's foxes was not left for the author of 'Foxes and Firebrands' in the 17th century, but is often found—e.g. in Reinerius, c. 4; Humbert. de Romanis, de Erudit. Prædicatorum, i. 31 (Bibl. Patr. xxv.).

have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth,' appears from its being said, not simply, 'Take the foxes,' but 'Take *us* the foxes.' He commands that they be gained for Himself and for His spouse, the church." The utmost that Bernard would sanction, is that obstinate heretics should be driven away or imprisoned, rather than that they should destroy the spiritual vines.<sup>p</sup> In like manner, St. Hildegard, while she everywhere expresses a strong detestation of heretics,<sup>q</sup> and exhorts the secular authorities to drive them away by confiscation and banishment, adds, that they ought not to be slain, "forasmuch as they are God's image."<sup>r</sup> And Peter the Chanter of Paris, in the end of the century, condemns both capital punishment of heretics, and the use of ordeals for their trial.<sup>s</sup>

In Italy the Cathari were to be found even as far south as Calabria.<sup>t</sup> But they were especially numerous in Lombardy, where the heretics of Monteforte had appeared at an earlier time,<sup>u</sup> and from the days of Arialdo and Herlembald, there had been a strong feeling against the clergy; and there they are described as abounding in cities and in suburbs, in villages and in castles, and as teaching publicly without fear or hindrance.<sup>w</sup> The sectaries of Lombardy were divided into parties<sup>x</sup>—those of Concorrezzo and of Albano mutually excommunicating each other; but with this exception, it is said that their congregations were everywhere in communion.<sup>y</sup> Of these "churches" sixteen are enumerated—in Italy and France, in Slavonia, at Constantinople (where there were one of Latins and one of Greeks), and elsewhere in the east; and it is said that all the rest were derived from those of Bulgaria and Dugunthia.<sup>z</sup> The writer who gives this information reckons the whole number of the sect, including both sexes, at less than four thousand; but it would seem that this estimate was meant to exclude all but the "perfect" or highest grade of them.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Serm. lxiv. 8 in Cantica.

<sup>q</sup> *E. g.* Ep. 48, Coll. 250-3 (Patrol. cxvii.).

<sup>r</sup> Ep. 47, coll. 232-3.  
<sup>s</sup> Verbum Abbrev. c. 78 (Patrol. ccv. 229-230). Alan quotes as from St. Augustine (?) an interpretation of David's concubines as meaning heretics, and infers that they are to be reduced to the church by words and blows, but not to be slain. *Contra Hæreticos*, ii. 20 (Patrol. ccx.).

<sup>t</sup> Reiner. Summa, in Martene, Thesaur. v. 1761; C. Schmidt, i. 62-4.

<sup>u</sup> See vol. ii., p. 452 (421).

<sup>w</sup> Bonacurs., in Dachery, i. 209 (or Patrol. cciv.); Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 24.

<sup>x</sup> See Reiner. Summa, 1768; C. Schmidt, ii. 52-6.

<sup>y</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1773-4. See Hefele, v. 734; Lib. Sentent. 13-4.

<sup>z</sup> Rein. Summa, 1767; see C. Schmidt, ii. 266. Dugunthia, elsewhere styled *Druguria*, is identified by Gieseler with *Tragurium*—Trau, in Dalmatia, II., ii. 552. See above, p. 182, n. e.

<sup>a</sup> Rein. Summa, 1768. In Gretser's text, after the number 4000, follows "sed credentes [*i. e.* the lower grade]



But the chief stronghold of these sectaries was in the south of France, where circumstances were very favourable to the spreading of their opinions. The population of this territory were widely different from the northern French, to whom their dialect, the *langue d'oc*, was even unintelligible. Toulouse, the capital, was the ancient seat of the Arian Gothic monarchy, and heresy is said to have always lingered in the region.<sup>b</sup> The nobles were remarkable for their gay and luxurious manner of life, and among them was cultivated a vernacular poetry of love and chivalry, strongly tinged with licentiousness, and unsparing in its satire against the clergy, who had fallen into tastes and habits too strongly resembling their own.<sup>c</sup> The citizens had been enriched by commerce, and had achieved for themselves a degree of political freedom which was elsewhere unknown.<sup>d</sup> The tone of thought and feeling was independent; Peter of Bruis and Henry had found an eager reception among the people, and had paved the way for other teaching hostile to the church.<sup>e</sup> To the more serious, the heresy was commended by its professions of austerity; to those of opposite character, by its enmity to the clergy, and by the indulgence which it allowed to such of its converts as had not yet taken on themselves the obligations of its highest grade.<sup>f</sup> We have already seen that in the beginning of the eleventh century some Manichæans were discovered and put to death at Toulouse.<sup>g</sup> The renewed progress of heresy in the same region had been noticed and denounced as early as the year 1119, when Calixtus II. held a council at that city;<sup>h</sup> and the denunciation had been repeated by the Lateran council of 1139, by the council of Reims in 1148, and by that of Tours in 1163 — all held under the presidency of popes.<sup>i</sup> In 1165, a conference took place between some bishops and some of the "good men" (as they styled themselves) at Lombers, a little town near Albi;<sup>k</sup> where the sectaries behaved with all the con-

innumeri." Giesel. II., ii. 629.

<sup>b</sup> P. Sarn. 1; C. Schmidt, i. 24-6; Hahn, i. 47, 150. See Bouquet, xii. 449, and a letter in vol. xiv., 'De profugandis Tolosanis hæreticis.'

<sup>c</sup> Hurter, ii. 272-3; Sismondi, vi. 250-5; Neander, viii. 351; Martin, iv. 16-7; C. Schmidt, i. 67; Hallam, M.A., ii. 194.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. de Langued. ii. 515; C. Schmidt, i. 67-9.

<sup>e</sup> Hahn, i. 152; Fauriel, Introd. to the poem of the 'Croisade contre les Albigeois,' lv.-lx. The author of this poem (who will be often cited in a

future chapter), treats the struggle of the southern against the northern French as one of civilization against barbarism. Cf. Sismondi, vi. 249-250.

<sup>f</sup> C. Schmidt, l. c.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. ii. p. 451 (421).

<sup>h</sup> Conc. Tolos. c. 3, Hard. vi. 1978; Maitland, 90.

<sup>i</sup> Conc. Lat. c. 23; Conc. Rem. c. 18; Conc. Turon. c. 4. See Pagi, xix. 203.

<sup>k</sup> Bossuet, Pagi, and others, have confounded this with Lombez, afterwards an episcopal see. Hist. de Langued. iii. 537.

sciousness of strength, defied the sentence which was passed against their opinions, and were allowed to depart without any attempt to extend it to their persons.<sup>m</sup> Some years later, we read of a council held by the heretics themselves at St. Felix A.D. 1167. de Caraman, near Toulouse, under the presidency of a person styled "Pope Niquinta," a name which has been identified with that of one Nicetas, who is said by a writer of the time to have come from Constantinople into Lombardy.<sup>n</sup> A vast multitude of both sexes flocked to receive from him the mystical rite which was styled *consolamentum*. Representatives of several Catharist churches appeared; bishops were chosen and ordained for these communities; and, with a view to the preservation of harmony among the sectaries, Niquinta told them that all churches were, like the seven churches of Asia, originally independent of each other; that such was still the case with their brethren of Bulgaria, Dalmatia, and the east; and he charged them to do in like manner.<sup>o</sup>

In 1177, Raymond V., Count of Toulouse, addressed a letter to the abbot of Cîteaux and his chapter, requesting the assistance of the order against the heretics by whom his dominions were infested.<sup>p</sup> About the same time the kings of France and England—probably at his instance<sup>q</sup>—concerted measures for the suppression of the heresy; and at their request Peter, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, Guarin, archbishop of Bourges, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Poitiers, and others undertook a mission into the affected country.<sup>r</sup> These commissioners describe the heresy as triumphant, not only among the people but among the clergy. On entering Toulouse, they were hooted, and were reviled as hypocrites and heretics.<sup>s</sup> They disputed with two leaders of the Cathari, who disavowed the chief errors which were laid to their charge, and denied that they had ever taught so. But Count Raymond and others deposed that they had often heard them vent those doctrines, and, as they refused to abjure, on the ground that oaths were unlawful, they were solemnly excommunicated.<sup>t</sup> The

<sup>m</sup> Hard. vi. 1643-52; Hoveden, 317-320; C. Schmidt, i. 71-3; Maitland, 139. Hoveden, by giving this under the year 1176, has misled some writers. See Hist. de Langued. iii. 535-7; Gieseler, II., ii. 552; Hefele, v. 571.

<sup>n</sup> See Gieseler, II., ii. 551; C. Schmidt, i. 73.

<sup>o</sup> Bouq. xiv. 448-9.

<sup>p</sup> Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1441.

<sup>q</sup> Hist. de Langued. iii. 47.

<sup>r</sup> R. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 527; R. Hoveden, 327; Hist. Langued. iii. 47, 541-2. The letters of Peter and Henry are given by Hoveden; also in Patrol. excix. 1121, cciv. 235.

<sup>s</sup> Henr. i. c.

<sup>t</sup> Pet. S. Chrysog. l. c.



chief supporter of the heresy at Toulouse, an old man of great wealth and powerful connexions, named Peter Moran, who is said to have been styled John the Evangelist, abjured his errors, and was punished by being repeatedly flogged, amerced in all his property, and sent on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>u</sup> Roger, viscount of Béziers, on being summoned to expel the heretics, and to procure the release of the bishop of Albi, who was in their hands, withdrew into an inaccessible part of his territories. He was therefore denounced excommunicate in the name of the pope, and was defied in feudal form on the part of the two kings.<sup>x</sup> Many of the sectaries were brought to an abjuration; but this was in some cases only evasive and insincere,<sup>y</sup> and the mission is described by a contemporary as having had little success.<sup>z</sup>

In 1179, the Council of Lateran passed a canon against the "Cathari, Patrini, or Publicani," denouncing all who should favour them, and promising the indulgences and privileges of Crusaders to those who should take arms against them.<sup>a</sup> In 1181, Henry of Clairvaux, who at the council had been created cardinal-bishop of Albano,<sup>b</sup> again proceeded into the south of France, as papal legate. His preaching was seconded not only by miracles in refutation of the heretical opinions as to the Eucharist,<sup>c</sup> but by an army which caused much devastation and bloodshed. Roger of Béziers was compelled to profess that he would show no favour to heretics, and, after his death, in 1194, an oath to the same effect was taken by the guardians of his son, Raymond Roger.<sup>d</sup> Lucius III., in conjunction with the emperor Frederick, sent forth from Verona in 1184 a decree against all heretics, and prescribed measures for the suppression of their errors.<sup>e</sup> But we shall see hereafter that, notwithstanding all the measures both of persuasion and of force which had been employed, the heresy continued to retain its hold on the population of Languedoc.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Henr. I. c.; Ben. Petrib. 255.

<sup>x</sup> Pet. S. Chrys. I. c.; Henr. I. c.

<sup>y</sup> Ben. Petr. 256-7.

<sup>z</sup> Rob. de Monte (Patrol. clx. 527).

<sup>a</sup> Can. 27. Other canons were passed at Narbonne in the same year (Gies. II., ii. 555), and at Montpellier in 1197 (Hard. vi. 1933-6). See, too, Coelest. III., Ep. 27 (Patrol. ccvi.). With the Cathari the council of Lateran classes those who were known as Brabançons, Cotarelli, &c. These, however, were merely gangs of ruffians—generally mercenary soldiers out of employment—who had

nothing in common with heretics except enmity to the clergy (Hahn, i. 58, 90). See too Mapes de Nugis Curialium, p. 60 and note. <sup>b</sup> Ben. Petrib. 515.

<sup>c</sup> Gul. de Nangis, A.D. 1181; Hist. de Langued. iii. 56.

<sup>d</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 555; C. Schmidt, i. 82-3.

<sup>e</sup> Ep. 171 (Patrol. cci.).

<sup>f</sup> See the next book, c. i. sect. 8. Robert of Auxerre says that after Cardinal Henry's mission the heretics "returned to their vomit" when he had left the country. Bouq. xviii. 250.

The leading principle of these sectaries was Dualism; but, while some held this in the full Manichæan sense of supposing two gods, independent of, and opposed to, each other, others held a modified opinion, nearly resembling that of the Bogomiles—that the creator of evil was himself created by the good god, and had fallen from his first estate by rebellion.<sup>g</sup> The creation of the elements was by some ascribed to the good god, and by others to the bad; but all agreed in referring the division of the elements, and the formation of the world from out of them, to the bad god;<sup>h</sup> and from the imperfection of the world—from the fire which burns and the water which drowns—it was argued that it could not be the work of Him who is all-perfect.<sup>i</sup> The Son of God was said to be the highest angel, and was held to be inferior to the Father, as the Holy Ghost to the Son.<sup>k</sup> It was said that Adam and Eve were formed by the devil, and had souls of light imprisoned within their fleshly bodies;<sup>m</sup> that the forbidden fruit was carnal intercourse; and that Cain was begotten by the devil.<sup>n</sup> The god of the Old Testament was declared to be cruel, false, and changeable.<sup>o</sup> The angel who foretold the birth of St. John the Baptist was said to have been sent by the devil, as was also John himself; the baptism of John was of the devil, and whatever was well spoken by him as to Christ, was spoken without his will or understanding.<sup>p</sup> The reality of the Saviour's incarnation was denied <sup>q</sup> by the sectaries in general; by some the Blessed Virgin was supposed to be an angel, while some regarded her as an allegorical representative of the church, and others supposed her to have been born of a woman alone, with-

<sup>g</sup> Moneta, i. 1, pp. 3, 5, 7; Reiner. Summa, 1761, 1768, 1773; Pet. Sarn. 2; Disputatio Catholici contra Hæreticos, 1705-7; Ermengaud. 1-2; Eckbert, 1-4; Lucas Tudens. iii. 5; Bonacurs. Præfat.; Eberh. de Bethun. c. 5; Neand. viii. 297, 305; Hahn, i. 62; C. Schmidt, ii. 12-24. Some, according to Peter of Vaux-Cernay (c. 2), said that the good god had two wives, Colla and Colliba (Ezek. xxiii. 1?); but Gieseler (II., ii. 559) and Schmidt (ii. 13) think this a mistake for the *bad* god.

<sup>h</sup> Moneta, II., i. 11. For curious evasions of the Cathari as to this, see I. II., xi.

<sup>i</sup> Pet. Sarn. 2; Moneta, II., iii. 1; Bonacurs. Præfat.; Schmidt, ii. 9-10.

<sup>k</sup> Monet. I., i. p. 2; III., iii. 1, 14; III., v.: Præf. in Bonacurs.; Reiner. Summa, 1768; Neand. viii. 301; Ch. Schmidt, ii. 34.

<sup>m</sup> But Moneta says that they supposed Adam and Eve to have been God's creatures, but seduced by the devil. 3-4.

<sup>n</sup> Bonac. Præf. 208; Mon. II. i. 2; vi. 1, pp. 144-5; Disput. 1711, 1719-20; Will. de Nangis, A.D. 1183; Eckbert, v. 6; xiii.; Schmidt, ii. 28-9. Bonacursus represents them as saying that from the blood of *Cain* were born dogs (*canes*), and that this is the reason of their faithfulness to man. 208.

<sup>o</sup> Monet. II. vi. 2-4.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. III., i. 1; IV., i. 2.

<sup>q</sup> The text, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" was cited as proving that He took nothing of Mary (Monet. I. i. p. 8). But the Bulgarian Catharists differed from the rest in admitting the incarnation, while they supposed the Saviour to have laid aside his flesh at his ascension. III., iii. 5, 15.



out any human father.<sup>r</sup> The bodily form of the Saviour, his actions and sufferings, were explained on the docetic principle; <sup>s</sup> the Gospel miracles were said to have been wrought in no other than a spiritual sense—such as feeding spiritual hunger, healing the diseases of the soul, or raising from the death of sin; and in this sense the sectaries claimed for themselves a continuance of miraculous power, by virtue of the Saviour's promise.<sup>t</sup> The later miracles of the church were denied,<sup>u</sup> and members of the sect sometimes threw ridicule on them by applying to some famous worker of miracles for the cure of a pretended ailment, and afterwards exposing the imposture.<sup>w</sup>

The Cathari professed an especial knowledge of Scripture,<sup>x</sup> and regard for it, to the exclusion of all deference to tradition, and to the authority of the doctors of the Church. Yet, like many other sectaries whom we have met with, they regarded Moses as an organ of the devil, and disparaged the Old Testament in general,<sup>y</sup> although they made exceptions in favour of such parts of it as are quoted in the New Testament, and some of them seem to have admitted the poetical and prophetical books in general.<sup>z</sup> They had vernacular versions of the Scriptures, and it is a significant fact as to the origin of the sect, that these were based on the Greek.<sup>a</sup> With these, they received some apocryphal books, which were also of Eastern origin—among them, an apocryphal Gospel of St. John.<sup>b</sup>

The Cathari are said to have held the doctrine of absolute predestination, and to have been traducianists in their opinion as to the soul.<sup>c</sup> By their Manichæan view as to the origin of

<sup>r</sup> See Reiner. Summa, 1773; Monet. I., i. p. 5; III., ii. 1; iii. 7, pp. 232, 243; C. Schmidt, ii. 40.

<sup>s</sup> Pet. Sarn. 2; Ermeng. 7; Præf. in Bonacurs.; Disput. c. 5; Reiner. Summa, 1769; Eckbert, i. 2, xii.; C. Schmidt, ii. 38; Neand. viii. 302. On this and other points John de Lugio, who professed to be a reformer of Catharism, differed much from the main body. Reiner., 1722.

<sup>t</sup> Monet. I., i. p. 5; i. 9; Luc. Tud. iii. 2; Disput. c. 16; Schmidt, ii. 105.

<sup>u</sup> Monet. II. c. vi.

<sup>w</sup> Neand. viii. 323. For other devices by which they ridiculed the miracles of saints and of images, see Luc. Tud. in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 122, 244.

<sup>x</sup> The old woman of Reims (p. 183, note <sup>s</sup>) answered all arguments, "tam facile, tam memoriter, tanquam omnium scripturarum notitiam adepta esset."

R. Coggesh. in Bouq. xviii. 92.

<sup>y</sup> Monet. I., i. 6; II., vi.–vii. Moneta argues for the unity of Scripture, including the Apocrypha.

<sup>z</sup> Disput. 1715-9; Bonac. Præf. 208; Eberh. de Bethun. 1-3; Ermengaud. 3; Bernard, Serm. in Cantica, lxx. 3; Pet. Sarn. 2; Reiner. Summa, 1769, 1773; Moneta, I., i., p. 6; viii., p. 94; II. ix. 4; Hahn, i. 22; Schmidt, ii. 22.

<sup>a</sup> Hahn, i. 94; Schmidt, ii. 271.

<sup>b</sup> Published in Thilo's Codex Apocryphus N. Test. See his remarks, p. 884; Neander, viii. 279. Another of their books was the 'Ascension of Isaiah,' which has been published by Archbp. Laurence, from the Ethiopic version. See Moneta, II., ix. 4; Giesel. II., ii. 624-5; British Magazine, xxii. 121.

<sup>c</sup> Disput. coll. 1720, 1756-8; Moneta, I., i. 5-6; II., iv.; V., xv.

all visible things, they were led to deny the efficacy of Baptism administered with water, and the possibility of any change in the Eucharist.<sup>d</sup> Christ, they said, did not baptize with water, but with the Word and the Holy Spirit.<sup>e</sup> They also derided the rite of Confirmation, and the whole ecclesiastical system of confession, penance, and excommunication.<sup>f</sup> Yet they had sacraments of their own, which they declared to be absolutely necessary to salvation with a rigour far exceeding the most rigid system of the Church; so that from their manner of insisting on rites and works, their adversaries took occasion to charge them with denying the power of faith.<sup>g</sup> Of these sacraments, the chief was the *consolamentum*, which they supposed to be the true baptism of fire—the rite which restored to each man for his guide the original heavenly soul which had been lost by the fall,<sup>h</sup> and which conveyed the gift of the consoling Spirit or Paraclete.<sup>i</sup> The form of administering this began with the novice's publicly confessing his sins, and professing a desire to give himself to God and the Gospel; after which the minister, holding the Gospel of St. John (or, according to some authorities, the whole New Testament) before his breast, pronounced absolution, laid the book on the novice's head, repeating the Lord's Prayer seven times, and welcomed him by taking his right hand and kissing him.<sup>k</sup> The administration was not limited to the clergy of the sect, but might, in case of need, be performed by any one who had received it—even by women. But if the *consolamentum* were given by a sinner, it was null; and, in order to guard in some degree against the danger of its invalidity, it was commonly received twice, or oftener.<sup>m</sup> For any grievous sin

<sup>d</sup> Eckbert says that they openly opposed the baptism of infants, but more secretly denied all water-baptism (i. 2). Cf. Præf. in Bonacurs. 209; P. Sarn. 2; Disput. c. 8; Mapes de Nugis Curial. 61; Eberhard, cc. 5, 8; Ermengaud, 11-2; Eckbert, vi. viii. xi.; Monet. IV., i. 1-4; iii. 1; Hahn, i. 75; Schmidt, ii. 120, 132.

<sup>e</sup> Disput. c. 7. For this they alleged Matth. iii. 11; Acts i. 5; John vii. 38-9.

<sup>f</sup> P. Sarn. 2; Ermengaud, 13; Moneta, IV., iv.; V., v. 6-7.

<sup>g</sup> Neand. viii. 313-4. Eberhard (c. 16) brings this charge—much to the annoyance of his Jesuit editor, who thinks it necessary to vindicate him from a possible suspicion of Calvinism. See too, Præf. in Bonacurs. 209; Moneta, IV.,

iv. 3 (who cites against them the case of the thief on the cross); Ermengaud, 14; and as to the sectaries at Arras, vol. ii. 451 (421).

<sup>h</sup> Monet. I., i., p. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Everwin. in Patrol. clxxxii. 678.

<sup>k</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1764, Append. 1776; Ermengaud, 14; P. Sarn. 2, fin.; Eckbert, viii. 2; Monet. IV., i. 1. See Schmidt, ii. 124-8. Reiner says that the sectaries of Albano held that the effect of this rite was produced by the Lord's prayer—the hand used in it being of the devil's creation; but that other parties considered the hand also to be necessary. Summa, 1762.

<sup>m</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1762, 1767; Moneta, III., v. 8; IV., i. 1; ii.; V., i. 1; Ermengaud, 14. Schmidt remarks that although the "perfect" women of the



committed afterwards—such as eating flesh, cheese, or eggs—it was necessary to do penance, and to be reconsoled;<sup>n</sup> but as to the more venial sins, a sincere confession was regarded as sufficient, and for this purpose there was a solemn monthly confession, styled *appareilamentum*.<sup>o</sup>

The other sacraments of the sect were Blessing of Bread (which was performed over their daily food, and by which they supposed themselves to receive the spiritual nourishment of the Saviour's body),<sup>p</sup> Penance, and Ordination.<sup>q</sup> The whole ritual system of the Church was condemned; churches were said to be dens of thieves, church bells to be trumpets of devils, the cross, to be the mark of the beast, the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.<sup>r</sup> Images were denounced, and it is said that, by way of bringing them into contempt, the sectaries painted the saints under an uncomely form, and departed from the traditional type in representing the Saviour's cross.<sup>s</sup> Lights and incense, vestments, altars, chanting, the ceremonies of the mass and of ordination, holy water, relics, pilgrimages, unction of the sick, the doctrine of purgatory, the intercession of saints, the use of alms, prayers, and masses for the dead, the festivals of the saints, and all other holy days of the Church, were utterly disallowed.<sup>t</sup> But the Cathari are said to have kept in honour of their founder a festival called *Malilosa*, which is identified by Eckbert of Schönau with the Manichæan *Bema*,<sup>u</sup> although that was celebrated in March, and the *Malilosa* in autumn.<sup>x</sup> Their opinion as to the origin of matter involved the denial of the resurrection of the body;<sup>y</sup> and they are said—(although this seems irreconcilable with other opinions imputed to them)—to have held that all sins are equal, and will be equally punished—

sect might give the *consolamentum*, there is no mention of them as preaching. ii. 95.

<sup>n</sup> Ermeng. 15; Schmidt, ii. 109. Peter of Vaux-Cernay says that if one of the perfect sinned mortally, as by eating of flesh or cheese, all who had been "consoled" by him lost the gift, and even those who were in heaven fell. He then required re-consolation. c. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1764, 1766; C. Schmidt, ii. 135; Hahn, i. 79.

<sup>p</sup> Bernard, Serm. in Cantica, lxvi. 8; Everwin, in Patrol. clxxxii. 678; Reiner. Summa, 1763; C. Schmidt, ii. 129; Maitland, 261-3.

<sup>q</sup> Reiner. 1762; Hahn, i. 77.

<sup>r</sup> Præf. in Bonacurs.; Disput. col.

1739; Eberhard, 4, 7; P. Sarn. 2; Eckbert, i. 2; ix. Peter of Vaux-Cernay charges them with committing gross indecencies in church. 4, 15.

<sup>s</sup> Luc. Tudens. col. 122, C; l. ii., c. 10-1. Schmidt doubts this. ii. 113-4.

<sup>t</sup> Ermengaud, 8-10, 17; Eberhard, 4, 11-2; Præf. in Bonacurs.; Moneta, IV., iv. 5; vi. 2; ix. 2, 5; V., viii. 2-10; Hahn, i. 72, 79, 84.

<sup>u</sup> See vol. i., p. 145.

<sup>x</sup> Eckbert, i. 2. See C. Schmidt, ii. 139; Neand. viii. 298. The meaning of the name is unknown.

<sup>y</sup> Eberhard, c. 9; Pet. Sarn. 2; Moneta, I., i., p. 5; IV., viii.; Disput. c. 10; Ermengaud, 16; Hahn, i. 85.

that "the traitor Judas will fare no worse than the child of a day old."<sup>z</sup>

They denied that the true priesthood was in the Roman Church, which they supposed to have been apostate from the time of Pope Sylvester, whom they regarded as the Antichrist.<sup>a</sup> The Church was the harlot of the Apocalypse; all its ministrations were vain, and the true priesthood was confined to their own communion.<sup>a</sup> But, unless many ancient writers are mistaken,<sup>b</sup> they had a pope of their own in Bulgaria, with whom the Western sectaries kept up an intercourse.<sup>c</sup> They had also an order of bishops, under each of whom were two chief assistants, known as his elder and his younger son, and an order of deacons.<sup>d</sup>

The members of the sect were divided into two classes—the *imperfect* or *fœderati* (who, according to some writers were subdivided into *hearers* and *believers*),<sup>e</sup> and the *elect* or *perfect*. The perfect were those who had received the *consolamentum*, and by the form of admission to it were pledged to great severity of life. They no longer belonged to themselves, but were bound to travel and to labour for the service of the sect; they were to avoid and to renounce marriage, which was declared to be so fatal, that no married persons could hope for salvation unless they separated before death; and, as a consequence of the opinion as to the unlawfulness of all sexual intercourse, they were to abstain from eating animals or their productions—fish alone, as coming out of the water, being ex-

<sup>z</sup> Moneta, IV., xii.; Reiner. Summa, 1763. From the masculine "Venite benedicti" (Matth. xxv. 34) it was inferred that women could not be saved in their own sex, but must be changed. (Eberhard, c. 18.) Those of Albano held that the world would have no end, and that there would be no judgment to come, all recompense being in this life. Reiner. Summa, 1769.

<sup>a</sup> Liber Sentent. 6; P. Sarn. 2; Disput. c. 17; Eckbert, i. 2; x.; xi. 1; Præf. in Bonacurs.; Moneta, III., iv; V., i. They turned the Donation of Constantine against the Roman church, arguing that, as Constantine's empire was one of violence and injustice, and as he made it over to Sylvester, the popes are successors of Constantine, not of St. Peter. Moneta, V., ii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 188.

<sup>c</sup> Everwin, in Patrol. clxxxii. 679; R. Wendover, iv. 87 (where there is an ac-

count of the election of a Catharist pope, named Bartholomew, in 1223). See Maitland, 191; Giesel, II., ii. 631; and the account of the Monteforte heretics, vol. ii., p. 452 (421). Some writers, however, think that the so-called popes were only bishops of more than ordinary influence. See Hurter, ii. 218; C. Schmidt, ii. 145-9.

<sup>d</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1766; Moneta, IV., vi. 2. See Giesel, II., ii. 631; Neander, viii. 315; C. Schmidt, ii. 142. Eckbert (i. 3) says that they had twelve apostles, and that their bishops were 72, in imitation of our Lord's disciples. But this seems to be merely an uncritical repetition of St. Augustine's account of the Manichæans (Hæres. 46, Patrol. xlii. 38), to which Eckbert refers as an authority. See Giesel, II., ii. 547.

<sup>e</sup> Everwin, in Patrol. clxxxii. 678. See Hahn, i. 83.



cepted.<sup>f</sup> And, as it was held that penance for sins would be wrought out in this world, by means of a transmigration of the soul, it was forbidden to kill all animals, except creeping things, in which it was believed that souls capable of salvation could not be contained.<sup>g</sup>

The Cathari reproached the Church for assuming that there were various states of life in which men might be saved, and taught that their own sect and state only were lawful. As, in order to salvation, it was absolutely necessary to die in the sect,<sup>h</sup> the *fœderati* were required to receive the *consolamentum* on their sick-beds, if not before; many entered into an agreement known as "La Convenenza," that it should be administered to them in their last moments;<sup>i</sup> and some, after having received it, starved themselves to death lest they should be again defiled by a relapse into sin.<sup>k</sup> Besides this, which was styled *endura*, suicide was allowed in various cases, such as that of extreme persecution;<sup>m</sup> and it is said that, in order to obtain for the receivers of clinical consolation a higher place in glory, it was usual for their friends to starve or to strangle them.<sup>n</sup>

Reinerius Sacchoni tells us that many of those who had been admitted into the perfect grade, regretted that they had not taken advantage of their former immunity to indulge more fully in sin; that, in consequence of the belief in the all-purifying virtue of the *consolamentum*, the lives of the *fœderati* were very lax; and that, he himself, during a connection of seventeen years with the sect, had never seen any member of it pray by himself, or show any token of sorrow for sin.<sup>o</sup> Other writers bring against the Cathari accusations of magic, incest, and other abominations such as are usually laid to the charge of heretical parties.<sup>p</sup> Oaths, and even affirmations, such as "truly" and "certainly," were strictly forbidden; it is said, that the "perfect" would rather die than swear, although the "be-

<sup>f</sup> Bern. in Cantica, lxvi. 6; Everwin, 678; Reiner, Summa, 1761, 1776; Moneta, II., v., p. 140; IV., vii.; Rein. c. Waldenses, 266; Ermengaud, 5; Eckbert, i. 2; v.; vi. 1-7; Præf. in Bonacurs. 209; Mapes, 61; Disput. 171-5; P. Sarn. 2; Eberhard, cc. 7, 20; Hahn, i. 72-3, 86; C. Schmidt, ii. 93-5.

<sup>g</sup> C. Schmidt, ii. 45-7, 84.

<sup>h</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1762; Eberh. c. 19; Luc. Tud. iii. 5; Eckbert, i. 2, col. 16.

<sup>i</sup> Lib. Sentent. 19, seqq.

<sup>k</sup> P. Sarn. 2; Gieseler, II., ii. 560;

Neander, viii. 319.

<sup>m</sup> Schmidt, ii. 103. See the remarkable case of suicide committed by a woman named Gulielma, in Lib. Sentent. 70-76.

<sup>n</sup> Reiner. adv. Wald. 272; C. Schmidt, ii. 102.

<sup>o</sup> Summa, 1764; Cf. Pet. Sarn. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Annales Rodenses, A.D. 1139 (Pertz, xvi.); Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 19, 24; Pet. Sarn. 2; Mapes, 61-2; Luc. Tud. iii. 5. See Schmidt, ii. 152.

lievers" swore as freely as they lied.<sup>a</sup> The use of equivocation was sanctioned, especially in answer to questions as to the sect,<sup>r</sup> so that the opponents of the Cathari compare them to eels, "which, the more tightly they are squeezed, the more easily they slip away."<sup>s</sup> They considered all war and all capital punishment to be murder, and declared the pope and his bishops to be murderers for countenancing wars;<sup>t</sup> and they denounced with especial severity all wars and persecutions for the sake of religion.<sup>u</sup> The "perfect" renounced all property, professing to follow the Saviour and His apostles in poverty, and they were constant in declaiming against the wealth and secularity of the clergy.<sup>v</sup> It is, however, said that they themselves were fond of money, that they practised usury and other unscrupulous means of getting it, and that—partly from avarice, and partly from a disbelief in the efficacy of alms towards salvation—they were uncharitable to the poor.<sup>x</sup> The graver invectives against the clergy were relieved by the enacting of ludicrous parodies on the services of the Church.<sup>y</sup>

The zeal of the Cathari in attempting to gain proselytes was indefatigable. They distributed little tracts in favour of their opinions—sometimes leaving them on the mountains, in the hope that shepherds might find them and might carry them to the clergy to read.<sup>z</sup> The missionaries of the sect disguised themselves, changed their names, and assumed the character of catholics, that they might enter into disputation with avowed Catharists, and might allow these to gain the appearance of victory. In order that they might have the arts of disputation at their command, young men of promising abilities were commonly sent from Lombardy and Tuscany to acquire dialectical and theological knowledge in the schools of Paris.<sup>a</sup> The members of the sect were made known to their brethren by letters

<sup>a</sup> Bern. in Cant. lxxv. 2; Reiner. Summa, 1762; adv. Wald. 266; Eberhard, c. 14; Pet. Sarn. 2; Ermeng. 17; Praef. in Bonac. 209; Moneta, V., 9.

<sup>r</sup> Eckbert, ii. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Reiner. adv. Wald. 274; Cf. Steph. de Borbone, ap. Monet. ed. Ricchini, 25. A like comparison to serpents had been used against the Orleans heretics of 1022. Gesta Synodi Aurelian. in Dachery, i. 605.

<sup>t</sup> Disput. c. 12; Reiner. Summa, 1761; Moneta, V. xiii. 3, seqq.; Eberhard, 15; Hahn, i. 80, 87-8. Moneta, as becomes a Dominican, strenuously defends persecution—among other reasons, because

our Lord scourged and drove out those who bought and sold in the temple. V., xiii. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Eberh. c. 10; Everwin, 677; C. Schmidt, ii. 93.

<sup>x</sup> Disput. c. 9; P. Sarn. 2; Reiner. Summa, 1765; Moneta, II., iii. 2; V., xii.; xiv. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Peter of Vaux-Cernay tells us that Raymond VI. of Toulouse (whom his enemies connected with the Cathari), kept a buffoon who parodied the office of the mass. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, c. 1, in Mart. Thes. vii. 74; Luc. Tud. iii. 4, 10.

<sup>a</sup> M. Paris, 609 (A.D. 1243); Humb.



of recommendation and by secret signs ; even their houses were distinguished by marks which enabled the initiated to recognise them.<sup>b</sup> Their hospitality to members of their own community was unbounded, as we learn especially from a letter written by a person who, affecting the character of a brother, had lived on them for some years—being recommended by one congregation to another, from Lombardy to the Danube, and partaking of the luxuries which they enjoyed in secret.<sup>c</sup>

The rigid lives (in appearance, at least) of the perfect produced a strong impression on those who saw them, so that many of them even gained a high reputation for sanctity. Thus, after the death of one Armano Pungilupo, at Ferrara, in 1269, the Ferrarese demanded canonization for him on the strength of his holy life and of miracles which he was said to have done, and the claim was supported not only by the canons of the cathedral, but apparently by the bishop. The investigation of the case lasted for no less than thirty years ; but at length it was clearly proved that Pungilupo, while professing to forswear the Patarene errors with which he had at one time been charged, had continued to be in reality an active official of the sect ;<sup>d</sup> and, although the canons had almost to the last adhered to his cause,<sup>e</sup> Boniface VIII. decreed in 1301 that his body should be taken up and burnt as that of a heretic, and that an altar which had been erected to him, with all pictures and sculptures in honour of him, should be destroyed.<sup>f</sup>

(5.) Among the minor sects of the time, the Pasagini, of northern Italy, may be mentioned on account of the opposite nature of their errors in some respects to those of the Cathari. By some, the name of these sectaries has been deduced from their unsettled manner of life ;<sup>g</sup> by others, from *Pasagium*, a common term for the crusades, by means of which expeditions it is supposed that their opinions were brought into the west.<sup>h</sup> Like the Manichæan heretics, the Pasagini denied the unity and the equality of the Divine Persons, and condemned the Roman

de Romanis, in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 447 ; Neand. viii. 320.

<sup>b</sup> See the evidence as to Pungilupo, Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 131 ; Neand. viii. 322 ; Schmidt, ii. 95.

<sup>c</sup> M. Paris, 609 ; Cf. Eberh. in Bibl., Patol. xxiv. 1566 ; Neand. viii. 321-2.

<sup>d</sup> Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 93, seqq. The evidence is given pp. 117-148.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 117. Salimbene says that the

bishop and clergy got much gain by his pretended miracles. 276.

<sup>f</sup> Mur. Ant. v. 141, 146 ; Bern. Guidonis, in Bouq. xxi. 712 ; F. Pipin, iii. 48, in Murat. Scriptores, ix.

<sup>g</sup> Guericke, ii. 305 ; Hahn, i. 57.

<sup>h</sup> See Maitland's Facts and Documents, 449 ; Neander, viii. 332-3 ; Hahn, iii. 2 ; C. Schmidt, ii. 294, and in Herzog, art. *Pasagier*.

church ; but in marked opposition to the Catharist doctrines as to the Old Testament, they maintained the abiding obligation of the Mosaic law—of circumcision, the Sabbath, and the distinction of clean and unclean meats.<sup>1</sup>

(6.) The early history of the Waldenses has been obscured by two opposite parties who identify them with the Albigenses—the one party with a view of involving Waldenses as well as Albigenses in a common charge of Manichæism,<sup>k</sup> while the other party regards the Albigenses, no less than the Waldenses properly so called, as free from Manichæan error, and as the inheritors and maintainers of a pure and scriptural Christianity.<sup>m</sup> By the supporters of this latter view, the name of the sect is derived from the *valleys* of Piedmont, where its faith is supposed to have been preserved and transmitted from the time of the apostles by a chain of witnesses, among whom Vigilantius, in the fourth century, and Claudius of Turin, in the ninth, are conspicuous.<sup>n</sup> The Waldenses themselves, in the thirteenth century, pretended to have existed as a distinct body from the time of Pope Sylvester I.—when they supposed that the poison of secularity had been poured into the church by the imaginary Donation of Constantine—or even from the days of the apostles.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bonacurs. in Dachery, i. 211-2 (or Patol. cciv.); Hahn, iii. 1. Gieseler (II., ii. 563) identifies them with a party at Milan, mentioned by Landulf the younger (c. 41; Patol. clxxiii.); but this is questioned by Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Pasagier*.

<sup>k</sup> *E.g.* Mariana, Præf. in Luc. Tud. (Bibl. Patr. xxv. 110). Bossuet avoids this error. Hist. des Variations, l. xi.

<sup>m</sup> Beza is said to have been the first who maintained this opinion (Schröckh, xxix. 528). Among the older writers on the same side may be mentioned Leger (Hist. Gén. des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piedmont, Leyd. 1669), Basnage, Morland, Perrin, Allix; among the later, Mr. Faber and Dr. Gilly. For its utter untenableness (although, according to Schmidt, ii. 269, it is an article of faith with "*la High-Church*" in England), see Neand. viii. 352; Gieseler, II., ii. 565-6; Hase, 282; Guericke, ii. 317; Hallam, M.A., iii. 440-5; Suppl. notes, 408; Schmidt, ii. 267, seqq.; Hahn, ii. 162-3; and especially Dr. Maitland's 'Facts and Documents' and later publications on the subject. It was possible, as Dr. Mait-

land observes (F. and D. 95) for a man to be at once an Albigensian by country and a Waldensian by religion; and the enemies of the sects were in the habit of confounding them all together; but yet the real distinction between these two kinds is clear. In the '*Liber Sententiarum*' of the Toulouse inquisition, Waldenses appear occasionally, but as distinct from the Cathari, and as refugees from Burgundy. (Ib. 264-9.) Limborch says that that book was the means of showing him the difference between the two sects. l. i. c. 8.

<sup>n</sup> In favour of this theory, it is wrongly supposed that Claudius separated from the Roman communion. See vol. ii. p. 283.

<sup>o</sup> Reiner. adv. Wald. c. 4. Against this notion, see Pet. Pilichdorf, in Bibl. Patol. xxv. 278; Hahn, ii. 20, seqq. For other Waldensian views, which confound all chronology, see Giesel. II., ii. 586. Moneta says that it was about eighty years before his time that they originated with Valdesius, a citizen of Lyons, and therefore they cannot be God's church. "*Si autem dicunt quod sua via ante Valdensem [sic] fuit, os-*



But such pretensions are contradicted by the unanimous testimony of writers who lived soon after the origin of the sect—that it was founded by one Waldo or Waldensis, about the year 1170.<sup>p</sup> And the only connection of their name with valleys in the early writers is of a figurative kind; as where one tells us that they styled themselves Vallenses from dwelling in the vale of tears,<sup>q</sup> or where another derives the name of *Valdenses* from their dwelling in the deep and *dense valleys* of darkness and error.<sup>r</sup>

Peter Waldo,<sup>s</sup> a rich merchant of Lyons, is said to have been

tendant hoc aliquo testimonio; quod minime facere possunt." (V. i. 4, p. 402.) Gieseler supposes that, in answer to objections against them on the ground of novelty, the Waldenses said that their faith was apostolic, and that hence arose, through misconception, the idea of a distinct body and a regular transmission of doctrine from the apostolic age. II., ii. 565.

<sup>p</sup> See Maitland, 33, seqq. Among the grounds alleged for the greater antiquity of the sect are a number of Waldensian poems and other documents, which, according to Leger and his followers, belong to an earlier time. The most famous of these is the 'Noble Lesson,' which, as printed, has in the beginning the date—

"Ben ha mil e cent anz compli entierament  
Que fo scripta l'ora car sen al dernier temp:"

and in v. 372 has these words—

"Ilh dion qu'es Vaudes e degne de punir."

Hence it has been inferred that the name of *Vaudes* as a designation of the sectaries was as old as A.D. 1000 (Leger, 15; cf. Hahn, ii. 64, 80). In order to get over the difficulty of this passage, various expedients were tried, the most plausible being that of supposing that the 1100-years were to be reckoned, not from the beginning of the Christian era, but from the date of the Apocalypse, to which the verses refer, i. e. about a century later; and it was pointed out that, as the poem speaks of severe persecutions, it could not be later than the 13th century (Schröckh, xxix. 528; Maitland, 121-134; Giesel. II., ii. 574; Herzog, 'Die romanischen Waldenser,' 84-6, 89, Halle, 1853). But Mr. Bradshaw, of King's College, Cambridge, has lately found in the University Library the MS. from which the original edition was printed, and which had long been missing; and in it the reading, visible notwithstanding an erasure, is "Ben ha mil e 4 cent an," while another MS. reads "cccc ans." This

brings the 'Noble Lesson' to the 15th century (Herzog, xvii. 521, 526-7; Todd's 'Books of the Vaudois,' 210, 219, Camb. 1864). And it is said that the other Waldensian MSS. show traces of a Hunsite connexion, and are therefore still later (Herzog, 10-2, 80; xvii. 522, 527-9). See the British Magazine (where there is much learned matter on these subjects), xvi. 608; xviii. 601, seqq. The 'Nobla Leyczon' is to be found, with many other Waldensian documents, in Hahn, vol. ii. Append. (with Raynouard's translation into modern French); and in Herzog's appendix (from a collation of MSS. at Dublin and Geneva). There is an English translation in Brit. Mag. xx. 128, seqq.; and other Waldensian poems are translated in the same volume, 633, seqq.

<sup>q</sup> Ebrard. de Bethun. 25. (Patrol. xxiv.) This is the only old writer who uses the form Vallenses, by which he means *some* of the Waldenses, while those whom he styles *Waldenses* are really Albigenses (cc. 2, 25. See Maitland, 98-100, 102-5, 386; Gieseler, II., ii. 555).

<sup>r</sup> Bernard. Fontis Calidi Abbas 'Adv. Waldensium Sectam,' Prolog. (Patrol. cciv. 793). It will be seen that this writer considers the *d* as an essential part of the name; which is inconsistent with the derivation from *vallis* (Maitland, 104; Herzog, 114). Nor does the fondness of mediæval writers for playing with figurative etymologies at all prove that they were ignorant of, or disallowed, the real derivation from the founder's name. Herzog, 116. See Maitland, 506-7; Gieseler, II., ii. 567; and on the other side, Dr. Gilly, in Brit. Mag. xiv. 753.

<sup>s</sup> He is called *Waldus* (Alanus, ii. 1); *Waldius* (Pet. Sarn. c. 2); *Valde* (Mapes, 64); *Waldensis* (Steph. de Borbone, in D'Argentré, i. 87; Yvonet, 1777; *Valdisius*, *Valdesius*, &c. (Moneta, quoted p. 198, n. °; see Gieseler, II., ii. 567). The name has been derived

deeply impressed by the death of one of his fellow-citizens, which took place at a meeting of the chief inhabitants of the place. His mind being thus turned to spiritual things, he became desirous to understand the Gospels which he had been accustomed to hear in church; and he employed two ecclesiastics, Stephen of Evisa (or Ansa), and Bernard Ydros, to translate them into the vernacular tongue, with other portions of scripture and some passages of the fathers,<sup>t</sup> which were regularly arranged under heads.<sup>u</sup> Struck with the idea of imitating our Lord and his apostles in voluntary poverty, Peter threw all his wealth to the poor, and, in company with some associates of both sexes, whom he had gained, he began to preach in the streets of the city, and in the neighbouring villages. But the archbishop of Lyons,<sup>x</sup> on hearing of these proceedings, forbade Peter and his friends to teach; and on receiving the answer that they must "obey God rather than man"—that the Saviour had commanded them to "preach the Gospel to every creature"—he excommunicated them, and expelled them from his diocese. On this, Peter, who had no intention of separating from the church, but aimed at the revival of what he supposed to be apostolical purity within it,<sup>y</sup> sent two of his party to Rome, with orders to exhibit to Alexander III. some specimens of their translations from the Scriptures, and to request his sanction for their labours. The subject was referred by the pope to a commission, and Walter

A.D. 1179. Map, archdeacon of Oxford, who has left an account of the proceedings, was appointed to examine the Waldenses. Their simplicity and their ignorance of theological language excited the laughter of the examiners, and their application to the pope was ineffectual, although the Lateran

from a supposed birthplace (Pet. Pilichdorf. c. 1); but this has not been satisfactorily identified. (See Mosheim, ii. 505; Herzog, 116.) For the commonness of the name in the middle ages, see Maitland, 107. The fancy that he got his surname from a previously-existing party of Waldenses (Hahn, ii. 251-4) is quite groundless. See Herzog, 113. The earliest authority for his bearing the name of Peter is a MS. of 1404. Herzog, xvii. 504. [When Herzog is cited simply, his book on the Waldenses is meant; when "xvii." is attached to his name, his article in that volume of his *Encyclopædia*.]

<sup>t</sup> See as to the Waldensian use of the fathers, Herzog, 136, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Stephanus de Borbone, in D'Argen-

tré, i. 87; Yvonet. 1777; Reiner. adv. Wald. c. 5; Anon. Carthusianus de Religionum Origine, c. 25 (Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi.).

<sup>x</sup> The archbishop named (Steph. de Borb. l. c.; Yvonet. l. c.) is John de Belmeis, who, as bishop of Poitiers, had been one of Becket's chief friends, and has been already mentioned as a missionary against the Cathari (p. 188). But, as his translation to Lyons was not before 1181, there must be some mistake here (Gieseler, II., ii. 569). The 'Anonymus' of Laon gives a somewhat different account of the conversion of Waldo, whom he describes as having got his wealth "per iniquitatem fœneris." Bouq. xiii. 680, A.D. 1173.

<sup>y</sup> Maitland, 468; Herzog, 194.



council, which was sitting at the time, did not include them in its condemnation of heretical parties.<sup>z</sup> In 1184, however, "those who falsely styled themselves *humiliati*, or 'poor men of Lyons'" were, with other sectaries, put under perpetual anathema by Lucius III.; and it would seem that to them the pope intended especially to point in his denunciation of some who, under an appearance of piety, presume to preach without being duly sent, so that the condemnation was not for heterodoxy, but for irregularity.<sup>a</sup>

From this time the "poor men of Lyons" as they were called from their claim to evangelical poverty of spirit,<sup>b</sup> became more decidedly separate from the Church, and their opinions were more distinctly developed in opposition to it. They spread into the south of France, into Lombardy,<sup>c</sup> and into Aragon, where in 1194 Alfonso II. issued a decree for their expulsion as enemies of the cross and of the kingdom.<sup>d</sup> The earliest real evidence which connects them with Piedmont, is of the year 1198, when James, bishop of Turin, obtained from Otho IV. authority to use forcible measures against them.<sup>e</sup> The progress of the sect was rapid. In Lombardy and Provence, the Waldenses had more schools than the Catholics; their preachers disputed and taught publicly, while the number and importance of the patrons whom they had gained rendered it dangerous to

<sup>z</sup> Mapes de Nugis Curialium, 64-5 (who shows a strong feeling as to the danger which the church was in from the party "quos si admiserimus, expellemur"). The anonymous Laon chronicler says that Peter Waldo himself went to Rome, and that the pope embraced him, and approved his vow of poverty, but forbade him to preach except at the request of the clergy (Rec. des Hist. xiii. 682); and Moneta states that Alexander allowed him to preach on condition of his keeping to the four great doctors—Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome (V., i. 4). Hence it is argued by some writers (as Hefele, v. 636) that in the story told by Map, the name of Alexander III. has been wrongly substituted for that of Innocent III., and that the application which he speaks of is the same which the Auersperg chronicler states to have been made by the "*Humiliati seu Pauperes de Lugduno*," to the pope in 1212. Innocent objected to some of their peculiarities as to dress, &c., and they replied that these came from the apos-

tles (Chron. Ursp. 243). See Schröckh, xxix. 534; Giesel. II., ii. 570; Guericke, ii. 319.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 171 (Patrol. cci.); Schröckh, xxix. 534. The name of *Humiliati* has led to some confusion between the Waldenses and an order so called. See below, p. 242.

<sup>b</sup> Steph. de Borbon. in Gieseler, II., ii. 568; Reiner. c. Wald. 265: Summa, 1761. They were also called *Leonistæ*, from *Leona*, a name of Lyons; and hence an imaginary Leo was afterwards supposed to have been their founder. Giesel. II., ii. 565.

<sup>c</sup> Bern. Font. Cal. Prolog.; Reiner. Summa, 1775; Gieseler, II., ii. 572.

<sup>d</sup> It is printed in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 110. In the same year, Bertrand de Saisset, as guardian of the young viscount of Béziers, promised the bishop of that place "*nec hæreticos vel Valdenses in prædicta villa vel episcopatu.....inducemus.*" Hist. de Langued. iii., Preuves, No. 62. See above, p. 189.

<sup>e</sup> Herzog, 272.

interfere with them.<sup>f</sup> In Germany, we are told, that they had forty-one schools in the diocese of Passau,<sup>g</sup> and they were numerous in the dioceses of Metz and Toul.<sup>h</sup> In most of these quarters, the ground had been prepared for them by the labours of earlier sectaries, and by the faults and unpopularity of the clergy;<sup>i</sup> and their zeal in endeavouring to gain converts was unremitting. Female agency was largely employed, and through it the men were won "as the serpent deceived Adam by means of Eve."<sup>k</sup> The missionaries of the sect are said to have used underhand arts for the purpose of spreading their doctrines;<sup>m</sup> thus they would disguise themselves as pedlars, and having in that character obtained access to the houses of nobles, they took occasion from the nature of their wares to exhort to the purchase of heavenly jewels.<sup>n</sup> With the simpler people, they began by promising to disclose great things to them; and, after having tried their secrecy by affecting to confide to them some plain lessons of morality, they went on to teach the more peculiar doctrines of the sect.<sup>o</sup> Their eagerness to study and to learn, and their remarkable acquaintance with the vernacular Scriptures, are acknowledged by their adversaries. Labourers and artisans, after the work of the day, devoted their evening hours to study; and it is stated, in reproof of the indolence of the clergy, that a poor Waldensian used to swim across a river in wintry nights to reach a Catholic whom he wished to convert.<sup>p</sup> They taught and learned everywhere—even in lazar-houses.<sup>q</sup> If any ignorant person met their exhortations to learn by pleading inability, they told him that, by learning a single word daily, he would in a year master more than three hundred.<sup>r</sup> But the knowledge of the sectaries was not of any wide or scholarly kind, so that they are often derided for their illiteracy,<sup>s</sup> through which it is said that they fell into ludicrous misinterpretations of Scripture;<sup>t</sup> and as they were themselves illiterate,

<sup>f</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 264.

<sup>g</sup> Ib.

<sup>h</sup> Odo Tullens. Statuta, A.D. 1192, c. 9, Patrol. cev. (where they are called *Wadoys*); Alberic Tr.-Font., A.D. 1200 (Bouq. xviii. 763); Caesar. Heisterb. v. 20; Gieseler, II., ii. 571-2.

<sup>i</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 264.

<sup>k</sup> Yvonet. 1781; Bern. Font. Cal. 71.

<sup>m</sup> P. Pilichdorf, cc. 11, 13.

<sup>n</sup> Yvonet. 1781, 1785; Reiner. c. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Yvonet. 1783; Reiner. c. Wald. 264; Refut. Error. in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 303.

<sup>p</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 264. Peter of

Pilichdorf complains that, instead of trying to reform the wicked, they confined themselves to the well-disposed, whom they endeavoured to make children of hell like themselves. c. 10.

<sup>q</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 263.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 264. See Gieseler, II., ii. 572-3.

<sup>s</sup> See e.g. Alan. c. Hæreticos, ii. 1; Reiner. c. Wald. 272.

<sup>t</sup> Thus we are told that in John, i. 11—"In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt"—they mistook *sui* for *sues*; and that in Psalm lxvii. 30 (Lat.)—"In crepa feras arundinis"—they translated



they made their ignorance a ground for condemning all "privileged" or liberal studies.<sup>u</sup> It is said, too, that in consequence of their occupation in the study of Scripture, they allowed but little time for devotion, and that they admitted no other form of prayer but the Paternoster.<sup>x</sup>

The especial peculiarity of the Waldenses was, that, while they avoided the Manichæism by which the sectaries of their time were for the most part infected, they endeavoured more thoroughly than the Petrobrusians or the Henricians to form a system of belief and practice derived from the Scriptures only.<sup>y</sup> At first their distinctive tenet had been the right of the laity to preach; and this they gradually carried out to the extent of maintaining, not only that lay persons might teach in subordination to the authorities of the Church, but that they might preach and might administer all Christian rites in opposition to the clergy; that the right to minister was not conferred by ordination, but depended on personal piety.<sup>z</sup> In the early days of the sect, this claim was not limited to the male sex;<sup>a</sup> but it would seem that the ministrations of women were afterwards forbidden.<sup>b</sup> From this principle, the Waldenses proceeded to a general enmity against the clergy, whom they charged with having cast them out of the Church from envy of their virtue and popularity, and decried in all possible ways.<sup>c</sup> After their excommunication, they declared the pope to be the source of all error,<sup>d</sup> the Church to be the apocalyptic beast and the whore of Babylon; that it had been apostate, and had lost its spiritual power, from the time of Sylvester,<sup>e</sup> whom they identified with the "little horn" of Daniel's prophecy, although they held that in all ages there had been some who maintained the true faith, and were inheritors of salvation.<sup>f</sup> They limited sal-

as if the word were *hirundinis*. Reiner. c. Wald. 264.

<sup>u</sup> Pet. Pilichdorf, c. 35.

<sup>x</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 272; Pet. Pilichd. 28.

<sup>y</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Schröckh, xxix. 553; Hahn, i. 408. Yet Herzog shows that, with this pretension, they combined much of Roman opinion.

<sup>z</sup> Pet. Sarn. 2; Yvonet. 1779; Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Bern. Font. Cal. 4; Alan. ii. 8, 9, 13; Pet. Pilichdorf, cc. 16-8. Moneta attacks them as to the origin of their orders. V., i. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Moneta, V., v. 8.

<sup>b</sup> See Reiner. Summa, 1775; c. Wald. 265; Herzog, 150.

<sup>c</sup> Yvonet. 1778, 1785; Reiner. c. Wald. 265.

<sup>d</sup> Reiner. ib.

<sup>e</sup> Ib.; Summa, 1770; Moneta, V., i. 1; v. 1; Yvonet. 1779; Anon. in Martene, Thes. 1754; Nobla Leyczon, 408, seqq.; Herzog, 204. Moneta, however, says that the "Ultramontane" Waldenses—i. e. those north of the Alps—allowed the seven sacraments of the Romish church, and professed themselves willing to receive these from her, if they might (V., i. 5). See as to the difference between the northern and the Lombard sections, Herzog, xvii. 509.

<sup>f</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1775.

vation to their own sect, as being the only body which lived like the Saviour and his Apostles.<sup>g</sup> They declared monks and clergy to be the Scribes and Pharisees, children of the devil, disallowed all distinctions of order and rank among them, and wished to confiscate all their endowments and privileges, so as to reduce them to the condition of diggers, earning their bread by the labour of their hands.<sup>h</sup> Yet, while they themselves professed rigid evangelical poverty, and avoided the pursuits by which wealth might be gained, it was held that the teachers were entitled to be maintained by the "imperfect" members of the sect;<sup>i</sup> and some of their opponents represent them as notorious for idleness, and for a love of basking lazily in the sunshine.<sup>k</sup> Like the Cathari, the Waldenses opposed the whole ritual system of the Church, with everything that pretended to a symbolical character,<sup>m</sup> and denied the claims of the clergy to the powers of excommunication, absolution, and exorcism.<sup>n</sup> They also disallowed the right of the Church to make laws or constitutions, alleging that the Saviour's teaching was enough.<sup>o</sup> They attended the public services, confessed and communicated, but it is said that in their hearts they mocked at such observances.<sup>p</sup> They denied the efficacy of Baptism, especially in the case of infants, whom they believed to be saved without it.<sup>q</sup> As to the eucharist, some represent them as supposing it to be merely figurative;<sup>r</sup> but according to other authorities, they held that the elements really underwent a change—not, however, in the hands of the priest, but in the mouth of the faithful receiver.<sup>s</sup> In the consecration, as in the rest of their services, they made use of the vernacular tongue.<sup>t</sup> They denounced the penitential system of the Church, as alike burdensome and unavailing, and contrasted with it the full and free forgiveness which their own sect offered, after the example of the Saviour's words, "Go, and sin no more."<sup>u</sup> They denied the doctrine of

<sup>g</sup> Yvonet. 1778; Reiner. c. Wald. 265.

<sup>h</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 264-5, 268; cc. 19-20; Yvonet. 1779; Alan. ii. 2; Bernard, Font. Calid. 1-2; Refutatio Errorum in Bibl. Pat. xxv. 302; Moneta, v. 7.

<sup>i</sup> Yvonet. 1781; Alan. ii. 1, 24-5.

<sup>k</sup> Ebrard. c. 25, p. 1572.

<sup>m</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 265-6; Pet. Pilichdorf, cc. 21-3, 26-8; Yvonet. 1779; Bern. Font. Cal. 12; Refutatio Errorum in Bibl. Pat. xxv. 302.

<sup>n</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Anon. in Mart. Thes. v. 1774; P. Pilichd. 1134.

<sup>o</sup> Moneta, V., vi.

<sup>p</sup> Yvonet. 1782; Reiner. c. Wald. 272.

<sup>q</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1775; c. Wald. 265; Yvonet. 1779.

<sup>r</sup> Yvonet. 1779.

<sup>s</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 265. See Schröckh, xxv. 552; Herzog, 215. Dr. Maitland remarks that Yvonet is the only authority for the other view, and that, if they had differed from the church on this point, much more would have been said of it. 470-3. See too, D'Argentré, i. 108.

<sup>t</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 265.

<sup>u</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 265, 272.



purgatory, and the lawfulness of the practices connected with it—some of them believing in an intermediate state of rest or of punishment, while others held that souls on leaving the body go at once to their final abode.<sup>x</sup> They denied the miracles of the Church, and pretended to none of their own, although in later times some of them professed to see visions.<sup>y</sup>

The Waldenses are described as quiet, modest, and formal in their manners.<sup>z</sup> They regarded a lie as a mortal sin, which no circumstances could excuse; but it is said that they avoided answering directly, and had “feigned consciences” which suggested ingenious evasions to them.<sup>a</sup> As to oaths, war, and capital punishment, their views agreed with those of the Cathari.<sup>b</sup> At the outset, they affected poverty of dress, and one of their names—*Sabatati* or *Insabatati*—was derived from the sandals which they wore in imitation of the apostles;<sup>c</sup> but such peculiarities were afterwards abandoned, and they are described as grave but not sordid in their attire.<sup>d</sup> They avoided and sternly denounced the ordinary amusements of the world; “every step that one takes at a dance,” it was said, “is a leap towards hell.”<sup>e</sup> Unlike the Cathari, they held it lawful to eat meat, even on days when it was forbidden by the Church;<sup>f</sup> and they held marriage to be lawful, although they regarded celibacy as higher.<sup>g</sup>

Much as the Waldenses differed from the Church, it is admitted by their ecclesiastical opponents, that they were “far less perverse than other heretics,”<sup>h</sup> that they were sound in their faith as to the doctrines which relate to God, and received all the articles of the creed;<sup>i</sup> so that, in the south of France, they were sometimes allied with the clergy in defence of these truths

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 266; Anon. in Martene, Thes. v. 1754; Yvonet. 1780; P. Pilichdorf, cc. 19-21, 30; Alan, ii. 11-2; Bernard, Font. Cal. 9-11; Herzog, 159-160.

<sup>y</sup> Alan, ii. 1; Yvonet. 1779; P. Pilichdorf, p. 300.

<sup>z</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 272; Yvonet. 1784.

<sup>a</sup> Yvonet. 1780, 1782; Reiner. c. Wald. 264; Alan, ii. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 265-6; Summa, 1775; Yvon. 1780, 1784; Pet. S. Chrysog. in Patrol. cxcix. 1223; Pet. Sarn., ib. ccxiii. 348; P. Pilichdorf, 36; Alan, ii. 19-22; Moneta, V., i. 4, init.

<sup>c</sup> Ebrard. Bethun. c. 25; Gieseler, II., ii. 567.

<sup>d</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. 272. But Peter of Pilichdorf speaks of some who wore a

suspicious dress, and would not give it up when required by a judge. 302.

<sup>e</sup> ‘Del Bal,’ a later Waldensian writing, quoted by Hahn, ii. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Reiner. Summa, 1775; Anon. in Mart. v. 1774.

<sup>g</sup> P. Pilichdorf, 1445; Yvon. 1779; Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Herzog, 147-9; Nobla Leyczon, 242, 434. From disallowing the canonical prohibitions of marriage in the more extreme degrees, they are charged with maintaining the lawfulness of marrying the nearest relations. Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Anon. in Mart. v. 1775.

<sup>h</sup> Pet. Sarn. 2 (Patrol. ccxiii. 548).

<sup>i</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. c. 4.

against Manichæan and other heretics.<sup>k</sup> While they highly exalted the Gospel above the law, it was in no spirit of Manichæan disparagement of the older Scriptures.<sup>m</sup> And, although they did not escape the popular charges of secret and abominable rites, or the imputation of hypocrisy,<sup>n</sup> the general purity of their morals is allowed by their opponents.<sup>o</sup>

III. From the sectaries of this age the transition is easy to the visionaries who were among its remarkable features; for, however devoted to the papacy these might be, they agreed with the sectaries in denouncing the secularity of the clergy, in crying out for a reform, and often in prophesying their downfall. Among the most noted of these visionaries, were two German abbesses—Hildegard, of St. Rupert's near Bingen, whose name has already come before us,<sup>p</sup> and Elizabeth of Schönau. Elizabeth appears to have been of a very nervous temperament, A.D. 1152- and was frequently visited with severe illness.<sup>q</sup> It is 65. said that, from the age of twenty-three, she was in the habit of falling into trances on Sundays and holidays, at the hours when the Church was engaged in its most fervent devotions. In these trances she uttered oracles in Latin, although unacquainted with that language; and, after having long refrained from telling the visions with which she was favoured, she was at last constrained by the threats of an angel, and by the authority of her ecclesiastical superior, to dictate a report of them to her brother Eckbert—the same who has already been mentioned as a controversialist against the Cathari.<sup>r</sup> In her visions, she was admitted to behold the saints, the angelic hierarchy, and the Blessed Virgin—whom she speaks of by the title of “Queen of Heaven;”<sup>s</sup> and from them she received revelations on difficult and doubtful points.<sup>t</sup> Among other things, she is said to have learned, after much inquiry, that the mother of our Lord was “assumed” both in body and in soul; she contributed to the legend of St. Ursula, by giving names to many of the newly-found relics of the 11,000 virgins;<sup>u</sup> and in con-

<sup>k</sup> Will. de Pod. Laurent. Prolog. in Bouq. xix. 193, who says that they disputed “acutissime.” See Herzog, B. ii. c. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Herzog, 129-130, referring to the ‘Nobla Leyczon.’ The charges of Yvonet (1781) and of Bernard of Fontcaud (xii. 4) on this head evidently arise from a confusion with the Cathari. See Hahn, ii. 266-8.

<sup>n</sup> *E. g.* Yvonet. 1779-80; Alan. ii. 1, col. 180.

<sup>o</sup> Reiner. c. Wald. c. 4.

<sup>p</sup> See p. 65.

<sup>q</sup> Eckbert. Vita Eliz. 12, 71-2, &c. (Patrol. cxcv.)

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 1, 4. See p. 181.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 16.  
<sup>t</sup> See Schröckh, xxix. 28-30; Patrol. cxcv. 177, note.

<sup>u</sup> Eckb. 83, 116; n. in Eckb. 177;



nection with that fabulous company were revealed to her the existence and the history of a fabulous pope Cyriac, who was said to have resigned his dignity that he might share in their travels and their martyrdom.<sup>x</sup> In a letter to Hildegard, Elizabeth complains that forged prophecies were circulated under her name; among them, that she had foretold the day of judgment.<sup>y</sup> Both Hildegard and Elizabeth, although they were devoted to the Roman Church, and have, without any formal canonization, attained the honour of saintship,<sup>z</sup> were strong in their denunciations of the faults of the clergy;<sup>a</sup> and Hildegard foretold that these would be punished by heavy chastisements, of which the heretics should be the instruments.<sup>b</sup> Such prophetesses as these nervous and enthusiastic women had a powerful influence on their age;<sup>c</sup> but it is probable that the writings which bear their names have been largely tampered with, or in great part composed, by those through whose hands they have passed.<sup>d</sup>

But of all the visionaries, the most famous and the most remarkable was Joachim, a Calabrian, who was born in 1145 (or, according to some, as early as 1130) and died in 1202.<sup>e</sup> In his youth, he was introduced by his father to the court of Roger II. of Sicily; but in disgust at the courtly life he broke away, and went on a pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land, where he distinguished himself by the severest ascetic exercises.<sup>f</sup> On his return he became an inmate, and afterwards abbot, of Corace, a Cistercian monastery near Squillace; and, after a time of solitary retirement and study, he founded the abbey of Fiore, near the confluence of the Albula and the Neto, which became the head of a new and very rigid order.<sup>g</sup> Although Joachim's opinions did not pass without question among his contempo-

Gieseler, II., ii. 459; Annal. Palath. in Pertz, xvi. 90. For the legend of St. Ursula, see the next chapter, sect. iii. 5.

<sup>x</sup> See Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 45-8.

<sup>y</sup> Eckb. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Patol. cxv. 116; Schröckh, xxviii. 21-2, 30.

<sup>a</sup> Eliz. ap. Eckb. 64, 74, 103, 109, 137, &c.; Hildeg. Epp. 48-9, &c.; Neand. vii. 303-4.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 48, coll. 250-2; Ep. 49. (Patol. cxvii.)

<sup>c</sup> See a notice of what would now be styled an "addolorata," a cowherdess named Alpis, of the diocese of Sens, about 1180, by Robert of Auxerre, in Bouq. xviii. 248.

<sup>d</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 30; M. Paris says

that Hildegard's prophecies gained great authority by her clear predictions of the rise and influence of the new orders of friars. 548.

<sup>e</sup> Acta SS., May 29, 443; Hahn, iii. 72-4. Tiraboschi places his death in 1207. iv. 102.

<sup>f</sup> Vita 1-2 (in Acta SS. 1. c.); ib. p. 445.

<sup>g</sup> Vita, 3-6; Cœlest. III. Ep. 279 (Patol. cxi.): Hahn, iii. 80. Ralph. of Coggeshall describes him as "ordinis Cisterciensis, sed Cisterciensibus minime subjectus" (839). He seems to have been in some trouble with the heads of the Cistercian order in 1192. Capit. Gener. c. 12, in Martene, Thes. iv. 1274.

raried,<sup>h</sup> he exercised a powerful influence over important persons both ecclesiastical and secular. His labours on the obscurer parts of Scripture were encouraged and approved by three successive popes—Lucius, Urban, and Clement.<sup>1</sup> Richard of England and Philip of France, on their way to the Holy Land, held conferences with him at Messina, when it is said that Richard was greatly impressed by the prophecies which he professed to have derived from the Apocalypse;<sup>k</sup> and in 1191, he threw himself in the way of Henry VI. with such effect, that the emperor was persuaded to desist from his ravages and cruelties, and requested him to expound the prophecy of Jeremiah.<sup>m</sup>

Joachim is described as remarkable not only for piety, but for modesty.<sup>n</sup> The gift which he claimed was not that of prophecy, but of understanding.<sup>o</sup> This gift, however, was supposed to have rendered him independent of the ordinary means of learning, for it is said that, until supernaturally enlightened, he was wholly illiterate; and hence it was natural that he should denounce the method<sup>p</sup> of the schoolmen, whose attempts to attain to spiritual knowledge, by means of their own reason, he likened to the efforts of the men of Sodom to break in the door of Lot's house—the house of contemplation.<sup>q</sup> Thus he was led to make a violent attack on Peter Lombard's doctrine as to the Trinity, and to draw on himself in consequence the censure of the fourth

<sup>h</sup> Benedict of Peterborough says that many learned men controverted his views, "tamen sub iudice lis est" (638). Cf. Rob. Altiss. in Rec. des Hist. xviii. 253; Anon. Carthus. de Religionum origine, c. 28 (Martene Coll. Ampl. vi. 61).

<sup>i</sup> Vita, 4; Acta SS. pp. 480-1; Clem. III. Ep. 63 (Patrol. cciv.); Tirab. iv. 104.

<sup>k</sup> Ben. Pet. l. c.; R. Coggeshale, in Mart. Coll. Ampliss. v. 839; Rob. Altiss. in Rec. des Hist. xviii. 259; Anon. Carthus. l. c.; Vinc. Bellov. xxix. 40. See Tirab. iv. 106.

<sup>m</sup> Vita, 7; Acta SS. 482; Sicard. in Patrol., 532. It is said that Henry's Germans, in indignation at the abbot's interference, exclaimed, "Quanta mala latent sub cuculla ista!" (Vita vii. p. 29.) He was called to attend on the Empress Constance, and found her seated. On her expressing a wish to confess, he told her that he could not hear her unless she would descend from her chair of state and sit like the penitent Magdalene at the feet of him who was in the place of Christ. To this she humbly submitted. Ib. 31.

<sup>n</sup> Vita, vii. 32.

<sup>o</sup> R. Coggeshale, 839; Vinc. Bellov. xxix. 40; W. Nangis. A.D. 1186 (Dacher. Spicil. iii.); Hahn, iii. 82.

<sup>p</sup> Coggesh. 839; Chron. Turon. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 1026.

<sup>q</sup> Hahn, iii. 126. I cannot pretend to any acquaintance with Joachim's writings, except through the medium of other works, especially the 'Acta Sanctorum' for May 29; vol. iii. of Hahn's 'Ketzergeschichte'; and some papers by the late Hon. Algernon Herbert in the British Magazine, xvi.-xviii. There is also a good article on him by C. Schmidt in Herzog's Encyclopædia. Of the works ascribed to him, Hahn considers the 'Concordia Veteris et Novi Testam.' the 'Psalterium Decem Chordarum,' and the Exposition of the Apocalypse, to be genuine, while the commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah are much interpolated, if not spurious—being marked by a want of the modesty which pervades the genuine writings, a greater pretence of definiteness, and a greater tenderness towards the faults of the Roman Church. 83-6. Comp. Neand. vii. 306.



Lateran council,<sup>r</sup> as having vented a heresy very like tritheism.<sup>s</sup> With his doctrine of the Trinity, however, was connected one of the chief parts of his prophetic system—the doctrine of the Three States, in which the government of the world was conducted by the Three Persons of the Godhead respectively. These states were not wholly distinct in time; for one was said to begin when another was at its height, and as the earlier state ended, the next attained to its height of “fructification” or “clarity.” Thus, the first state, in which men lived according to the flesh, began with Adam, reached its clarity in Abraham, and ended with Zacharias, the father of St. John the Baptist. The second state, which is divided between the flesh and the Spirit, began with Elijah, and reached clarity in Zacharias; the third began with St. Benedict, and its clarity—the outpouring of the Spirit upon *all* flesh—was to be at the end of the forty-second generation from the Nativity—*i. e.*, in the year 1260.<sup>t</sup> The character and mutual relation of these states were illustrated by a variety of comparisons. In the first, the mystery of the kingdom of God was shown as by stars in the darkness of night; the second was as the dawn, and the third as the perfect day.<sup>u</sup> The three answered to the respective attributes of the Divine Persons—power, wisdom, and love.<sup>x</sup> The letter of the Old Testament was of the Father; the letter of the New Testament, of the Son; and, as the Holy Ghost proceedeth from both the Father and the Son, so under his dispensation the spirit of both Testaments would be manifested.<sup>y</sup> The first was the state of slavery; the second, of filial service; the third, of friendship and freedom.<sup>z</sup> There was first the state of married persons; next, that of clerks; lastly, that of monks, hermits, and contemplatives.<sup>a</sup> The three were respectively typified in St. Peter, who represents the power of faith; in St. Paul, the representative of knowledge; and in St. John, the representative of love and contemplation, who was to tarry till his Lord should come.<sup>b</sup> According to this

<sup>r</sup> Can. 2, A.D. 1215. The canon goes on to forbid that its condemnation should be made a ground for decrying Joachim and his order; and Honorius III. declared that it was not to be understood as condemning any other of his books than the one in which he had attacked P. Lombard (*Vita*, 5; cf. *Acta SS.* 482-5; *Decret. Gregorii*, I., i. 1, 2; *Raynald.* 1220. 31). That this was the ‘*Psalterium*,’ see Hahn, iii. 89-90 (quoting Engelhardt).

<sup>s</sup> See Hahn, iii. 86-8; *Brit. Mag.* xvi. 492.

<sup>t</sup> Hahn, iii. 106-115.

<sup>u</sup> *Ib.* 108.

<sup>y</sup> *Ib.* 110, 125-6. Joachim supposed a twelvefold understanding of Scripture—historical, moral, tropological, contemplative, anagogical, and mystical, the last being of seven kinds. *Ib.* 131-157.

<sup>z</sup> *Ib.* 108.

<sup>a</sup> *Ib.* 127.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* 107.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* 112; *Neand.* vii. 316-7 (*Joh.* xxi. 22).

system, the world was on the eve of a great change; the first sixty years of the thirteenth century—the last years of the forty-two generations between the Incarnation and the consummation of all things—were to be a middle period; and in the last three years and a half of this time, Antichrist would come.<sup>c</sup> It is said that Joachim told Richard of England that Antichrist was already born at Rome; and that the king replied that in that case he must be no other than the reigning pope, Clement.<sup>d</sup> But Joachim looked for Antichrist to arise from among the Patarenes, and expected him to be supported by an antipope, who would stir him up against the faithful, as Simon Magus stirred up Nero.<sup>e</sup>

Against the existing clergy, Joachim inveighed in the strongest terms, and he especially denounced the corruptions of the Roman cardinals, legates, and court, while he spoke with peculiar reverence of the papacy itself.<sup>f</sup> He regarded Rome as being at once Jerusalem and Babylon—Jerusalem, as the seat of the papacy; Babylon, as the seat of the empire, committing fornication with the kings of the earth.<sup>g</sup> For he regarded the German empire with especial abhorrence, and denounced all reliance of the church on secular help; the bondage of the church under the empire was the Babylonian captivity; the popes, in relying on the king of France, were leaning on a broken reed which would surely pierce their hands.<sup>h</sup> On account of the connexion with the Byzantine empire, as well as of its errors as to the Holy Ghost, he very strongly censures the Greek church, which he compares to Israel, while the Roman church is typified by Judah; yet, according to that comparison, he supposes the eastern church to contain a remnant of faithful ones, like those seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal. The only merit which he acknowledges in the Greeks is, that among them the order of monks and hermits originated.<sup>i</sup> These he

<sup>c</sup> Brit. Mag. xvi. 370-1; Hahn, iii. 118.

<sup>d</sup> Ben. Petrib. 635-6; Hoveden, 388, b; R. Coggesh. 839. Hence Baronius was led to style Joachim "pseudo propheta" (1190. 8); but the Bollandists try to vindicate the abbot by saying that under the name of Antichrist Frederick II. was meant (*Acta SS. Mari.* 29, pp. 488-9). The chronicle of Mortemar says under the date of 1210—"Hoc tempore fuit quidam pseudopropheta, qui dicebat antichristum jam esse

adultum, et diem judicii imminere." (*Patrol.* clx. 398.) Was this Joachim? As to the expectation of Antichrist in that age, see Will. de Nangis, A.D. 1175.

<sup>e</sup> Neand. vii. 312-3; Hahn, iii. 116-7.

<sup>f</sup> Hahn, iii. 101-2. Mr. Herbert considers Joachim's system as a deep plot, concerted with the popes. *Brit. Mag.* xvi. 494.

<sup>g</sup> Neand. vii. 310; Gieseler, II., ii. 353; *Brit. Mag.* 371-2.

<sup>h</sup> Neand. vii. 305, 310-1; Hahn, iii. 113-6.

<sup>i</sup> Hahn, iii. 105-6.



considers to be figured in Jacob, while the secular clergy are as Esau.<sup>k</sup> The seculars were to perish as martyrs in the final contest with Antichrist; and after the fall of Antichrist, the monks would shine forth in glory.<sup>m</sup> Thus the Papacy was to triumph, but its triumph was to be shared by the monks only; and Joachim's view of the final state of liberty and enlightenment, through the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit, excluded the need of any human teachers.<sup>n</sup>

That Joachim's works have been largely tampered with, appears to be unquestioned; and this was the case with a passage in which he was supposed to have foretold the rise of the Dominican and the Franciscan orders.<sup>o</sup> In its original shape, the prophecy contained nothing beyond what might have been conjectured by his natural sagacity: he speaks of two individuals, who are to begin the contest with Antichrist, and he seems to expect that these will arise from among the Cistercians. But in its later form the two men become two new orders, which are to preach the "Everlasting Gospel,"<sup>p</sup> to convert Jews and Mahometans, and to gather out the faithful remnant of the Greek church, that it may be united to the Roman; and the characteristics of the Dominicans and Franciscans are marked with a precision which proves the spuriousness of the passage. And as, of the two new orders, the Franciscans are preferred, it would seem that the forgery is rather to be traced to them than to the Dominicans.<sup>q</sup>

That there was much danger in Joachim's speculations is evident, although he protested that his belief was entirely in accordance with that of the church;<sup>r</sup> yet it would be a mistake (however natural) to suppose that he meant to represent Christianity itself as something temporary and transitory. For he speaks only of two Testaments, and these are to be followed, not by a third, but by an enlightenment as to the meaning of the two.<sup>s</sup> And his reputation, supported on one side by papal approbation of his works and of his order, while on the other side it was disparaged by the General Council's condemnation of his doctrine as to the Trinity—continued to be of a mixed and

<sup>k</sup> Hahn, iii. 110.<sup>m</sup> *Ib.* 119.<sup>p</sup> Revelation, xiv. 6. See below,<sup>n</sup> Neand. vii. 320; Brit. Mag. xvi. 498, seqq.

Book VII., c. viii. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Theod. Appold. Vita S. Dominici, 58; Lib. Conformitatum S. Franc. 16\*-17\*;<sup>q</sup> See Acta SS. 492; Hahn, iii. 119-124; Gieseler, II., ii. 354; Brit. Mag. xvi. 368.

Acta SS. Aug., t. iv., 379; Wadding, i. 15,

<sup>r</sup> D'Argentré, i. 121.<sup>s</sup> Neand. vii. 318-9.

doubtful kind. Notwithstanding that the gift of miracles<sup>t</sup> as well as that of prophecy, was claimed for him, an attempt to procure his canonization at Rome in 1346 was unsuccessful;<sup>u</sup> but he has obtained at the hands of the great Florentine poet a place among the beatified spirits in Paradise.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Acta SS. 463, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Brit. Mag. xvi. 367. Noël Alexandre thinks him guilty of error, but not of heresy. Cent. XIII., Diss. ii., t. xvi. 16-20.

<sup>x</sup> St. Bonaventura is supposed to be the speaker—

“E lucemi da lato  
Il Calavrese abate Gioacchino,  
Di spirito profetico dotato.”

—*Paradiso*, xii. 139-141,

Salimbene's very curious and amusing memoirs afford throughout incidental evidence of the great popularity of such prophecies as Joachim's in the 13th century. Cf. Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 947-8.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) BY the labours of Gregory the Seventh and his followers the papacy was exalted, not only in opposition to the secular powers, but in its relations to the rest of the hierarchy; and the continual increase of its influence over the whole church was unchecked by those frequent displays of insubordination among the subjects of its temporal power which compelled the popes of this time to be in great part exiles from their city.<sup>a</sup> While emperors, instead of confirming the elections of popes, as in earlier times, were fain to seek the papal confirmation of their own election—while they and other sovereigns were required to hold the pope's stirrup, to walk as grooms by the side of his horse,<sup>b</sup> and to kiss his feet<sup>c</sup>—while it was taught that kingdoms were held under him, and that the highest earthly dignities were conferred by him<sup>d</sup>—the principles of Gregory went beyond those of the False Decretals by making St. Peter's successor not merely the highest authority in the church, but the sole authority—all other spiritual power being represented as held by delegation from him.<sup>e</sup> Thus Innocent II. told the Lateran Council of 1139 that all ecclesiastical dignity was derived from the Roman see by a sort of feudal tenure, and that it could not be lawfully held except by the pope's permission.<sup>f</sup> We have seen that an oath of fidelity to the pope was exacted of St. Boniface, when sent as a missionary bishop into Germany;<sup>g</sup> and in other special cases, such oaths had been sometimes required. Now, however, an important change was introduced

<sup>a</sup> The combination of vast influence at a distance with impotence at home is expressed by Giraldus Cambrensis in his verses on leaving Rome (Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* ii. 434)—

Mirum quæ Romæ modicos sententia Papæ  
Non movet, hic regum sceptrâ movere potest!  
Quæ minimos minime censura coercet in urbe,  
Sævât in orbe fremens, celsaque loca premens.  
Cui malè sublatus Romæ non cederet hortus,  
Nititur ad nutum flectere regna suum."

<sup>b</sup> From this the Greek Cinnamus ar-

gues that the "king of Germany" could not be really emperor. v. 10.

<sup>c</sup> This was required by Gregory's "Dictates." See vol. ii., p. 610 (587); Gieseler, II., ii. 224.

<sup>d</sup> See Planck, IV., ii. 725.

<sup>e</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 613-5; Neand. vii. 269; Giesel. II., ii. 222.

<sup>f</sup> "Quasi feodalis juris consuetudine." Chron. Mauriniac. in Patrol. clxxx. 168.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. ii., p. 105 (97).

by Gregory, who in 1079 exacted of the patriarch of Aquileia a new episcopal oath, which was in part modelled on the oath of secular fealty, and which thus implied a feudal dependance of the bishop on the pope, as the source of all his powers.<sup>h</sup> By Gregory himself this was not imposed on any others than metropolitans and his own immediate suffragans; but in no long time it was exacted of all bishops,<sup>i</sup> who now professed to hold their office not only "by the grace of God," but also by that "of the apostolic see."<sup>k</sup> In some instances, Gregory appeared to scruple as to interfering with the ancient right of metropolitans to consecrate their suffragans; and even later popes thought it well to make courteous apologies for having invaded the metropolitan privileges by such acts.<sup>m</sup> But Gregory's council of 1080 had decreed that the election of bishops should be approved by the pope or the metropolitan;<sup>n</sup> and, as bishops-elect became more and more disposed to flock to Rome (especially in cases of disputed election, as to which the popes claimed, and in most cases established before the end of the century, an exclusive right to decide<sup>o</sup>), the power of confirmation and consecration was gradually transferred from the metropolitans to the pope alone.<sup>p</sup>

The exercise of penitential discipline was also now assumed by the popes in a greater degree,<sup>q</sup> although they still make occasional professions of respecting the rights of the local bishops.<sup>r</sup> The fondness for appealing to Rome in every case is a subject of complaint, not only on the part of princes, such as Henry II. of England, but of such ecclesiastics as Hildebert of Tours<sup>s</sup> and Bernard.<sup>t</sup> Gregory the Eighth complained of being distracted by needless appeals, and tried to check the practice;<sup>u</sup> but his pontificate was too short to have much effect. As excommuni-

<sup>h</sup> Conc. Rom. A.D. 1079, in *Patrol.* cxlviii. 812-3.

<sup>i</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 621-6; Gieseler, II., 233-5. Ralph de Diceto mentions with a strong appearance of distaste the exaction of a new oath from Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1193. Twysden, 671.

<sup>k</sup> "Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia episcopus." The first instance of this form is said to be in the will of Amatus of Nusco (see vol. ii., p. 441), A.D. 1093. Gieseler, II., ii. 237, who says that Thomassin (I., i. 60. cc. 9 and 19) is very incorrect on the subject.

<sup>m</sup> See Planck, IV., ii. 677-682; Schmidt, ii. 527; Helmold, i. 80-2;

Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1444-6. Paschal II., on being requested to consecrate an Icelandic bishop, referred him to the archbishop of Lund. Münter, ii. 87.

<sup>n</sup> Can. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 49, 63-4.

<sup>p</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 632, 682-3; Gieseler, II., ii. 236.

<sup>q</sup> Gieseler, II. ii. 239.

<sup>r</sup> See Alex. III., Ep. 134 (*Patrol.* cc.); Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1364. See Gregory VII.'s letter to Henry, bishop of Liège. Ep. vi. 4 (*Patrol.* clxviii.).

<sup>s</sup> Ep. ii. 41 (*Patrol.* clxxi.).

<sup>t</sup> See p. 69; also Ep. 178 (*Patrol.* clxxxii. 340).

<sup>u</sup> Ep. 15 (*Patrol.* ccii.).



cation deprived of the power of appearing in ecclesiastical courts, bishops and archdeacons sometimes resorted to it as a means for the prevention of appeals; but this was forbidden by the Lateran Council of 1179.<sup>x</sup>

But it was not by appeals only that causes were transferred from the provinces to the Roman court. There was a tendency to carry questions at once to the pope—passing over the local authorities to whose jurisdiction they in the first instance belonged;<sup>y</sup> and the reservation of “greater causes” to the pope alone became more and more injurious to the rights of the bishops and metropolitans. Among these causes were canonization, which (as we have already seen) was for the first time reserved to the holy see by Alexander III.,<sup>z</sup> and dispensations as to marriage, oaths, translation of bishops, and other matters. Dispensations, in the sense of a license granted beforehand to do something which was forbidden by the laws of the church, had been unknown in earlier times, when the only kind of dispensation granted was a forgiveness of past irregularity.<sup>a</sup> But now popes began to claim the right of granting dispensations beforehand, and of exercising this power in all parts of the church, concurrently with the local bishops. In this, as in other things, the tendency of the age led men to apply to the pope or to his legates rather than to their own bishops; and thus by degrees the pope’s authority in such matters, from having been concurrent with that of the bishops, was established as exclusive by Innocent III.<sup>b</sup>

Among the means of enforcing the idea that all ecclesiastical power belonged to the pope, the system of legation was the chief. In former times, the only representatives whom the popes had maintained in foreign countries were their “apocrisaries” at Constantinople, or at the court of the earlier Frankish emperors;<sup>c</sup> at a later date, such legates as were sent forth were employed only on special occasions, and for some particular business. But from the time of Leo IX., legates were appointed with commissions unlimited either as to the nature of their business or as to the duration of their power; and this system was developed by Gregory VII. so that every country had its regular legate—

<sup>x</sup> Can. 6.

<sup>y</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 166, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> Vol. ii., p. 535 (496); Schröckh, xxvii. 97; Gieseler, II., ii. 239.

<sup>a</sup> Sometimes an apparent breach of the canons had been sanctioned beforehand—*e.g.*, the translation of a bishop. This, however, was not really a license

to break the canons, but a declaration that they were not held to apply in the particular case. Planck, IV., ii. 660.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 661-6; Schröckh, xxvii. 320; Gieseler, II., ii. 227.

<sup>c</sup> De Marca, l. v., cc. 16-8; Planck, IV., ii. 640.

whether one of the local prelates, or an emissary sent directly from the papal court.<sup>d</sup> These legates, according to Gregory, were to be heard even as the pope himself.<sup>e</sup> It had before been held that the pope, on personally visiting a country, might summon the bishops to a council; and now this power was extended to the legates, in contempt of the authority of the metropolitans.<sup>f</sup> The legates acted everywhere as the highest authorities, although themselves perhaps in no higher order than that of deacon or subdeacon. They cited metropolitans and all bishops under pain of suspension, deposed bishops, wrested cases from the ordinary courts, and threatened the vengeance of the pope against all who might oppose them.<sup>g</sup> Yet the alliance of these Roman emissaries was so important to bishops, and especially in strengthening them against the secular power, that few bishops dared to provoke their enmity.<sup>h</sup> The assumption, the rapacity, the corruption of the legates were excessive and even proverbial. They were authorised to draw their maintenance from the countries which they passed through, as well as from those to which they were destined,<sup>i</sup> and no limits were set to the demands which they were allowed to make for procurations, so that John of Salisbury speaks of them as "raging in the provinces as if Satan had gone forth from the presence of the Lord for the scourging of the church."<sup>k</sup>

Bernard, in a letter to a cardinal of Ostia, has given a remarkable picture of another cardinal, named Jordan, in the character of legate to France—"He has passed from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people, everywhere leaving foul and horrible traces among us. He is said to have everywhere committed disgraceful things; to have carried off the spoils of churches; to have promoted pretty little boys<sup>m</sup> to ecclesiastical honours wherever he could; and to have wished to do so where he could not. Many have bought themselves off, that he might not come to them; those whom he could not visit, he taxed and squeezed by means of messengers. In schools, in courts, the places where roads meet, he has made himself a by-word.

<sup>d</sup> De Marca, l. vi., cc. 30, seqq.; Schröckh, xxvii. 74; Planck, IV., ii. 641, 654.

<sup>e</sup> See vol. ii., p. 618 (574).

<sup>f</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 697-8.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 642-3. See the accounts of John of Crema, by Gervas. Dorob. (1663), and of Albert (afterwards Gregory VIII.), by R. de Diceto (603), who describes

him as "*Latialiter incedens per Angliam.*"

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 75.

<sup>i</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 645-6, 653-6.

<sup>k</sup> Polycrat. v. 16 (Patrol. cxcix. 580); cf. viii. 17 (col. 783). For similar quotations from Ivo and others, see Gieseler, II., ii. 245; Neander vii., 273-4. See, too, Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 212.

<sup>m</sup> "Formosulos pueros."



Seculars and religious, all speak ill of him ; the poor, the monks and the clergy complain of him.”<sup>n</sup> In some cases, sovereigns obtained a promise from the pope that legates should not be sent into their dominions without their consent ;<sup>o</sup> but such promises were sometimes broken, and were more frequently evaded by committing the business of legates to persons who were styled by some other title ;<sup>p</sup> and, on the other hand, kings sometimes excluded or expelled legates from their territories, or made them swear before admittance that they would do no mischief.<sup>q</sup>

The pretensions of popes with regard to councils rose higher. Princes now no longer convoked such assemblies, as in former times ; indeed the emperors had no longer that general sway which would have procured for any order of theirs obedience from the subjects of other sovereigns.<sup>r</sup> The councils of Piacenza and Clermont were summoned by Urban II. on his own authority, in reliance on the general excitement in favour of the crusading cause. For such a step the ground had been laid by Gregory’s summoning bishops from all quarters to his Lenten synods at Rome ;<sup>s</sup> and in the new episcopal oath there was a promise of attendance at all councils to which the bishop should be cited by the pope.<sup>t</sup> The claims which had been set up for the popes in the False Decretals<sup>u</sup> were now more than realized ; for it was held that provincial councils required the pope’s authority, not only to confirm them, but to summon them.<sup>x</sup> And for all such assemblies there was the dread of an appeal to Rome, with the knowledge that appeals were likely to be favourably entertained.<sup>y</sup> Towards councils themselves, also, the pope’s tone became higher than before ; thus Paschal II., in answer to the objection that the new episcopal oath had not been sanctioned by any council, declares that the pope is sufficient without a council, although a council is not sufficient without the pope.<sup>z</sup>

A sort of infallibility now began to be claimed for the popes—chiefly on the ground of our Lord’s words to St. Peter, “I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.”<sup>a</sup> Yet this official infalli-

<sup>n</sup> Ep. 290.

<sup>o</sup> See vol. ii. p. 754 (693). From Alexander III.’s writing to Louis VII. that he would make Becket in his exile legate for France, “*dummodo regis voluntati sederet et beneplacito tuo*” (Ep. 447), Planck infers that there was such a compact with the French king. (IV., ii. 650.)

<sup>p</sup> Planck, 650-1.

<sup>q</sup> See *e. g.* Gervas. Dorob. 1434 ; Ben.

Petrib. 145 ; Hoveden, 365.

<sup>r</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 674.

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 98-100 ; Planck, IV., ii. 689-692.

<sup>t</sup> Patrol. cxlviii. 813. See Giesel. II., ii. 233-4. <sup>u</sup> See vol. ii. p. 286 (269).

<sup>x</sup> Planck, III., ii. 684.

<sup>y</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 96.

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 506. Patrol. clxxiii.

<sup>a</sup> Luke xxii. 32. See quotations in Gieseler, II., ii. 228.

bility was not supposed to secure the pope against personal errors; and Gratian goes so far as to declare that certain words of Gregory II. are utterly opposed not only to the canons, but to the doctrine of the Gospels and of the apostles.<sup>b</sup>

(2.) In consequence of the agitation excited by Hildebrand, the election of bishops fell into the hands of the clergy, and more especially of the canons of cathedrals. It was, indeed, admitted by the hierarchical writers that, according to the precedent of early times, the laity ought to have some part in the election. But those whom such writers were willing to admit as representatives of the laity were the great retainers and officers of the church; the sovereign was declared to be shut out from all share in the choice;<sup>c</sup> and, after the pattern of papal elections, which were now confined to the cardinals alone, the elections of bishops soon passed into the hands of the cathedral clergy exclusively.<sup>d</sup> It was found, however, that the change in the manner of appointment, instead of doing away with that corruption which had been the subject of such indignant denunciations, had only the effect of transferring it from courtiers to canons; and in its new form it worked worse than before, inasmuch as the clergy might choose a bishop with a view of benefiting by his defects, or might make a bargain with him more injurious to the church than any that could be made by a layman.<sup>e</sup> Jealousies, intrigues, and disputed rights, which led to long and ruinous suits, and sometimes to actual war, now became rife, and Frederick Barbarossa had probably good reason for declaring in a well-known speech that the bishops appointed by the imperial power had been better than those whom the clergy chose for themselves.<sup>f</sup>

In many countries, however, the sovereigns still retained their influence. In France, England, and Spain, the king's license was necessary before an election, and his confirmation of the bishop-elect was also necessary; while in the Sicilies, Hungary, Denmark, and Sweden, the kings still enjoyed the power of nomination.<sup>g</sup> The appointment of archbishops of Canterbury was the subject of struggles which were renewed at every vacancy, as, in addition to the claims of the king and of the

<sup>b</sup> Causa II., qu. vii. c. 18. (Patrol. clxxxvii.) (Patrol. clxxx.).

<sup>c</sup> *E. g.* Gerhoh. in Psalm. lxiv. cc. 26-7 (Patrol. cxciv.); Schröckh, xxvii. 101-2.

<sup>d</sup> Neand. vii. 276.

<sup>e</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 72-6. See a letter of Conrad to Eugenius III. about an election to Utrecht. Ep. ad Eug. 18.

<sup>f</sup> Arnold. Lubec. iii. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Planck, IV. ii. 43; Gieseler, II., ii. 263; Münter, ii. 63; Hallam, M. A., i. 546. Hoveden speaks of Philip Augustus giving up by treaty to Richard I., in 1199, the "donation" of the archbishoprick of Tours, 449.



monks of the cathedral, the bishops of the province claimed a share in the election.<sup>h</sup> The most remarkable of these contests was perhaps that which followed on the death of Becket's successor, Richard: The bishops made A.D. 1184. choice of Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, but the monks refused to concur in this, and pretended to an exclusive right of election, which, they said, had been confirmed to them by the king in penitence for the death of St. Thomas. This claim was asserted with such obstinacy as to provoke Henry to exclaim that the prior of Canterbury, Alan, wished to be a second pope in England;<sup>i</sup> but, after a long contest, and much skilful management on the part of the king, it was contrived that some representatives of the monks, who had been summoned to Westminster,<sup>k</sup> should, after declaring the election by the bishops to be null, independently elect the same person on whom the choice of the bishops and of the king had already fallen.<sup>l</sup>

Sovereigns no longer ventured to found bishopricks without the consent of popes; but they strongly resisted the attempts of the popes to parcel out their dominions by new foundations or new arrangements of sees.<sup>m</sup> Yet we have seen that Henry the Lion, of Saxony, although his rank was not that of king but of duke, took it on himself to erect bishopricks in the north of Germany, to nominate bishops, and to grant them investiture.<sup>n</sup>

The question of investiture, after the long contests which it had occasioned, was settled by means of compromises. We have seen how this was arranged in England, and by the Concordat of Worms; and also that in 1119 the form of investing by ring and staff was not used in France.<sup>o</sup> But the substance of investiture still remained. A distinction was drawn between *homagium* and *ligium*—the former implying general faithfulness and obedience, while the other included an obligation to serve the feudal lord “against all men who may live or die;” and it

<sup>h</sup> See Lingard, ii. 311.

<sup>i</sup> Gervas. Dorob. 1468. Alan, afterwards abbot of Tewkesbury, was one of Becket's biographers.

<sup>k</sup> One way in which the kings exercised influence was by fixing the election at some place distant from the Cathedral, —perhaps in their own presence,—where only a deputation of the electors could attend. Lingard, ii. 312.

<sup>l</sup> See Gervas. 1306, 1466–1474: Diceto, 620; Bened. Petrib. 44–5; Pauli, iii. 172–3. After the death of the next archbishop, Reginald, the monks met on the day before that appointed for the

meeting of the bishops, and chose Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, who had been recommended by Richard I. in a letter from his German prison (Gervas. 1583), and “quem aliquo spiritu revelante præoverant ab episcopis eligendum.” R. de Diceto, 669.

<sup>m</sup> Thus Philip Augustus would not allow Lucius III. to make Dol an archbishoprick, against the claims of Tours. Schröckh, xxvii. 111.

<sup>n</sup> P. 168. See Helmold, ii., 1; Arnold. Lubec. ii. 13, 28; iii. 6, 13.

<sup>o</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 737, 752, 757 (678, 691, 696).

was held that the episcopal homage, being unencumbered with this last condition, was lawful.<sup>p</sup> The name of investiture was applied to the ceremony of homage, and Bernard himself speaks of such investiture as unobjectionable.<sup>q</sup> Hugh of Fleury wrote a tract with the intention of mediating between the claims of the Church and of the State.<sup>r</sup> He holds that temporal as well as spiritual power is derived from God; that the priesthood, although higher in order than royalty, cannot claim earthly dignity; and that bishops may rightly be invested with their temporalities by princes, although the investiture with ring and staff, as being the symbols of spiritual office, ought to be reserved for the metropolitans. And, although some bishops were disposed to claim an exemption from feudal duties, even such popes as Alexander III. and Innocent III. acknowledged that in regard of their temporalities they were liable to the usual feudal obligations, and were subject to the courts of their liege lord.<sup>s</sup>

In this age popes began to interfere with the patronage of ecclesiastical dignities and offices throughout the western church, the earliest instance being a letter of Adrian IV. to the bishop, dean, and chapter of Paris, as to the bestowal of a canonry on Hugh, the chancellor of Louis VII.<sup>t</sup> The favoured objects of the papal requests (*preces*) were styled *precistæ*; but, as the requests were the less likely to meet with attention in proportion as their number was unreasonably increased,<sup>u</sup> the more peremptory form of a mandate was adopted—at first as an addition to the requests, and afterwards as a substitute for them.<sup>x</sup> And until a suitable preferment should fall vacant, the patrons were desired to provide out of their own funds a pension for the person recommended to them.<sup>y</sup> When, however, sovereigns attempted any practices of the same kind, the popes were naturally vehement

<sup>p</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 36.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. clxiv. 5. See Planck, 40.

<sup>r</sup> 'De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate.' (Patrol. clxiii.)

<sup>s</sup> Alex. in Gregor. Decret. II., ii. 6; Cœlestin. III. Ep. 220 (Patrol. cœvi.); Planck, IV., ii. 227-8; Gieseler, ii. 264. See below, book VII. c. viii. sect. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Ep. 81, Jan. 20, 1156 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Nat. Alex. xiii. 340; Thomassin. de Benef. II., i. 43. 2; Planck, IV., ii. 714.

<sup>u</sup> Jocelin of Brakelond relates that when a clerk presented to Abbot Samson of St. Edmund's Bury "litteras petitorias de redditu ecclesiastico habendo," the abbot produced from his desk seven

papal letters, each with its seal duly attached, and told the applicant that when the bearers of these should have been satisfied *his* turn would come;—"but he that cometh first to the mill ought to grind first." P. 41.

<sup>x</sup> Thus Alexander III. uses the form "rogantes et rogando mandantes." (Thomass. l. c. 3.) See Planck, IV., ii. 716; Neand. vii. 277. John of Salisbury, writing in the name of a prelate (probably Archbishop Theobald) says, "Vulgo dici solet, *et, acceptum fideliter, verum est, quia summi pontificis voluntas decretum est*" (Ep. 23). Thomassin, in quoting this, omits the qualification l. c.

<sup>y</sup> See Alex. III. to the Dean and



in denouncing them.<sup>z</sup> As yet, the papal recommendations, while interfering with patronage, admitted that it rightfully belonged to the prelates, chapters, or monastic societies to whom they were addressed. But in the next century this came to be denied, and the revenues of the church in countries north of the Alps—most especially in England—were preyed on by a host of Italians, forcibly quartered on them by the popes.<sup>a</sup>

In France, the growth of the royal power affected the relations of the State with the Church. Philip Augustus was sovereign of a territory twice as large as that of Philip I., and the kingdom had advanced very greatly in culture and in wealth.<sup>b</sup> The kings were getting the mastery over their great vassals, and, although in their struggle against these they had been allied with the clergy, they now put forward new pretensions of dignity against the hierarchy itself; thus Philip refused to do homage for certain lands held under the church, like the former tenants the Counts of Flanders, on the ground that the king must not do homage to any one.<sup>c</sup> On the other hand, also, the bishops lost, both in Italy and in France, by the rise of the municipal communities. The amount of this rise, indeed, was less in France, where the towns were less populous and more distant from each other, where they were not aided by the influence of the clergy, and, instead of being able to combine their energies against one common foe, each town had, as its first necessity, to carry on a feud with some neighbouring noble.<sup>d</sup> All, therefore, that the French communes as yet claimed, was civic freedom—not such independence as the Italians achieved. In many cases, bishops were the lords from whom emancipation was desired; and, while some struggled against the movement, others accommodated themselves to it. Sometimes they sold privileges to the citizens; sometimes they freely granted them; while in many cases, especially under Philip Augustus, privileges detrimental to the power of the bishops were granted by the sovereign, on condi-

Chapter of Lincoln, in Liverani, *Spicileg.* 545-6. G. Foliot, *ib.* 641, complains of the pope for invading his patronage.

<sup>z</sup> *E.g.* Cœlest. III., to the abbot of St. Pancras at Lewes. Ep. 260 (*Patrol.* ccvi.). When Richard I. had thrust some clerks into prebends of York, they resigned them, "as if voluntarily," after his death, "*scientes donationes illas factas fuisse contra Deum, et in sanctæ ecclesiæ detrimentum.*" (*Hoved.* 451, b.)

See a case in the Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, iii. 8-9. (*Patrol.* cliii.)

<sup>a</sup> Thomass. I. c. 6; Planck, IV., ii. 715-7.

<sup>b</sup> W. Nang., A.D. 1180; Planck, IV., ii. 122. See for the growth of the royal power, the origin of the communes, &c., Martin, book xx.

<sup>c</sup> Planck, IV. ii. 128.

<sup>d</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 137-156; Sismondi, *Hist. des Fran.*, v. 427-9.

tion of payments to the royal exchequer.<sup>e</sup> By means of friendly arrangements with the citizens, indeed, the bishops were able to secure these as allies against the neighbouring nobles; but, although they still retained their high rank in the state, much of the power which had formerly belonged to their order had now passed into the hands either of the sovereign or of the commonalty.<sup>f</sup>

When Gregory VII. propounded his doctrines as to the relations of the ecclesiastical and the secular powers, the imperial cause found many champions among the clergy. But after a time it began to be understood how advantageous the hierarchical pretensions were to the whole clerical body—that the greatness of the pope, as the Hildebrandine system represented him, was reflected in a degree even on the most inconsiderable ecclesiastic. When, too, it was believed that all secular power emanated from the pope, there was less difficulty in believing the same as to spiritual power; and thus, in no long time, the clergy in general were possessed by ideas which ranged them on the side of the papacy in its differences with temporal sovereigns.<sup>g</sup>

(3.) The claims of the Church as to matters of judicature were continually growing.<sup>h</sup> In this respect the popes made a great step by exempting Crusaders from all power of civil magistrates, and by forbidding that they should be sued for debts; and this measure, which was allowed to pass unquestioned amid the general enthusiasm for the holy war, became a foundation for other pretensions, which, if they had been nakedly advanced in ordinary circumstances, would have encountered a strong opposition.<sup>i</sup> As the Church was supposed to have jurisdiction in all matters to which the canons related, the condemnation of any offence by a pope or a council was supposed to bring that offence within the cognizance of the ecclesiastical courts, which thus claimed the power of judging, whether solely or concurrently, of such crimes as incendiarism and false coining.<sup>k</sup> These courts also claimed exclusive jurisdiction in all cases relating to wills, marriages, and usury;<sup>l</sup> and this jurisdiction was extended by ingenious subtleties. Thus, under the head of usury, a vast number of commercial transactions were brought within their cognizance,

<sup>e</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 143, 150, 153; Martin, iii. 321.

<sup>f</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 129.

<sup>g</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 11, 735-6.

<sup>h</sup> See Fleury, Discourse at the end of Book lxxxix.; Giannone, iii. 316-322.

<sup>i</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 728.

<sup>k</sup> Conc. Rem., A.D. 1131, c. 17; Conc. Rem., A.D. 1148, c. 15; Conc. Lateran. II., c. 18, &c.; Schröckh, xxvii. 145; Planck, IV., ii. 250; Gieseler, II., ii. 237.

<sup>l</sup> Giannone, iii. 317.



and all dealings with Jews were considered to belong to the province of the ecclesiastical courts. In like manner, if a contract were ratified by an oath, a breach of contract became perjury, and a subject for these courts; and on the ground that the vassal took an oath to his lord, an attempt was even made in France to claim for them a right of deciding questions as to fiefs, although this attempt was checked by Philip Augustus and his nobles.<sup>m</sup> When a French council had forbidden the sale of corn on Sunday, it was held that all cases as to the sale of corn were matter for the ecclesiastical tribunals, because the first question in such cases was the inquiry on what day the sale took place.<sup>n</sup> And such extensions of the province of the spiritual courts were made with general approbation, as these were usually less violent in their processes and in their sentences than the secular courts; while ecclesiastics found an inducement to encroach on the business of the secular judges, not only in the increase of their power, but in the fees and other payments which were transferred to them.<sup>o</sup> But the multiplicity of business which was thus brought into the hands of the clergy, became, as St. Bernard complains,<sup>p</sup> a temptation to neglect their more proper pursuits; and many canons were passed to check their fondness for acting as advocates, even in the secular courts.<sup>q</sup> The claim advanced in England, that the Church should have exclusive jurisdiction over clerks, and in all cases relating to them, has been mentioned in connection with the name of archbishop Becket.<sup>r</sup> In other countries, too, similar pretensions were set up;<sup>s</sup> but it was soon found that in their full extent they were too monstrous to be admitted, and compromises were made, by which, while a large immunity was secured for the clergy, they were yet not to be exempt from the secular magistrates "for man-slaying, theft, arson, or such like common crimes which belong to the pleas of the sword."<sup>t</sup>

(4.) The change introduced into the functions of archdeacons as to the administration of the Church has been already mentioned.<sup>u</sup> But now these officers began to set up pretensions to an increase of dignity and influence. Whereas they had formerly

<sup>m</sup> Sism. vi. 307.

<sup>n</sup> Fleury, Disc., sect. 8; Planck, IV., ii. 259-261.    <sup>o</sup> Ib. 231, 238, 257, 261.

<sup>p</sup> De Consideratione, i. 4.

<sup>q</sup> E. g., Conc. Rem., A.D. 1131, c. 6; Conc. Lat., A.D. 1139, c. 9; Conc. Lat., A.D. 1179, c. 12.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 93.

<sup>s</sup> Alex. III., Ep. 1074; Nat. Alex.

xiii. 325-9; Planck, IV., ii. 237.

<sup>t</sup> Diceto, 657 (speaking of a compact made in Normandy, A.D. 1190); Schröckh, xxvii. 145, 155, 160; Planck, IV., ii. 233, 242-3; Gieseler, II., ii. 268, 270, 273; Dahlmann, i. 196-7.

<sup>u</sup> Vol. ii. 196 (183).

attended on the bishops in their visitations, and, if they themselves visited, it was merely as the delegates of the bishops, they now claimed for themselves independent rights of visitation and jurisdiction; they tyrannised over the clergy, and defied the episcopal authority.<sup>x</sup> In some cases, where a new see had been formed by the subdivision of a diocese, the archdeacons attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the bishops; but this claim was disallowed by the popes,<sup>y</sup> who also found it necessary in other respects to check the assumption and rapacity of the archdeacons.<sup>z</sup> When, however, an archbishop of Canterbury attempted to exempt some places from the jurisdiction of archdeacons, Alexander III. forbade this innovation.<sup>a</sup> The advantages of the office continued, as in former times, to attract the desires of laymen, and canons were passed that no one under the order of priest or deacon should be allowed to hold an archdeaconry.<sup>b</sup> Laymen who for the sake of gain desire such an office, says Innocent II., are not to be called archdeacons, but archdevils.<sup>c</sup>

The exactions of archdeacons and rural deans were the subject of many complaints, especially as to the matter of penance, in which they are described as making a gain of sins.<sup>d</sup> John of Salisbury, in a letter to Nicholas de Sigillo, on his appointment to the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, amusingly reminds him of the terms in which he had formerly spoken of archdeacons as a class excluded from the hope of salvation by their love of money, which led them to lie and plunder, and to "eat and drink the sins of the people."<sup>e</sup> From the time of the council of London in 1108,<sup>f</sup> canons were passed with a view of checking such practices. Bishops at length attempted to get over the annoyance which they experienced from the archdeacons, by erecting new courts of their own, on the principles of the canon law, and by appointing persons with the title of Officials to preside in these, while they employed "vicars" or rural deans to assist them in their pastoral work.<sup>g</sup> But here again corruptions crept in; for it was soon complained that the bishops made a gain of the new offices, by selling them, or letting them for hire,<sup>h</sup> and

<sup>x</sup> Schmidt, iii. 278; Schröckh, xxvii. 148-9; Gieseler, II., ii. 278. See Bernard, Ep. 158.

<sup>y</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 149.

<sup>z</sup> *E. g.* Eugen. III., Ep. 533 (Patrol. clxxx.); Alex. III., Ep. 724 (ib. cc.).

<sup>a</sup> Hard. VI., ii. 1798, c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> *E. g.* Conc. Rem., A.D. 1131, c. 8; Conc. Rem., A.D. 1148, c. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 51 (Patrol. clxxix.).

<sup>d</sup> *E. g.* Theobald. Cant. ap. Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 69 (Patrol. excix.); Anon. Lambeth., ib. cxc. 287; Alex. III. in Decret. Gregor. V. xxxvii. 3; Gieseler, II., ii. 522.

<sup>e</sup> Ep. 166.

<sup>f</sup> C. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 150; Neand. vii. 292-3; Gieseler, II., ii. 279.

<sup>h</sup> Conc. Turon., A.D. 1163, c. 7; Conc. Later., A.D. 1179, c. 15; Schmidt, iii. 279.



thus compelling the holders to indemnify themselves by extortion;<sup>1</sup> and Peter of Blois (himself, it must be remembered, an archdeacon,) speaks of the officials by the significant name of "Bishops' leeches."<sup>k</sup>

In the following century, we find that the practices of archdeacons in England are still complained of, as to exacting money, burdening the clergy with the expense of entertaining an unreasonably large train of their men and horses at visitations, preventing the peaceable settlement of disputes in order to profit by the expenses of litigation, and allowing persons who had been guilty of grievous sin to compound for their offences by pecuniary payments.<sup>m</sup>

(5.) The decrease of gifts to the church has been noted at an earlier date.<sup>n</sup> It seems to have been thought that the endowments were already ample, and, indeed, the wealth of the clergy and monks, with the corruptions which were traced to it, formed a constant theme of complaint for sectaries, for reformers such as Arnold of Brescia, for visionaries like Hildegard and Joachim, and for satirical poets who now arose in Germany, France, and England.<sup>o</sup> Yet the church's possessions were still increasing by other means. Many advantageous purchases, exchanges, or other arrangements were made with Crusaders who were in haste to furnish themselves for the holy war.<sup>p</sup> Much was also acquired by bequest; and the influence of the clergy with persons on their deathbed, together with the circumstance that all testamentary questions belonged to the ecclesiastical courts, rendered this an important source of wealth, although in some countries the civil powers already began to check such bequests.<sup>q</sup> And a new species of contract, by which a landowner

<sup>1</sup> Pet. Cantor., Verb. Abbard. 24 (Patrol. ccv. 90.).

<sup>k</sup> "Tota officialium intentio est, ut ad opus episcoporum suæ jurisdictioni commissas miserrimas oves quasi vice illorum tondeant, emungant, excoorient. Isti enim sunt episcoporum sanguisugæ, evomentes alienum sanguinem quem biberunt." (Ep. 25, ib. ccvii. 89.) In like manner he styles the sheriffs and foresters "sanguisugæ principum." (Ep. 96, col. 299.) Ep. 209 is a bitter complaint against officials, addressed to Innocent III. Peter describes the archdeaconry of London as a very poor preferment—having 40,000 people and 120 churches, but no income. Ep. 151.

<sup>m</sup> Constit. Ottonis, 20-1, A.D. 1237, in Lyndewoode, 93; Const. Ottobon. 18-9,

A.D. 1268, ib. 116.

<sup>n</sup> Vol. ii., p. 509 (473).

<sup>o</sup> See extracts from poems of the time in Gieseler, II., ii. 249-251, where it is stated, on J. Grimm's authority, that many of the pieces ascribed to Walter Map are by a contemporary German Walter. Also Neander, vii. 298.

<sup>p</sup> See vol. ii., p. 700 (646); Planck, IV., ii. 354-6. The chronicler of the monastery of Andres regrets the "pious simplicity" of his abbot Peter, who, during the preparation for the third crusade, would only take lands in pledge, whereas he might have bought them outright on easy terms. Dacher. Spicileg. ii. 822.

<sup>q</sup> See Gieseler, II., ii. 296-8. In Germany it was held that a will was in-

made over his property to the church, on condition that he should receive it back in fee, was also a means of adding to the possessions of the clergy. For, although these *feuda oblata* differed from the *precarie*,<sup>r</sup> inasmuch as the fief was granted to the donor's heirs as well as to himself, the church not only derived some present advantages from such arrangements, but had a chance of seeing the lineal heirs become extinct, and so of coming eventually into undivided possession of the property.<sup>s</sup>

Tithes were also made more productive than before. It was laid down that they ought to be paid on every kind of trade, and on military pay;<sup>t</sup> and the commentators on such laws held that the obligation extended to the receipts of beggars and prostitutes.<sup>u</sup> It was, however, found impossible to enforce these rules to the full;<sup>x</sup> and, although Gregory VII. designed the entire recovery of such tithes as had fallen in the hands of laymen, he found it necessary to give up this intention, in order to secure the alliance of the nobles, which was essential to him in his enterprise against the power of sovereigns.<sup>y</sup> The Lateran council of 1179 declared the holding of tithes by laymen to be perilous to the soul, and forbade the transfer of them to other laymen, under penalty of exclusion from Christian burial for any who should receive them and should not make them over to the church;<sup>z</sup> but this canon (whatever its intended meaning may have been) came to be interpreted as forbidding only transfers and fresh alienations of tithe, the idea of recovering that which was already alienated being apparently given up.<sup>a</sup> Yet, in this time many laymen were persuaded to surrender the tithes which they had appropriated, although in such cases the tithe was often given to a monastery, or to some clerk other than the rightful owner.<sup>b</sup>

valid, unless the testator had afterwards been able to go abroad *ungehabet und ungestut* (*i. e.* without being supported either by another person or by a staff). *ib.* 297; Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, 96.

<sup>r</sup> See vol. ii., p. 203 (190).

<sup>s</sup> Schmidt, ii. 287-8; Schröckh, xxvii. 130.

<sup>t</sup> Gregor. Decret. III., xxx. 5-7, 22, 26, &c. Giraldus had some amusing dealings with refractory Flemings in South Wales as to payment of tithes. *De Rebus a se gestis*, i. 24, 28.

<sup>u</sup> See Planck, IV., ii. 360. Aquinas says that in cases where money wrongly gotten does not involve the duty of restitution — "*sicut de meretricio et*

*histrionatu*" — the persons ought to pay tithe, but the church ought not to receive it until they forsake their sin. *Secunda Secundæ*, lxxxvii. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Schmidt, ii. 290; Planck, IV., ii. 360. See a letter of Alexander III. against a strange custom of employing an ordeal in order to secure payment of tithe in full. *Ep.* 878.

<sup>y</sup> See his letter to Hugh, bishop of Die, cited vol. ii. 642 (596); Planck, IV., ii. 378. <sup>z</sup> C. 14.

<sup>a</sup> Schmidt, ii. 289; Planck, IV., ii. 376-8; Gieseler, II., ii. 295.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. ii., p. 783 (716). A council at Avranches, in 1172, allows lay holders of tithes to make them over to any clerk,



First fruits—a thirtieth or a sixtieth part of the produce—began also now to be claimed.<sup>c</sup>

But while others complained of the wealth of the clergy, the clergy were incessantly crying out against spoliation.<sup>d</sup> The advocates subdivided their power by appointing vice-advocates; and these deputies, with a great train of inferior functionaries attached to them, rivalled their chiefs in oppressing the churches which they professed to defend. The advocates built castles not only on that portion of the church's land which was allotted to themselves, but on any part of its lands; their exactions, both from the church and from its tenants, became heavier and heavier,<sup>e</sup> so that in some cases the tenants were reduced to beggary. Canons were passed to check these evils,<sup>f</sup> but with little effect; and when Urban III. attempted to abolish the office of advocate in Germany, he found that the emperor Frederick was opposed to the change, although favourable to a limitation of the power of the advocates,<sup>g</sup> and that the bishops were not prepared to support it.<sup>h</sup> The evil pressed no less on monasteries than on cathedrals,<sup>i</sup> and various means were tried to overcome it. Some churches or monasteries acquired the right to remove their advocates—a right, however, which could not always be easily carried into effect;<sup>k</sup> some bought them off,<sup>m</sup> or were able to bring them under a measure of restraint by the help of the sovereign;<sup>n</sup> and some, in despair of all human aid, instituted solemn daily prayers for deliverance from the tyranny of these oppressive protectors.<sup>o</sup>

Nor were the advocates the only lay officers who preyed severely on the funds of churches and monasteries. Great nobles, and even sovereign princes, enrolled themselves among their officials in order to share in their revenues. Thus, at Cologne, the ten gates of the city had for their guardians five dukes and five counts, to each of whom an annual allowance of 2000 silver marks was paid for his services;<sup>p</sup> and even

on condition that they shall afterwards revert to the church to which they properly belong. (c. 9.) Gerhoh is vehement for the quadripartite division. *De Ædif. Dei.* cc. 8, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 361.

<sup>d</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 136.

<sup>e</sup> Planck, IV. ii. 369-372; Gieseler, II. ii. 398. Henry IV. vainly forbade the abuse of deputy-advocates. *Ekkeh.* A.D. 1099. *Patrol.* cliv. 963.

<sup>f</sup> *E. g.* Conc. Rem. A.D. 1148, c. 6.

<sup>g</sup> See Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 141, 164.

<sup>h</sup> Arnold. *Lubec.* iii. 17 (see above, p. 110).

<sup>i</sup> See the accounts of the advocates of Altaich, in the diocese of Bamberg, Pertz, xviii. 373-6; Wibald, in *Patrol.* clxxxix. 1463; the complaint of the monks of Prüm to Henry V., in Martene, coll. *Ampl.* i. 595, seqq.

<sup>k</sup> Planck, IV. ii. 371.

<sup>m</sup> See Martene, *Coll. Ampl.* i. 598.

<sup>n</sup> *Ib.* 550-2, 595.

<sup>o</sup> Planck, IV. ii. 373.

<sup>p</sup> R. Hoveden, 339.

the emperor Frederick submitted to become truchsess or seneschal of Bamberg Cathedral, as the condition of obtaining certain lands to be held under it.<sup>a</sup>

By these exactions, and by the necessity of maintaining soldiers for their feuds,<sup>r</sup> the bishops were heavily burdened, and were frequently obliged to incur debts to a large amount.<sup>s</sup> They had lost their old control over the division of the church's income, and had now under their management only the lands assigned for their own maintenance;<sup>t</sup> and these they charged with their debts, to the impoverishment of the see. This practice, however, was forbidden by decrees of Conrad III., of Frederick I., and of Henry VI.<sup>u</sup>

The claims of sovereigns to the *Regale* and to the *Jus Exuviarum* excited much contention. By the first of these was meant the right to enjoy the income of vacant sees—a privilege which in Germany did not extend beyond one year, while in England it seems to have been limited only by the king's will; and both in France and in England, although perhaps not in Germany, to this was annexed the disposal of all patronage belonging to the vacant see.<sup>x</sup> The origin of this custom in France is traced to the circumstance that in the seventh and eighth centuries, when dukes or counts seized on the property of a vacant bishoprick, the king often intervened to rescue it from their hands; and hence arose the idea that the king himself, as chief advocate of the church, was entitled to the custody and the profits of vacant sees.<sup>y</sup> It is, however, uncertain at what time the claim was established in France. However it may have originated, the *regale* was now grounded on the feudal system, by which a vacant fief reverted to the liege lord, until again granted away by him.<sup>z</sup> By the *jus exuviarum* (or right of spoils), was meant the right to inherit the furniture and other property of deceased bishops. In early times, it had been held that a bishop might dispose by will of his inherited property, but that any savings out of his official income belonged to the church. Hence the money which was found in a bishop's coffers, and the furni-

<sup>a</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 131. Jocelin of Brakelond gives an amusing account of the manner in which Abbot Samson, of St. Edmund's Bury, dealt with the lay officers who had preyed on the abbey, pp. 18, 20, 48.

<sup>r</sup> Against this, see Gerhoh. de Ædif. Dei, 5-7.

<sup>s</sup> See, e.g., as to Hartwig of Ham-

burg, Arnold. Lubec. iii. 21.

<sup>t</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 366.

<sup>u</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 94-5, 194; Planck, IV., ii. 368.

<sup>x</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 79, 96-7.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 83-5.

<sup>z</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 86-93; Gieseler, II., ii. 264.



ture of the episcopal house, were usually shared among the clergy of his cathedral, and the successor, on taking possession of his residence, found nothing but bare walls.<sup>a</sup> It is easy to conceive that, in lawless ages, such opportunities of plunder attracted the rapacity of the nobles; and in the tenth century we find the council of Trosley, and Atto, bishop of Vercelli, complaining that, on a bishop's death, his goods became the prey of his powerful neighbours.<sup>b</sup> In this case, therefore, as in that of the *regale*, the intervention of kings for the prevention of worse evils became the foundation of a claim. In France and Germany, this privilege was fully established in the twelfth century,<sup>c</sup> and when Frederick I. defended it against Urban III., even the refractory archbishop Philip of Cologne admitted that the emperor's claim, although unbecoming, was not unjust.<sup>d</sup> In some cases the *jus exuviarum* belonged to the great vassals; and it was mutually exercised by the archbishops of Lyons and the bishops of Autun.<sup>e</sup> In England both the *regale* and the *jus exuviarum* were introduced by William Rufus, who abused his power very scandalously in this respect.<sup>f</sup>

In this age an attempt was made for the first time by the clergy to procure an exemption from taxation for secular purposes, such as contributions towards the national army. Urban II., at the council of Melfi, in 1089, enacted that the laity should not make any exaction from the clergy, either on account of their benefices, or of their inherited property; and that any clerk holding a possession under a layman, should either provide a deputy to discharge the duties connected with it or should give it up.<sup>g</sup> The object of this was to render the clergy entirely independent of the state, and it was natural that such a scheme should be strenuously opposed, not only by sovereigns, but by nobles, who saw that any burdens which might be thrown off by the clergy must necessarily fall on themselves.<sup>h</sup> The claim to exemption, therefore, could not be main-

<sup>a</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 101.

<sup>b</sup> Conc. Trosi. A.D. 909, c. 14; Atto de Pressuris Ecclesiasticis, 3 (Patrol. cxxxiv. 87); Planck, IV., ii. 103. In Baluze's *Miscellanea*, ii. 225, 8vo. ed., is a letter of Ermengaud, Count of Urgel, A.D. 1162, renouncing "horribilem illam et male consuetam rapinam," which his predecessors had exercised on the death of a bishop.

<sup>c</sup> See Planck, IV., ii., 105-6, 112-3; Gieseler, II., ii. 264; Herzog, art. *Spo-lieurecht*.

<sup>d</sup> "Etsi non injuste, indecenter tamen." Arnold. Lubec. iii. 17. See above, pp. 110-1.

<sup>e</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 89.

<sup>f</sup> Eadmer. Hist. Nov. l. 1. (Patrol. clix. 362); Will. Malmesb. Gesta Regum, § 314 (see above, vol. ii. p. 720 = 663). Planck seems to be clearly wrong in maintaining, against these ancient authorities, that the *regale* was introduced by William the Conqueror. IV., ii. 90.

<sup>g</sup> Can. 11.

<sup>h</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 168-173.

tained; and the third Lateran council contented itself with an anathema against the arbitrary and unequal manner in which the clergy had very commonly been assessed, as compared with other classes, in cases of taxation for public works or for maintenance of soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

But while the popes attempted to exempt the clergy from national and local imposts, they themselves taxed them very heavily, under the pretence of a war against the infidels, or for some other religious purpose, such as the maintenance of a pope in opposition to a rival claimant of the apostolic chair, or to an emperor who withstood his power.<sup>k</sup> The "Saladin's tithe" was at first resisted by the clergy and monks, on the ground that their prayers were their proper and sufficient contribution towards the holy cause; those who fight for the church, said Peter of Blois, ought rather to enrich her with the spoils of her enemies than to rob her.<sup>m</sup> But the popes enforced this tithe, and continued to exact it long after the necessity which gave rise to it had come to an end.<sup>n</sup>

(6.) The moral condition of the clergy in general during the twelfth century is very unfavourably represented, alike by zealous churchmen, such as Gerhoh of Reichersperg, by satirists, like Walter von der Vogelweide and the author of "Reynard the Fox,"<sup>o</sup> and by sober observers, such as John of Salisbury.<sup>p</sup> "The insolence of the clergy," says Bernard, "of which the negligence of the bishops is mother, everywhere disturbs and molests the church."<sup>q</sup> Among the causes of their deterioration may be mentioned the constant struggles between the popes and secular princes, the frequent internal troubles of kingdoms (such as the long anarchy of Stephen's reign in England), and the disorders produced by the Crusades.<sup>r</sup> Bishops also contributed not a little to the discredit of the clerical body by the growing abuse of ordaining clergy without a title.<sup>s</sup> Gerhoh speaks of many of these *acephali* as being very learned, but regards them as a sort

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Lat. A.D. 1179, c. 19. There is indeed a show of making the taxation voluntary, by the provision that it shall not be levied, "nisi episcopus et clerus tantam necessitatem vel utilitatem aspexerint, ut absque ulla coactione (*al. exactione*) ad relevandas communes necessitates, ubi laicorum non suppetunt facultates, subsidia per ecclesias existiment conferenda." See Planck, IV., ii. 188-9, 197-8.

<sup>k</sup> R. de Diceto, 574; Planck, IV., ii.

192-3, 379-381.

<sup>m</sup> Ep. 112 (Patrol. cevii. 337-8).

<sup>n</sup> See Gibbon, v. 495.

<sup>o</sup> See Jac. Grimm, Introduction to 'Reinhart Fuchs,' c. 12, Berlin, 1834.

<sup>p</sup> E. g. Joh. Sar. Polycrat. vii. 18-9. See other quotations and references in Theiner, ii. 390 seqq.; also Schröckh, xxvii. 159; Planck, II., ii. 303; Gieseler, II., ii. 288-291.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. 152.

<sup>r</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 303.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 313-4. See vol. ii. p. 514 (478).



of centaurs—neither clerks nor laymen—enjoying as they did the ecclesiastical privileges without being bound by ecclesiastical duties.<sup>t</sup> But it would seem that the great mass of them were chiefly distinguished, not for their learning, but for their disorderly and disreputable lives. Attempts were made to check the practice of ordination to the higher degrees, at least, without a title;<sup>u</sup> and with this view the third Lateran council enacted that any bishop who should ordain a priest or a deacon without a title should be bound to maintain him until he were provided with a maintenance from some church;<sup>x</sup> but this rule was open to many evasions—some bishops even frustrated it by requiring the candidate for ordination to swear that he would never become chargeable to them—and it proved utterly ineffectual.<sup>y</sup> Nor did any better success attend some attempts to keep the acephalous clerks in check by a revival of the ancient letters of communion.<sup>z</sup>

The encroachments of the popes on the power of the bishops had also a large share in producing the decay of discipline; for now that the popes held themselves entitled to interfere with every diocese, not only by receiving appeals, but by acting as judges in the first instance, the bishops were deterred from exercising discipline by the fear of a mandate from Rome, which might forbid them to judge or might reverse their sentence.<sup>a</sup>

As in earlier times, there are many complaints of lay-patronage;<sup>b</sup> of the employment of stipendiary chaplains, as exercised without the sanction of bishops, and tending to withdraw the clergy from episcopal superintendence;<sup>c</sup> of pluralities,<sup>d</sup> which grew to an enormous extent, so that, while the third Lateran council denounces the practice of accumulating six or more churches on one incumbent,<sup>e</sup> we are told that some clerks had as many as twenty or thirty,<sup>f</sup> and the preferments enjoyed by Becket while as yet only a deacon would seem to have exceeded

<sup>t</sup> In Psalm. lxiv. c. 29 (Patrol. cxciv.).

<sup>u</sup> *E. g.* Conc. Abrinc. A.D. 1172, c. 5. This, however, applies only to priestly ordination.

<sup>x</sup> Can. 5 (A.D. 1179). There is a remonstrance by Stephen, bishop of Tournay, against the attempt of a pope, within the last ten years of the century, to extend this rule to the inferior orders. Ep. 194, Patrol. cxi. See Nat. Alex. xiii. 336.

<sup>y</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 235; Planck, IV., ii. 342-4.

<sup>z</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 335-6.

<sup>a</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 305-8.

<sup>b</sup> *E. g.* Conc. Lat. A.D. 1179, cc. 14, 17; Planck, IV., ii. 312. Gerhoh would allow no patronage, except to bishops. De *Ædific. Dei*, 24.

<sup>c</sup> Conc. Melitan. A.D. 1089, c. 9; Conc. Turon. A.D. 1163, c. 5; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1131, c. 9; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1148, c. 10; Planck, IV., ii. 594.

<sup>d</sup> Bernard. Ep. 271; de Hon. et Officio Episcoporum, 27-9.

<sup>e</sup> CC. 13, 14. Cf. Alex. III. Ep. 1376; Luc. III. Ep. 92.

<sup>f</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 319.

even this ample measure.<sup>g</sup> But of all pluralists, in England and probably in the whole church, the most rapacious was John Mansel, who served Henry III. in the following century as chaplain, counsellor, judge, and soldier, and is said to have enjoyed seven hundred benefices, with an income of four thousand marks a year.<sup>h</sup>

The promotion of boys to ecclesiastical offices and dignities continued in defiance of all the protests of Bernard<sup>i</sup> and other eminent men,<sup>k</sup> and of frequent prohibitions by popes and councils;<sup>m</sup> some bishops, it is said, not only allowed nobles to thrust boys into spiritual preferments, but themselves made a profit of the abuse by pocketing the income during the incumbent's minority.<sup>n</sup> And, notwithstanding the war which Gregory VII. and his school had so rigorously waged against simony, the practice still continued.<sup>o</sup> As on the one hand the definition of simony became more refined, so that under this name were forbidden not only all payments for spiritual offices, but even fees for the lessons of cathedral and monastic schools,<sup>p</sup> so on the other hand the scholastic subtlety was more and more exercised in devising distinctions by which the condemnations of simony might be evaded.<sup>q</sup> While the popes professed a zeal for the suppression of this offence, they themselves were continually accused of it; some of them, indeed, are said to have so notoriously bought their office that they can be vindicated only by the desperate expedient of asserting that the pope cannot be guilty of simony.<sup>r</sup> And nothing could exceed the corruption of the Roman *curia*, which, in order that it might be equal to dealing with the increase of business that was referred to the pope, was newly organised with a staff of ravenous officials. The schemes of Gregory for delivering the Roman church from secular in-

<sup>g</sup> See his letter to Foliot, *Patrol.* exc. 605.

<sup>h</sup> M. Paris, 839. In consequence of his adhesion to Henry in his differences with the barons, Mansel's "career is said to have terminated in poverty and wretchedness." *Foss*, ii. 396.

<sup>i</sup> *De Moribus et Offic. Episcoporum*, 25-6; *Epp.* 290, 427 (*Patr.* clxxxii.). In *Ep.* 271 he refuses to use his influence in order to get preferment for a boy, a son of Count Theobald of Champagne.

<sup>k</sup> *Pet. Bles.* *Ep.* 60 (*ib.* cvii.).

<sup>m</sup> *E.g.* *Conc. Melfit.* A.D. 1089, c. 4; *Conc. Lat.* A.D. 1179, c. 3. *Conc. Abrinc.* A.D. 1172, c. 1; *Schröckh*, xxvii. 231-2.

<sup>n</sup> The only instance given by Thomassin (*I.*, i. 70-2), however, is that William of Newbridge relates this as to Roger of York, iii. 5 (*vol.* i. 224).

<sup>o</sup> See quotations and references in *Schröckh*, xxvii. 180-1; *Neand.* vii. 250-2.

<sup>p</sup> *Conc. Turon.* A.D. 1163, c. 4; *Conc. Abrinc.* A.D. 1172, cc. 3, 7, 8; *Conc. Lat.* A.D. 1179, cc. 7, 18.

<sup>q</sup> *Schröckh*, xxvii. 175.

<sup>r</sup> *Ib.* 181. See Launoy's '*Romanæ Ecclesiæ circa Simoniam Tractatio*' (*Opera*, xvii.), pp. 285-300, where he shows that the best authorities supposed the pope capable of simony.



fluence had resulted in the secularisation of the church itself.<sup>s</sup>

The secular occupations, amusements, and habits of the bishops and higher clergy were the subject of frequent complaint.<sup>t</sup> The German prelates in particular were so much involved in secular business—leading, for the most part, the lives of great nobles rather than of clergymen—that Cæsarius of Heisterbach reports a clerk of Paris as having on this account questioned their salvability.<sup>u</sup> In particular, the warlike propensities of bishops would seem to have become more rife than ever;<sup>x</sup> for now that the wars against the infidels had consecrated their military service in some cases, the justification of episcopal fighting was not unnaturally extended to other wars. The chroniclers describe with a mixture of admiration and reprobation the exploits of such prelates as Christian of Mentz, who, in full armour, appeared at the head of armies, and, after having in one battle slain nine men with his spiked club, arrayed himself on the following day in pontificals, and solemnly celebrated a mass of thanksgiving for the victory.<sup>y</sup> Reginald and Philip of Cologne,<sup>z</sup> Absalom of Lund,<sup>a</sup> and many other bishops, are celebrated for their warlike deeds; Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, attracted the admiration of the lion-hearted Richard himself by his prowess as a Crusader,<sup>b</sup> and after his return found exercise for his military talents in the feuds of his own country. And the story is well-known, how Richard, having taken prisoner Philip, count-bishop of Beauvais, met the pope's interference in behalf of the warlike prelate by sending to him Philip's coat of mail, with the scriptural quotation—"Know now whether it be thy son's coat or no."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 158-9; see Gieseler, II. 248-9; Neand. vii. 270-2.

<sup>t</sup> *E. g.* Bernard. de Moribus et Off. Episcoporum (Patrol. clxxxii. 815); Ep. 78; Pet. Bles. Ep. 84; R. de Diceto, 651.

<sup>u</sup> De Miraculis, ii. 18. Cf. Gerhoh, in Psalm. lxiv. 61, seqq.; De Ædific. Dei, 26 (Patrol. cxciv.); Schröckh, xxvii. 135-7; Neand. vii. 296.

<sup>x</sup> Schröckh gives many quotations against the warlike habits of bishops and clergy, xxvii. 170, seqq.

<sup>y</sup> Albert. Stad. A.D. 1172, in Pertz, xvi. 347. See a remarkable description of Christian in the same volume, p. 221 (Annales Stederburgenses).

<sup>z</sup> For Philip, see the Erfurt Annals, b. 24.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 160.

<sup>b</sup> Gervas. 1679.

<sup>c</sup> This is the version told by Matth. Paris, who adds that the pope answered, "This is no son of mine, nor son of peace; let him be ransomed at the king's pleasure, since he is not a soldier of Christ, but of Mars." (App. to Rog. Wendover, ed. Coxe, v. 138). According to others, the pope reproved the bishop severely, and refused to interfere (See Pauli, iii. 271-2; Diceto, 700). Jaffé regards the alleged letter of Celestine to the bishop (Hoveden, 438) as spurious. Philip was son of Robert of Dreux, brother of Louis VII. (Diceto, 700; Hoved. 456, b). He had been conspicuous in the crusade, had officiated at Conrad of Montferrat's third marriage, in defiance of Baldwin

(7.) Of all matters relating to the life and morals of the clergy, the question of marriage or celibacy continued to be the chief occasion of complaint and difficulty. The successors of Gregory VII., in endeavouring to carry on his policy in this respect, met with a long and obstinate resistance in many quarters, and as to some points they found themselves obliged to make concessions. Thus, whereas Gregory had forbidden the faithful to receive the eucharist at the hands of a married priest,<sup>d</sup> Paschal II., on being asked by Anselm of Canterbury whether a person in danger of death might receive from such a priest, replied that it was better to do so than to die without the viaticum; and he added that if a married priest, on being applied to in such circumstances, should refuse his ministry, on the ground of its having been formerly despised, he would be guilty of soul-murder.<sup>e</sup> In like manner, when the knights of the order of St. James asked Lucius III. whether they might frequent the churches of married priests, and how they should reconcile the command against attending the mass of such priests with the principle that the sin of the minister does not pollute the ordinances which he administers, the pope replied by distinguishing between notorious sins and those which are hidden or

of Canterbury's threat of excommunication (Vinisaufr. i. 29, 63), and had since made himself especially obnoxious to Richard, by dealing with the emperor for the aggravation of his imprisonment (Will. Neubr. v. 31). In consequence of having attempted to escape from prison by seizing the ring of a church-door, and crying out, "Pacem peto Dei et ecclesiæ," he was removed from his original place of confinement to Chinon for stricter custody (Hoved. 442); and all that Hubert of Canterbury could obtain for him, by much entreaty, was a lightening of his chains (Diceto, 700). Richard rejected a ransom of 10,000 silver marks which Philip offered; but after the king's death, a legate interdicted Normandy, on account of the detention of the bishop; and after a confinement of two years, he was released on paying 2000 marks to John, "pro expensis in ipso et per ipsum factis," and swearing to the legate that he would never again bear arms against Christians (Hoved. 449, 452). In 1202, an attempt was made to promote him to the archbishoprick of Reims; but the "postulation" was on appeal rejected by Pope Innocent (Ep. vi. 200; Cf. Anon. Laudun. in Bouq. xviii. 712). In 1210,

and again in 1215, Philip took part in the war against the Albigenses (Pet. Sarn. 41, 82), which, as having the character of a crusade, was not against his oath; but we also find him at war with the Count of Boulogne (Bouq. xvii. 86), and in 1214 distinguishing himself at the great battle of Bouvines, where he struck down William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, with his club, and took him prisoner,—

"utque tenebat  
Clavam forte manu, sic illum, dissimulato  
Prasule, percussit in summo vertice . . . .  
Sic plerosque alios clava sternebat eadem,  
Militibus super hoc titulum palmarumque resignans,  
Accusaretur operam ne forte sacerdos  
Gessisse illicitam, cui nunquam talibus Inter-  
esse licet, ne eade manus oculosque profanet.  
Non tamen est vetitum defendere seque suosque,  
Dum non excedat positos defensio fines."

—Will. Armor., Philippis, xi. 543, seqq.  
(Bouq. xvii.).

Philip died in 1217 (Art de Vérif. les Dates, xi. 463). Another bishop of Beauvais figures as a papal general in South Italy, A.D. 1231. Ric. Sangerm. in Murat. vii. 1027.

<sup>d</sup> See vol. ii., p. 616 (573).

<sup>e</sup> "Tanquam animarum homicidæ districtius puniantur." Ep. 64 (Patrol. clxiii.).



tolerated—telling them that, so long as the church bears with a priest, they might rightly receive the sacraments and other rites from him.<sup>f</sup>

With regard to the sons of priests, too, it was found necessary to deal more gently than the zealots for clerical celibacy would have wished.<sup>g</sup> There was, indeed, a steady endeavour to prevent the transmission of benefices from father to son: and with this view it was sometimes enacted that the sons of priests should not be ordained, unless they became either monks or regular canons;<sup>h</sup> sometimes, that they should not hold the same benefice with their fathers, or, at least, that they should not immediately succeed them.<sup>i</sup> But even these prohibitions allow the ordination of the sons of priests under certain restrictions; and even such a pope as Alexander III. was always ready to deal tenderly with such cases.<sup>k</sup> In 1161, Richard Peche, the son of a bishop of Coventry, was appointed to succeed his father in the see; and the chronicler Ralph de Diceto, in relating the fact, takes occasion to cite the opinion of Ivo of Chartres, that the sons of priests, if their own life be respectable, are not to be excluded from any ecclesiastical office, even up to the papacy itself.<sup>m</sup>

Notwithstanding the many prohibitions of marriage to persons in the higher orders of the ministry, the decree of the Lateran council, in 1123, is said to have been the first that dissolved such marriages.<sup>n</sup> In the following year, John of Crema, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, held a council at Westminster, where he severely denounced the marriage of the clergy, and a canon was enacted against it; but it is said that on the evening of the same day the cardinal was detected in company with a prostitute, and that he was obliged to leave England in disgrace.<sup>o</sup> In 1127, Archbishop William of Canter-

<sup>f</sup> Patrol. cci. 1377.

<sup>g</sup> Theiner, ii. 326-7, 334.

<sup>h</sup> Conc. Namnet., A.D. 1127 (Hard. VI., ii. 1128); Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1139, c. 21.

<sup>i</sup> Conc. Namnet. l. c.; Conc. Rem., A.D. 1131, c. 15; Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1139, c. 16; Conc. Abrinc., A.D. 1172, c. 2; Innocent II., Ep. 51 (Patrol. clxxix.); Lucius II., Ep. 94 (ib.); Alex. III., ap. Baluz. Miscell. iii. 374-9.

<sup>k</sup> *E. g.* Epp. 886, 1134 (Patrol. cc.); Alex. ap. Foliot, ed. Giles, Epp. 346, 361-2, 368; ap. Gregor. IX. Decret. l. I. tit. 20, c. 2.

<sup>m</sup> P. 529. Cf. Ivon. Carnot. 'Panormia,' iii. 52-3 (Patrol. clxi.).

<sup>n</sup> C. 21; Gieseler, II., ii. 283.

<sup>o</sup> For the council, see Symeon Dunelm. in Twysden, 253, or Wilkins, i. 408. The story of the cardinal's delinquency is told by Henry of Huntingdon (l. vii., Patrol. cxev. 950); by Rog. Hoveden (274); John of Peterborough (A.D. 1125, in Sparke); Rog. Wendover (ii. 205), and others (see Theiner, ii. 315). Henry of Huntingdon says, "Quod si alicui Romano vel praelato displicuerit, taceat tamen, ne Joannem Cremensem sequi velle videatur." Baronius, however, is very angry (1125, 12), and Lingard denies the truth of the story, as having no other contemporary witness than Henry of Huntingdon (ii. 46). The Winchester annals (in Wharton, i. 298)

bury sent forth some strong prohibitions of marriage;<sup>p</sup> but the practice still maintained a struggle in England. In 1129, Henry I., reverting to an expedient for raising money which he had attempted in the primacy of Anselm,<sup>a</sup> imprisoned the housekeepers<sup>r</sup> (who were supposed to be also the wives or concubines) of many of the London clergy, whom he compelled to pay heavily for their liberation;<sup>s</sup> and it appears that, both in England and elsewhere, even bishops licensed the cohabitation of the clergy with their wives on condition of an annual payment.<sup>t</sup> The continued marriage of the English clergy is mentioned in many letters of Alexander III.;<sup>u</sup> and among other evidence of it may be mentioned that of Giraldus Cambrensis, who states that among the parish priests of England the keeping of *focariæ* was usual, and that the canons of St. David's—especially such of them as were Welshmen—were notorious for their irregularities in this respect, filling the precincts of their cathedral with concubines, midwives, children, and nurses, connecting their families with each other by intermarriage, and transmitting their benefices by inheritance.<sup>x</sup> He tells us also that the like customs prevailed among the kindred people of Brittany.<sup>y</sup>

In Normandy we are told that in the beginning of the twelfth century the priests celebrated their marriages publicly, that they left their benefices to their sons, and sometimes provided in a

say nothing of John's misconduct in London, but tell an improbable story as to an affair with a niece of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham. Inett (ii. 159) argues that John must have been a person of bad character, because St. Bernard (Ep. 163) congratulates him on his "penitentiam et conversionem;" but this may rather refer to his having left the antipope's party (Ciacon. i. 919). Foliot speaks of him in terms which seem inconsistent with Huntingdon's story, but which are still more opposed to the unanimous testimony of historians as to his pride, assumption, and rapacity in the character of legate (Ep. 194, Patrol. exc. 902). According to Matthew of Westminster (A.D. 1125) he had the effrontery to excuse his misbehaviour by saying that he was "not a priest, but a corrector of priests." But, as Chacon observes, St. Chrysogonus is the title of a cardinal priest (1 c.); and moreover, Henry of Huntingdon says that on the very day of his detection he had consecrated the eucharist.

<sup>p</sup> Cc. 5-7. <sup>a</sup> Vol. ii., p. 736 (677).

<sup>r</sup> "Focariæ," from *focus*, a fire.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Sax., A.D. 1129; R. de Diceto, 506; Fuller, i. 304.

<sup>t</sup> Rupert. Tuit. in Apocal. c. 2 (Patrol. clxix. 879, A); Planck, IV., ii. 331; Gieseler, II., ii. 286. Theiner, however, is misled by a misreading of "*matrimonia*" for "*patrimonia*," when he quotes John of Poitiers (Patrol. exc. 1023, D) as evidence that in Becket's primacy the marriage of clergy was licensed for a payment in England. ii. 383.

<sup>u</sup> See Theiner, ii. 373-6, 378-9. In the 'Rotuli Curie Regis,' published by the Record commission, is a case, A.D. 1194, by which it appears that the living of Dunston, in Norfolk, had until then descended from father to son (i. 37-8, and Sir F. Palgrave's Preface, 28-31; Hallam, Supplem. Notes, 193).

<sup>x</sup> Girald. Camb. ap. Wharton, i. 525; ed. Brewer, ii. 228. Henry II., in complaining of the usurpations of the monks and clergy, said, "Tolerabile malum videretur, si singuli suas mulierculas observarent, et saltem thorum non invaderent alienum, nec aliis filios generarent." Gervas. Dorob. 1595.

<sup>y</sup> Ap. Wharton, ii. 450.



like manner for the portioning of their daughters.<sup>z</sup> Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, in endeavouring to enforce on his province the prohibitions of marriage enacted by the council of Reims, in 1119, was violently assaulted, as his predecessor John had been for a similar attempt in the pontificate of Gregory,<sup>a</sup> and his life was in danger in a serious tumult which ensued.<sup>b</sup>

In Spain, where the marriage of the clergy had been tolerated before the submission of the church to Rome, the legitimacy of their children was sanctioned by Paschal II.<sup>c</sup> Didacus (Diego), archbishop of Compostella, endeavoured to enforce the new regulations, but in this and in his other attempts at discipline he met with obstinate resistance.<sup>d</sup>

In Germany, the last place which retained clerical marriage was Liége, where, as we have seen,<sup>e</sup> the practice had been defended by the pen of Sigebert of Gemblours. Even so late as 1220 the canons celebrated their nuptials "like laymen," and are said to have paraded their wives in a strange and hardly credible manner.<sup>f</sup>

In Hungary, which was affected by the neighbourhood of the Greek church, a council of spiritual and temporal dignitaries, in 1092, forbade the second marriage of priests,—a prohibition which implies that a single marriage was regarded as lawful; and on this footing the matter rested in that country until after the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>g</sup> The imperfectly organised church of Poland was for a long time untouched by Gregory's reforms; the clergy married into the families of the nobles, and even till the thirteenth century their benefices were often hereditary.<sup>h</sup> The earliest attempt to enforce celibacy in Denmark was made in 1123, but was ineffectual.<sup>i</sup> Even the influence of Breakspear, as legate, was unable to establish the system in the northern kingdoms. Eskil of Lund, and other eminent bishops, were themselves married.<sup>k</sup> The apprehension of evils which might arise from the compulsory celibacy of the

<sup>z</sup> Gaufrid. Vita Bernardi Tiron. 51 (Patrol. clxxiii.). An argument by an "Anonymus Rothomagensis," in favour of clerical marriage, is printed in Bp. Hall's works, ix. 292, seqq., ed. P. Hall, and in Brown's 'Fasciculus,' ii. 166.

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii., p. 618.

<sup>b</sup> Order. Vital. xii. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 57 (Patrol. clxxiii.).

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Compostell. iii. 46, seqq. (Patrol. clxx.). See Theiner, ii. 347.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. ii., p. 616.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leod. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 1085; Gesta Pontif. Leod. in Bouq. xiii. 615-6; Theiner, ii. 351-2.

<sup>g</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 189-190, 202-3; Planck, IV., ii. 325; Gieseler, II., ii. 285.

<sup>h</sup> Roepell, i. 337; Gieseler, II., ii. 285.

<sup>i</sup> Dahlmann, i. 238; Münter, ii. 1033.

<sup>k</sup> Münter, ii. 1033-7.

clergy was, as we have seen,<sup>m</sup> among the causes which produced a formidable outbreak in the end of the century. It appears from a letter of Innocent III.<sup>n</sup> that the Swedish clergy professed to have a papal sanction for their marriage; and the practice continued into the thirteenth century.<sup>o</sup> In the remote island of Iceland the license for marriage or concubinage of the clergy took a peculiar form—a payment to the bishop on the birth of every child.<sup>p</sup>

While the legislation of the church was steady in the direction of suppressing the marriage of the clergy, it is remarkable that some of the most eminent writers were very moderate in their opinions on the subject.<sup>q</sup> Thus Gratian, although he takes the view which the church had sanctioned in his time, yet allows the greater freedom of earlier times to be fully represented in his digest of the ecclesiastical laws.<sup>r</sup> Peter Comestor, a great authority of the age, is said by his pupil Giraldus Cambrensis to have publicly taught at Paris that the devil had never so much circumvented the church as in enforcing the vow of celibacy; that, although nothing less than a general council could set the clergy free in this matter, there is nothing in Scripture to forbid marriage; and that Alexander III. would have rescinded the law but for the opposition of his secretary, who afterwards became Gregory VIII.<sup>s</sup> And while, in the following century, Thomas of Aquino declares the celibacy of the secular clergy to be merely of human institution,<sup>t</sup> and differs from the zealots of celibacy in regarding secret marriage as less culpable than unchastity,<sup>u</sup> the younger Durandus frankly owns the futility of all repressive measures, and suggests that it might

<sup>m</sup> P. 160.

<sup>n</sup> xvi. 118.

<sup>o</sup> See Gieseler, II., ii. 285; Münter, ii. 1037; Theiner, ii. 504, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 199; Planck, IV., ii. 332.

<sup>q</sup> Schröckh's quotations from St. Bernard (xxix. 201) do not, however, seem to warrant us in reckoning him among these. In one place, Bernard only says that it would be better to keep out of the clerical order than to disgrace it by unchastity (*De Conversione*, 20); in another, he uses arguments against the Catharist prohibition of marriage in general, which would equally apply to the Hildebrandine prohibition of clerical marriage (*Serm.* 66 in *Cantica* c. 3.); but it does not follow that he would have admitted this application. Much the same may be said as to two others of Schröckh's

witnesses, Rupert of Deutz (in *Apocal.* ii. *Patrol.* clxix. 868-9) and Bonaventura (In IV. *Sentent.* xxxvii. art. 1. qu. 3). Their language shows the weakness of the cause; but they were among the defenders of that cause.

<sup>r</sup> *Dist.* xxvi.-xxvii. lvi.; *Causa*, xxvii., &c. In *Causa* xxvii. qu. 1. c. 40, after quoting the Lateran Canon of 1139 for the separation of the married, he goes on to cite St. Augustine for the opposite view.

<sup>s</sup> Girald. *Gemma Ecclesiæ*, ii. 6.

<sup>t</sup> *Summa Theol. Sec. Secundæ*, qu. 88, art. 11 (c. iii. 683-4, ed. Migne).

<sup>u</sup> Quoted by Flacius Illyricus, *Catal. Testium*, 1639, ed. 1608. I have been unable (as seems also to have been the case with Theiner, ii. 501, and Gieseler, II., ii. 286) to verify the passage in the 'Summa' by Flacius' reference.



be expedient to return to the practice of the early church, as it was still maintained among the Greeks.<sup>x</sup>

(8.) Among the clergy who were charged with irregularity of life, none were more conspicuous than the canons of cathedrals;<sup>y</sup> and the rise of this class in dignity and importance made their ill example the more mischievous. Ever since the ninth century, canons had endeavoured to get into their own hands the independent management of their property; and in this they had generally been successful.<sup>z</sup> The common table and dormitory, which had been parts of the original institution, had fallen into disuse, so that, if the canons ate together on any occasion, it was not in order to fulfil their rule, but to enjoy the extraordinary cheer of a festival.<sup>a</sup> The canons had become proud, luxurious, ostentatious in affecting the fashions of the world as to dress and habits, and utterly neglectful of their ecclesiastical duties, which were in part devolved on hired substitutes.<sup>b</sup> Preferment of this kind was coveted by noble, and even princely, families, as a stepping-stone for their members towards higher dignities, and as affording a comfortable income in the mean time. Not only was illegitimate or servile birth regarded as a disqualification,<sup>c</sup> but in many cases it was required that the canons should be noble by descent on one side, at least, if not (as at Strasburg) on both. Any who without this qualification were appointed by papal provisions, were regarded with contempt by the rest; and sometimes a chapter ventured to withstand even the authority of a pope in defence of its exclusive restrictions.<sup>d</sup> In some cases, canonries became hereditary in families.<sup>e</sup>

The canons were no longer content to be styled *brethren*, but were now addressed as *domini*.<sup>f</sup> The elder among them de-

<sup>x</sup> 'De modo celebrandi Concilii Generalis' (A.D. 1311), quoted by Gieseler, II., ii. 288. Gieseler remarks the tone of disapproval which runs through the accounts given by H. Huntingdon, M. Paris, and T. Walsingham, of the measures for enforcing celibacy. 284.

<sup>y</sup> See Theiner, ii. 368; Neand. vii. 285.

<sup>z</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 568. See vol. ii. p. 512 (476).

<sup>a</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 229. The bill of fare on All Saints' Day, 1270, for the canons of Bamberg, in Schmidt, iii. 268-9, however, looks poor beside Giraldu's description of the dinner which he enjoyed with the monks of Canterbury on Trinity Sunday a century earlier. De

Rebus a se Gestis, i. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Bern. Ep. ii. 11; Gerhoh, in Ps. 64, sect. 35 (who says that nuns justified their own irregularities by alleging those of the canons); Schröckh, xxvii. 229; Neand. vii. 285-6. Planck, IV., ii. 469. See the article *Gerhoh*, in Herzog.

<sup>c</sup> Alex. III. Ep. 1366, approves of this rule for St. Martin's at Tours.

<sup>d</sup> Ivo, Ep. 126 (Patrol. clxii.); Schröckh, xxvii. 228-9; Schmidt, iii. 265-6; Raumer, vi. 25-6. Nobility seems to have been then understood rather in the modern English sense than in the wider sense of modern Germany. Schmidt, iii. 265.

<sup>e</sup> Hildebert. Ep. ii. 29 (Patrib. 171).

<sup>f</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 226.

pressed the younger, whom they treated as an inferior class—curtailing their share of the revenues, and in some cases even exacting homage from them.<sup>g</sup> Now that they had got the election of bishops into their hands, the canons made terms beforehand with the future bishop, and, in addition to much individual jobbery, they very commonly extorted from him the right of appointing to places in their own chapter, and to other offices in the church.<sup>h</sup> They affected great independence of the bishops; they attended councils; they claimed all the administration of dioceses, and even of provinces, during the vacancy of sees; and in all their assumptions they were generally supported by their powerful family connections.<sup>i</sup>

The difficulties occasioned by the degeneracy of the canons are the subject of continual papal letters.<sup>k</sup> Many attempts were made to recal them to the practice of living in common, and to their other ecclesiastical duties;<sup>m</sup> while some bishops and princes, regarding such attempts as hopeless, ejected the secular canons, and planted in their stead either monks, or canons of the class which was styled regular,<sup>n</sup> and which was distinguished from the seculars chiefly by the renunciation of all individual property.<sup>o</sup> In Germany, the seculars had such strength that the only course for reforming bishops was to leave them in possession, and to found new societies of canons, on a more rigid footing.<sup>p</sup>

## II. *Monasticism—Religious Associations.*

(1.) The twelfth century saw the rise of several new orders, in addition to those which have been already described. Among them was that of the Carmelites, founded by Berthold, a native of Calabria, who about the year 1180, settled on Mount Carmel

<sup>g</sup> Paschal II. Ep. 149 (Patrol. clxiii.); Planck, IV., ii. 572.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 229; Planck, IV., ii. 577.

<sup>i</sup> Schröckh, l. c.; Planck, 575-6; Bernard. Epp. 164-172, as to the canons of Lyons taking part in the election of a bishop for Langres; Calixt. II. Ep. 262 (Patrol. clxvi.).

<sup>k</sup> *E. g.* Alex. III. Epp. 469, 470, 559, 579, 591, 688-9, 911, 921, 925, 1074, 1148, 1284, 1289, 1318, 1337, 1348, 1350, 1389, 1502, &c.

<sup>m</sup> *E. g.* Adrian. IV., Ep. 179 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Ep. 17 ad Eugen. III. (Patrol. clxxx.); Schröckh, xxvii. 224-5. See the remonstrance of Stephen, abbot of Ste.

Geneviève at Paris (afterwards bishop of Tournay) against a threatened relaxation of the canonical life at Reims. Ep. 141, Patrol. cexi.

<sup>n</sup> *E. g.* Chron. Anon. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 679.

<sup>o</sup> See vol. ii., p. 774 (708); Order. Vital. xiii. 3 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Schröckh, xxvii. 224-6; Gieseler, II., ii. 281-2. Gerhoh speaks of the rule drawn up for canons under Louis the Pious (see vol. ii., p. 213 = 200) as a worldly and courtly rule, and expresses a hope to see them all supplanted by regulars (Patrol. exciv. 20-2, 82, 94, 1382).

<sup>p</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 570.



—a place to which, from the fourth century downwards, many recluses had been drawn by its connection with the prophet Elijah.<sup>a</sup> But in later times, the Carmelites, disdaining to acknowledge Berthold as their founder, professed to trace themselves up to Elijah himself, through a line which included the Rechabites and some of the Old Testament prophets; and, whereas their oldest rule was really given by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1209,<sup>r</sup> they pretended to reckon among their legislators St. Basil, in the fourth century, and John of Jerusalem, the contemporary of St. Jerome.<sup>s</sup> These pretensions led, in the seventeenth century, to a fierce controversy between the Carmelites—chiefly those of Flanders—and the Bollandist writers, who maintained the truth of history; and the war was carried on not only in learned volumes, but in satirical pamphlets.<sup>t</sup> Innocent XII., in 1698, in accordance with a decision of the Congregation of the Index, attempted to allay the quarrel by imposing silence on both parties under pain of excommunication;<sup>u</sup> but Benedict XIII. afterwards countenanced the pretensions of the Carmelites, by allowing a statue of Elijah to be erected in St. Peter's, among those of the great founders of monachism.<sup>x</sup>

On the expulsion of the Latins from the Holy Land, the Carmelites, who professed to have been warned by the Blessed Virgin to quit their mountain, acquired settlements in Europe, and it is said (although, perhaps, with exaggeration), that at one time they possessed 7500 monasteries, with upwards of 180,000 members.<sup>y</sup> The original rule of the order was very rigid; but on leaving Carmel, they petitioned Innocent IV. for a mitigation of it, on the ground that they were no longer hermits. The pope, accordingly, relaxed it in some respects, in 1247; and in the fifteenth century, further relaxations were granted. In consequence of this, the order was divided into two branches—the strictest being styled *Barefooted* or *Obser-*

<sup>a</sup> Anon. Carthus. de Religionum Origine, c. 28, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi.; Jac. Vitriac. p. 1075; Fuller, 'Holy War,' 76; Schröckh, xxvii. 370, 374; Gieseler, II., ii. 301. See as to a book on the Carmelites, Smith, Dict. of Biogr. ii. 597, col. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Alb. Butler, April 8; Mosh. ii. 462; Schröckh, xxvii. 375. It is in Holstenius, ed. Brockie, iii. 19-20.

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, x. 111; xxvii. 375, 385;

Holst. ed. Brockie, iii. 18.

<sup>t</sup> Papebroch and Henschen, the authors of the 'Acta Sanctorum' for April, were the chief opponents of the Carmelites. See Schröckh, xxvii. 369-372.

<sup>u</sup> Helyot, i. 282, 295-9; Mosh. ii. 462. Helyot, while affecting to defer to the pope's order, shows that his conviction is against the Carmelites. i. 299-300.

<sup>x</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 373.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 378.

*vants*, while those who adopted the milder rule were known as *Shod* or *Conventuals*.<sup>z</sup>

Another order of this time (which has already been mentioned on account of the confusion which its name has sometimes produced between it and the Waldensian sectaries), was that of the *Humiliati*, which seems to have been confined to Lombardy. The origin of this order is traced to some Milanese who were carried off into Germany by an emperor,<sup>a</sup> but were afterwards allowed to return to Milan. In their exile, they adopted a strict manner of life, and supported themselves by cloth-weaving; and this occupation was afterwards continued among them—their skill in the art being famous, and much of their cloth being given to the poor.<sup>b</sup> To the secular men and women of whom the society at first consisted, was afterwards added an order of monks and nuns; and about 1140, John of Meda completed the organisation by the addition of an order of priests.<sup>c</sup> The institution was confirmed by Innocent III., who, in 1201, provided it with a rule mainly derived from that of St. Benedict,<sup>d</sup> and its members were distinguished for their charitable labours. In the course of centuries, however, the *Humiliati* showed the usual degeneracy. An attempt of St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, to reform them provoked a violent uproar, so that his life was even in danger; and in consequence of this the order was abolished by Pius V., in 1571.<sup>e</sup>

Among the other orders of the twelfth century, may be named that of Fiore, which has been already mentioned in connexion with its founder Joachim;<sup>f</sup> and the English order of Sempringham founded by Gilbert, after whom the members—male and female—were very commonly called Gilbertines.<sup>g</sup>

(2.) The new orders, being founded in a spirit of reaction from the laxity of those which before existed, were likely to excite the rivalry of their elders; and this rivalry was especially shown in France between the Cistercians and the Cluniacs. The contrast between the black dress of Cluny and the white dress of Cîteaux, was enough to proclaim to the monks at sight the difference of their orders; and, while the Cistercians were not

<sup>z</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 376.

<sup>a</sup> Tiraboschi, who has written a history of the order in 3 vols. 4to., supposes this to have happened under Henry II., in 1014 (i. 19). Helyot dates it in 1117, under Henry V.

<sup>b</sup> Tirab. i. 26; ii. 157, 164.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. i. 28, 56, 67; ii. 57; Schröckh, xxvii. 517.

<sup>d</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 517.

<sup>e</sup> Butler's Lives of the Saints, ii. 813; Ranke's Hist. of the Popes, transl. by Mrs. Austin, ed. 2, i. 375-8.

<sup>f</sup> P. 207.

<sup>g</sup> The date is variously given as 1131 and 1148. See Holst. ed. Brockie, t. ii.; Monast. Angl. VI., pt. 2. W. Neubrig, i. 16; Helyot, ii. 188.



slow to tax the Cluniacs with degeneracy, these retorted by charges of vanity and presumption against the younger order.<sup>h</sup> Hence, about the year 1125, a discussion took place between Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable of Cluny—each the chief ornament of his order, each respecting the other,<sup>i</sup> and both free from the more vulgar feelings by which many of their partisans were animated.<sup>k</sup> Bernard wrote his ‘Apology’ at the suggestion of William, abbot of St. Thierry, a Cluniac, with a view of satisfying those who complained of the Cistercians as detractors.<sup>m</sup> In the outset, he is very severe on such of his own brethren as had indulged in censoriousness on the alleged laxity of the Cluniacs. As men differ in character, he says, so a corresponding difference of usages may be lawful;<sup>n</sup> pride and censoriousness are evidences of a want of charity far worse than the slight indulgences which it attacks.<sup>o</sup> He professes a high regard for the order of Cluny, and says that he had always dissuaded those who wished to forsake it for the Cistercian order.<sup>p</sup> But from this, Bernard goes on to blame the Cluniacs for their disobedience to the rule of St. Benedict. While admitting the lawfulness of dispensations, he holds that the secular manner of life which prevails in some monasteries is such as no dispensation can warrant.<sup>q</sup> Many of the monks, although young and vigorous, pretend sickness, that they may be allowed to eat flesh; and those who abstain from flesh indulge their palate without limit, by exquisite varieties of cookery,<sup>r</sup> while, in order

<sup>h</sup> Exord. Cisterc. in Patrol. clxxxv. 1005-7; Herbert. de Miraculis, ib. 1322. See the curious metrical dialogue, ‘De Clarevallensibus et Cluniacensibus,’ in Mapes, ed. Wright, 237-242; and another Dialogue, in Martene, Thes. v.

<sup>i</sup> See e. g. Bern., Epp. 264-5, 387-9.

<sup>k</sup> See Mabill. Annal. vi. 74-6; Radulf. Niger, ed. Anstruther, 96.

<sup>m</sup> Præfat. (Patrol. clxxxii. 897). Bernard had kept out of the see of Langres a Cluniac monk, against whom he had (wrongly, as Peter affirms,) taken up reports. Bern. Epp. 164-8; Pet. Ep. i. 29; Morison, b. ii., c. 4. William of St. Thierry afterwards became a Cistercian. See p. 39.

<sup>n</sup> Apol. 6; Cf. De Gradibus Superbia, 42; in Cantica, Serm. xxxiii. 10.

<sup>o</sup> “Repleti ventrem faba, mentem superbia, cibus damnamus saginatos.” Apol. 12; Cf. 1-2, 10-1; De Præcepto et Dispens. 16.

<sup>p</sup> Apol. 4. When, however, one of his own nephews had left the Cistercians

for the Cluniacs, Bernard rebuked him as having fled from strictness to luxury (Ep. 1); and in another case, where an abbot had complained of the admission of one of his monks at Clairvaux, Bernard showed much of the superciliousness and evasiveness to which popular religious leaders are too commonly prone (Epp. 67-8; Cf. Ep. 395). At a later time, the Cistercians made agreements with other orders—as the Carmelites—not to receive accessions from them. E. g. Statut. A.D. 1274, Mart. Thes. iv. 1441.

<sup>q</sup> Apol. 16.

<sup>r</sup> E. g. “Quis enim dicere sufficit, quot modis (ut cætera taceam) sola ova versantur et vexantur, quanto studio evertuntur, subvertuntur, liquantur, durantur, diminuantur; et nunc quidem frixa, nunc assa, nunc farsa, nunc mixtim, nunc sigillatim apponuntur?” (20.) The General Chapter of Cîteaux, in 1152, orders, “Qui in domibus nigrorum monachorum scienter sagimen comederint,

to provoke the appetite, they drink largely of the strongest and most fragrant wines, which are often rendered yet more stimulant by spices.<sup>s</sup> At table, instead of grave silence, light worldly gossip, jests, and idle laughter prevail.<sup>t</sup> The Cluniacs have coverlets of fur or other rich and variegated materials for their beds; they dress themselves in the costliest furs, in silk, and in cloth fine enough for royal robes;<sup>u</sup> and a ludicrous picture is drawn of a Cluniac choosing the stuff for his cowl with feminine care and fastidiousness.<sup>w</sup> This excessive care for the body, says Bernard, is a consequence of the neglect of mental culture.<sup>x</sup> But even more than for their personal luxury, he taxes the Cluniacs for the excessive splendour of their worship, and for the unsuitable magnificence of their buildings. The walls of their churches are adorned, while the poor are left in nakedness; the pictures distract the mind, instead of raising it to devotion; and the monstrous and grotesque carvings which abound, are altogether unfit for a religious house. The chandeliers and tree-like candlesticks are of vast labour and cost, and are set with jewels; the pavements are inlaid with figures of saints and angels, which in such a position cannot escape irreverent usage; the sight of the golden shrines in which the relics are encased, fattens the eyes and unlooses the purse-strings of beholders. Such things, he says, might be allowable in churches intended for lay worshippers, whose carnal minds may need them; but for monks, who have renounced the delights of the senses, they are incongruous and unseemly.<sup>y</sup> Bernard also blames the Cluniacs for their exemption from episcopal authority, and for appropriating the tithes of parish-churches; and he denounces the pomp of many abbots, who, for a slight journey, took with them baggage enough for a campaign—especially of one whom he had seen travelling with sixty horses, and a train sufficient for two bishops.<sup>z</sup>

septem sextis feriis in pane et aqua jejunabunt" (c. 9, in Martene, *Thes.* iv. 1245). Cf. *Capit. Gen.*, A.D. 1180, c. 4, ib. 1252.

<sup>s</sup> "Pigmenta," 21.

<sup>t</sup> Bern. *Apol.* 19.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. 24.

<sup>w</sup> "Cucullam empturus, lustras urbes, fora circuis, percurris nundinas, domos scrutaris negotiatorum, cunctam evertis singulorum suppellectilem, ingentes explicas cumulos pannorum, attrectas digitis, admoves oculis, solis apponis radios; quicquid grossum, quicquid pallidum occurrerit, respuis; si quid autem sui puritate ac nitore placuerit, illud mox quantolibet pretio satagis tibi retinere." 26.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 27.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 28-30. The splendour of the Cluniacs, whose mother-church, begun in 1089 and dedicated in 1131, was the largest ever erected in France (Ferguson, 653-4), brought their finances into difficulties, from which they were extricated by the care of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who took refuge at Cluny in his exile. *Patrol.* clxxxix. 189.

<sup>z</sup> *Apol.* 27. This is supposed to mean Suger, see above, p. 63. Robert of Mount St. Michel says that, among other reforms, William, who had been abbot of Ramsey, and in 1179 became abbot of Cluny, reduced a prior who had



Peter's defence of his order, written in 1143, although addressed to Bernard, is not a reply to his tract, but to the Cistercian charges in general.<sup>a</sup> He taxes the Cistercians with breach of the charity inculcated by their rule, and speaks of their white dress as a blameable singularity, whereas the black of the older orders was suitable as a symbol of sadness.<sup>b</sup> He justifies, as far as possible, the Cluniac departure from the letter of the Benedictine rule, which, he says, is beyond what the men of his day could bear;<sup>c</sup> and he adds that the Cistercians sin against charity by the severity of their discipline, which often drives monks to forsake the order, or renders them discontented, and impairs their health.<sup>d</sup> The use of furs and other such materials in dress and bedding, and the abatement of the precepts as to fasting, he excuses under the allowance which the Benedictine rule made for diversities of climate, and of the discretion which it vested in the abbot; moreover, as coats of skins were given to Adam and Eve, not for pride but for shame, the use of furs might serve to remind us that we are exiles from our heavenly country.<sup>e</sup> If the Cluniacs have lands, they are kinder to their tenants than lay landowners; if they have serfs, it is because they could not but accept them with the lands to which they were attached; if they get possession of castles, they turn them into houses of prayer.<sup>f</sup> They may rightly possess tolls, since it was only from the injustice of the toll-gatherer's trade that St. Matthew was called; if tithes were given to the Levites because they had no inheritance, they may rightly be given to monks, who have forsaken all earthly possessions; and if they are given to clerks for their pastoral care, why not to monks for their prayers, their tears, their alms, and their other good works for the benefit of men?<sup>g</sup> As manual labour was prescribed by St. Benedict by way of a remedy against idleness, it is needless when idleness may be avoided by other means; and for men who are weak from the nature of their diet, prayer, study, psalmody, and spiritual labours are more suitable than the works of husbandry.<sup>h</sup> The Benedictine precepts as to receiving strangers and washing their feet could not be literally performed without inconvenience and grievous

been used to travel with forty horses, to three. Patrol. clx. 532.

<sup>a</sup> Pet. Ep. i. 28; printed also in Bernard's works, Ep. 228. Ep. iv. 17 is much the same. See Mabillon, in Patrol. clxxxii. 898; also Pet. vi. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Patrol. clxxxix. 116.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 154-5.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 157. See above, p. 10. Bernard, however, sometimes advised those who could not bear the Cistercian rigour to go into other orders. Epp. 408, 442.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 121, 124-5, 128.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 143-6.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 115, 141-2, 146.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 144-5.

waste of time; but they are observed in spirit.<sup>1</sup> And whereas the Cluniacs had been censured for being under no bishops, they have the truest and holiest bishop of all, the bishop of Rome, while they have the privilege of obtaining episcopal offices from any bishop of their own choice.<sup>k</sup>

The rivalry between Cluny and Cîteaux was exasperated by the circumstance that the general exemption of the Cistercians from tithes<sup>m</sup> affected some lands which had formerly paid tithes to the Cluniacs; and from this collisions frequently arose. In one of these quarrels, the Cluniacs burnt down a Cistercian monastery;<sup>n</sup> and the enmity of the two orders outlived both Peter and Bernard.

It would seem that Bernard's "Apology," written soon after the scandals which the misconduct of Abbot Pontius had occasioned among the Cluniacs,<sup>o</sup> contributed to suggest the important reforms which Peter effected in his order.<sup>p</sup> But the Cistercians themselves, although they continued to find eulogists,<sup>q</sup> although their salvation was declared by visions,<sup>r</sup> and although for a time their order was the refuge of spirits which sought a rigid discipline,<sup>s</sup> began early to show symptoms of decline. A prophetess of Lorraine, in 1153, addressed to them a letter on their decay in zeal and love.<sup>t</sup> The records of their general chapters contain many significant notices; thus, in 1181, it is said that some monasteries had run into debt by purchasing wine;<sup>u</sup> in 1182, it appears that their rule had been broken by the introduction of painted windows into churches;<sup>x</sup> in 1191, the chapter endeavours to take measures for the removal of the imputations of greediness which had been fixed on the Cistercians.<sup>y</sup> Alexander III. found it necessary to reprove them for having declined from their rule by possessing farms and mills, parish-churches and altars, by receiving fealty and homage, by holding

<sup>1</sup> Patrol. clxxxix. 130-3.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. 115, 137-9.

<sup>m</sup> This was granted by Innocent II., in 1132 (Ep. 83, Patrol. clxxix.). See against it, Ric. Cantuar. ap. Pet. Bles. Ep. 82.

<sup>n</sup> See Bernard, Epp. 48-50; Anastas. IV., Epp. 46, 71; Eugen. III., Epp. 499-500; Alex. III., Ep. 1128; Pet. Cluniac., Ep. i. 35-6; Mabill. Annal. vi. 195; Schröckh, xxvii. 296. In a similar case, Alexander III. begged the Templars to waive their privilege of exemption. Ep. 787.

<sup>o</sup> See vol. ii. p. 761 (699).

<sup>p</sup> Order. Vital. xiii. 4; Mabillon, in

Patrol. clxxxii. 893-4.

<sup>q</sup> E. g. Pet. Bles. in Patrol. ccvii. 270; Pet. Cell. Epp. 175-6, ib. ccii.

<sup>r</sup> Patrol. clxxxv. 693, 1007, 1323; Cæsar. Heisterbac. vii. ult.; Gerl. Milovicensis, in Pertz, xvii. 702.

<sup>s</sup> See the remarkable story of the conversion of Pontius de Laraze, a robber knight, who founded the monastery of Salvanez, and annexed it to the order of Cîteaux, in Baluz. Miscell. iii. (8vo. ed.), or in Bouquet, xiv. 423.

<sup>t</sup> Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 475. Perhaps Hildegard is meant.

<sup>u</sup> C. 7 (Martene, Thes. iv. 1253).

<sup>x</sup> C. 11.

<sup>y</sup> C. 24.



the offices of judges and tax-gatherers,<sup>z</sup> and using all their endeavours to enlarge their borders on earth, whereas their conversation ought to be in heaven; and he threatens, if they live like ordinary men, to take away the privileges which had been granted to them in consideration of their extraordinary strictness.<sup>a</sup> Privileges had, indeed, been so largely bestowed on the Cistercians that Pope Clement IV., in the thirteenth century, speaks of these as "against the law of God and man,"<sup>b</sup> and already they had everywhere acquired exemptions like those which Bernard had strongly censured in other orders.<sup>c</sup> Walter Map in the end of the century speaks of the Cistercians with especial abhorrence, and ridicules their pretensions to superior holiness and mortification.<sup>d</sup>

(3.) The increase of monachism, through the foundation of the new orders, and other causes, was enormous. Thus, it is said that whereas in England there had not at the Conquest been above a hundred monasteries, the number founded under Henry I. and his two successors was upwards of three hundred. Of these some owed their origin to compositions for vows of service in the Holy War.<sup>e</sup> There was a general desire for all sorts of papal privileges; and, as has been already stated, where these could not be proved by genuine documents, recourse was often had to forgery.<sup>f</sup> The abbots aimed at entire independence of the episcopal authority—even attempting, like the lawless barons of the time, to present clerks to parish churches without submitting them to the bishop of the diocese for institution.<sup>g</sup> They affected the use of episcopal ornaments, and the episcopal right of bestowing

<sup>z</sup> "Justitiaras et tributarias." See the explanation in the *Corpus Jur. Canonici*. Migne (cc. 1329), and Gieseler (II., iii. 317) read "justituarios et tributarios."

<sup>a</sup> Decret. Gregor. III. xxxv. 3; Cf. Alex. Epp. 365, 622-3, 1152.

<sup>b</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 317.

<sup>c</sup> Ib.; Schmidt, iii. 335-6. See p. 244; Bern. de Moribus Episcoporum, 33; De Consideratione, iii. 14. Bernard is said to have wished that he might be pope for three years, in order that he might put down the abuses of exemptions, pluralities, and the living of monks out of their cloisters. Pet. Cantor, Verb. Abbrev. 44 (Patrol. cv. 137).

<sup>d</sup> De Nugis Curialium, 38, 52, &c. Of their manner of complying with their rule as to the choice of a place for a monastery (see vol. ii. p. 772=707), he thus speaks, "Locum ad habitaculum habilem eligunt, non inhabilem sed

inhabitatam, mundum, fecundum, responsalem frugibus, non ineptum seminibus, septum nemoribus, scaturientem fontibus, cornucopiam, locum extra mundum in corde mundi, semotum ab hominibus hominum in medio, sæculum scire volentes, a sæculo sciri volentes ut qui

'fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.'

Portionem ergo vilem et despicabilem in medio magni nemoris a divite quodam obtinent, multis innocentie simultatibus, diutissimis precibus, Deo singulis adjecto syllabis, &c." 39.

<sup>e</sup> Inett, ii. 220-1.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. ii. p. 784 (717). Pet. Bles. Ep. 68 (Patrol. cc. 1459).

<sup>g</sup> Against this, see Urban II. in Gratian. II., xvi. 4, 6 (a canon ascribed to the Council of Clermont, see Hefele, v. 201); Innoc. II. Ep. 562 (Patrol. clxxix.); Eugen. III. Ep. 443 (ib. clxxx.).

benedictions.<sup>h</sup> "How much more would they pay," asks St. Bernard, "if they might have the name as well as the privileges of bishops?"<sup>i</sup> Peter of Blois says that the monasteries most distinguished for holiness were those which either had never desired such privileges or had voluntarily resigned them;<sup>k</sup> that in any one but a bishop the use of episcopal ornaments is a mark of pride and presumption:<sup>m</sup> and he prevailed on his own brother to give up an abbacy to which the pope had granted the use of such ornaments.<sup>n</sup> So jealously was the privilege of exemption guarded, that when Maurice, bishop of Paris, appeared at the consecration of the new church of St. Germain-des-A.D. 1163. Prés, by Alexander III., the monks rose in tumult, as if his very presence were a claim of jurisdiction over them, and the pope sent three cardinals to beg that he would withdraw.<sup>o</sup> In England we find quarrels of this kind between the bishops and the great monasteries in many quarters; thus, the bishops of Chichester had contests with the abbots of Battle,<sup>p</sup> the bishops of Bath with the abbots of Glastonbury,<sup>q</sup> the bishops of Sarum with the abbots of Malmesbury,<sup>r</sup> the bishops of Lincoln with the abbots of St. Albans.<sup>s</sup> But nowhere was there a more remarkable display of such differences than in the city of Canterbury, where the archbishops were engaged in long and bitter feuds not only with the abbots and brethren of St. Augustine's, but with the monks of their own cathedral.

The great monastery founded by the apostle of England was the first in rank of English religious houses, and in Western Christendom was second only to Monte Cassino.<sup>t</sup> It was the burialplace of Augustine's successors in the throne of Canterbury, and on that account its members looked down on the cathedral of Christchurch or Trinity,<sup>u</sup> until Archbishop Cuthbert,

<sup>h</sup> Samson of St. Edmund's Bury was the first English abbot who obtained the privilege of giving the solemn episcopal blessing, wherever he might be. A.D. 1187. Jocel. de Brakelonda, 41.

<sup>i</sup> De Moribus Episcoporum, 36.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 68, written in the name of Abp. Richard of Canterbury. (Patrol. cc. 1459, B.)

<sup>m</sup> Ep. 90 (ib. ccvii. 283).

<sup>n</sup> Ep. 93.

<sup>o</sup> Alex. III. Ep. 147. In the same year, the bishop, at the council of Tours, claimed "jus quoddam" over the abbey; but the pope rejected his claim, because he could not show that it had been allowed by any former pope (Ep. 161).

This looks like throwing the burden of proof on the wrong party.

<sup>p</sup> See the Chronicon Monast. de Bello, published by the Anglia Christiana Society.

<sup>q</sup> Wharton, Ang. Soc. i. 578, seqq.; Inett, ii. 212.

<sup>r</sup> Petr. Bles. Ep. 68 (Patrol. cc. 1456-9); Inett, ii. 318.

<sup>s</sup> Alex. III. Ep. 63; Inett, ii. 215-6. So in Germany, the archbishops of Treves had differences with the abbots of St. Maximin's. Bern. Ep. 323.

<sup>t</sup> Leo IX. ap. Thorn, (Twysden, 1784).

<sup>u</sup> The original name was Christchurch, but was afterwards superseded by that of Trinity until the dedication



when dying in 758, took measures that his death should be kept secret from the Augustinians until he should have been interred in the cathedral.<sup>x</sup> From that time, the archbishops, with the exception of Cuthbert's second successor, Janbert, who had himself been abbot of St. Augustine's,<sup>y</sup> were buried in the cathedral, and its monks were thus enabled to take a higher standing than before against their Augustinian neighbours. But in the twelfth century serious disputes arose between the archbishops and the monks of St. Augustine's. The monks asserted that their house had been wholly independent of the see of Canterbury until Lanfranc, taking advantage of his ancient friendship with the Norman abbot Scolland, persuaded him to cede privileges which the monastery had before enjoyed;<sup>z</sup> while on the other side it was maintained that the abbey and the patronage of the abbacy had belonged to the archbishop until the Norman Conquest.<sup>a</sup> The abbots claimed that the archbishops should give them the benediction in their own monastery, and without exacting any payment, or any profession of obedience.<sup>b</sup> They claimed, not only the patronage of parish churches on their estates, but exclusive jurisdiction over the incumbents. They disputed certain yearly payments which they were required to make to the cathedral, and the archbishop's charges for supplying them with consecrated oil and chrism.<sup>c</sup> They professed to have privileges, reaching down from the age of king Ethelbert and St. Augustine, by which the monastery was rendered independent of all power, ecclesiastical or secular. In one of these documents, Augustine was made to charge his successors in the see to regard the abbot not as their subject, but as their "brother, colleague, and fellow-

of the church by William of Corboyl, in 1128. Thorn, 1799.

<sup>x</sup> Gervas. Dorob. ap. Twysd. 1295, 1641; Thorn (who, as a monk of St. Augustine's, is very angry with Cuthbert), ib. 1773-4; Hist. Monast. S. August. Cantuar. (in Chron. and Mem. of G. B. 317-8). This is supposed by the editor, Archdeacon Hardwick, to have been compiled from old materials by Thomas of Elmham, about 1415 (Pref. xix. seqq.). See, too, Stanley, Hist. Memorials of Canterbury, 151, ed. 1; Hook, ii. 235. The opposite feelings of the parties are strongly represented by Gervase on the side of Christ-Church, and by Thorn and Elmham on that of St. Augustine's.

<sup>y</sup> Thorn, 1774.

<sup>z</sup> Thorn, 1791.

<sup>a</sup> Gervas. 1326-7; Diceto, 602. Lan-

franc, on the death of Scolland, asked William Rufus to let him, like his predecessors, appoint an abbot, but was refused (Gervas. 1327; Thorn, 1792. See vol. ii. p. 717).

<sup>b</sup> Even as to the history of these quarrels, the statements on the opposite sides are inconsistent. Thus, Gervase says that abbot Guy was blessed by Lanfranc in the Cathedral (1327); Thorn, that William Rufus compelled the archbishop to give him the blessing in the abbey (1793).

<sup>c</sup> Gervas. 1329; Thorn, 1797, 1800-5. Gervase says (l. c.) that the claims of St. Augustine's were mostly set up during the primacy of Theobald, by a nephew of abbot Hugh, who was known as William the Devil, and came to a bad end.

minister in the word of God.”<sup>d</sup> According to another document, Pope John XIII. ordered that the abbot should be treated “as a Roman legate;”<sup>e</sup> and it was said that the abbots had been privileged by Alexander II. to wear the mitre, the sandals, and other episcopal ornaments, although out of modesty they had allowed the privilege to lie dormant for a hundred and twenty years.<sup>f</sup> These claims were the subject of continual appeals to the popes, who, according to their usual policy, for the most part sided with the abbey, while the officials of the Roman court were not sorry to make a profit out of the complicated litigation.<sup>g</sup> At one time, when Eugenius III. had desired archbishop Theobald to bless abbot Silvester without exacting any profession, the archbishop repaired to the monastery for the purpose; A.D. 1151- but there (by his contrivance, according to the Augustinian chroniclers), the prior of Christchurch appeared, 3. with a force of armed men, to protest against the benediction; and the archbishop caught at this pretext for delay, although a further reference to Rome obliged him at last to perform the office in the manner required.<sup>h</sup> At another time, when Alexander III. had ordered the benediction of abbot Roger, not only the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the Bishop of Worcester and the Archbishop of Rouen refused to officiate; and the abbot A.D. 1179. found it necessary to seek the blessing from the pope himself, who gave it at Tusculum,<sup>i</sup> granting to the abbot the use of the episcopal mitre, ring, and gloves, but with a reservation of the archbishop’s rights.<sup>k</sup> On another occasion, when A.D. 1148. Theobald had interdicted England in consequence of his differences with king Stephen, the Augustinians continued to ring their bells and to celebrate divine offices as usual; but for this they were put to penance by pope Eugenius, on the ground that they were bound to obey Theobald as legate, if not as archbishop; and when the pope, after some difficulty, absolved them, he declared that he acted “not as apostolic pontiff, but in the room of the Archbishop of Canterbury.”<sup>m</sup>

The monks were extremely unwilling to produce the originals of the privileges on which they relied; but, after having eluded

<sup>d</sup> Thorn, 1763-4.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* 1779.

<sup>f</sup> Thorn, 1785, 1824. But R. de Diceto speaks of Roger, who was the first that used these ornaments (A.D. 1179) as the first who was entitled to them, having got them from Alexander III. 602.

<sup>g</sup> Gervas. 1462.

<sup>h</sup> See Eugen. III. Epp. 518-9; Adrian. IV. Epp. 79, 121; Thorn, 1811-4; Hardwick, Pref. to Hist. S. Aug. 10.

<sup>i</sup> Alex. III. Ep. 1343.

<sup>k</sup> Gervas. 1331, 1444-6; Thorn, 1824; Hardw. Pref. 13. Ben. Petrib. 267; Hoveden, 326-7; Diceto, 602.

<sup>m</sup> Gervas. 1364.



two papal orders for their production, they were at length, in 1182, compelled to exhibit them to three commissioners appointed by Alexander III.; when it was found that as to materials, form, and substance, the documents which pretended to the greatest antiquity were suspicious in the extreme. They were, however, approved by Lucius III., and archbishop Richard was obliged to withdraw the charge of forgery which he had thrown out against them.<sup>n</sup> A compromise was agreed on as to some of the rival claims;<sup>o</sup> but as to the benediction in the monastery, all the papal authority was unable to enforce obedience from the archbishops; and the abbots were obliged to receive their blessing, sometimes from the pope in person, sometimes from any bishop who could be persuaded to give it,<sup>p</sup> until in 1406 abbot Thomas Hunden was blessed in St. Paul's, London, by archbishop Arundel, who acknowledged him, in the words of the charter ascribed to St. Augustine, as his "brother, colleague, and fellow-minister."<sup>q</sup>

But while the monks of Christchurch were allied with the archbishops against the rival monastery, their own relations with them were far from harmonious. "It seems," wrote John of Salisbury during Becket's exile, "as if hatred of their archbishops were an inheritance of the monks of Canterbury. When Anselm was twice banished for righteousness' sake, they never bestowed any consolation on him. They despised Ralph, they hated William, they laid snares for Theobald, and now, without any cause, they insatiably persecute Thomas."<sup>r</sup> Theobald turned out two of their priors (who were the virtual heads of the monastery, as the archbishop himself was supposed to be abbot); and at a later time a more serious difference broke out. The circumstances of archbishop Baldwin's<sup>s</sup> election had naturally left unpleasant remembrances on both sides; and soon after entering on his see, the archbishop and the monks were violently

<sup>n</sup> Gervas. 1328, 1458; Thorn, 1832; Thom. Elmham, 441-6; Hardwick, Pref. 28-33. See vol. ii. p. 784 (717).

<sup>o</sup> Lucius III. ap. Th. Elmham, 458.

<sup>p</sup> Thorn, 1821-7. See a list in Hardwick, Pref. 37.

<sup>q</sup> Th. Elmham, 89.

<sup>r</sup> Ep. 241. Yet, when appealing to Rome against Abp. Baldwin, they ventured to assert that they had never resisted their archbishops until his time (Gervas. 1310), and, in particular, that between them and Thomas (who had by that time become a popular saint) there

had always been the greatest affection (ib. 1313-4; Epp. Cantuar. in Stubbs' 'Richard I.' vol. ii. passim).

<sup>s</sup> See p. 219. Baldwin is described by Mr. Stubbs as "a Cistercian of the best sort, a man who lived but little for the world, and that to make it better" (Introd. xxxiv.; Cf. Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1180). The English chronicler of Laon says that he was "vir morum gravitate laudabilis, hoc solo notatus quod cum Judæis nimis familiaris frequens haberet colloquium."—(Bouq. xviii. 705).

embroiled.<sup>t</sup> They complained that he interfered with their revenues and privileges; that he seized the management of their estates, expelled their officials, whose places he filled with his own servants, suspended the prior, confined the monks within their own precincts, cutting off their supplies of food, so that they were indebted for the means of life to the charity of their neighbours—even of Jews—and that he excommunicated them.<sup>u</sup> In order to rid himself of the annoyances resulting from his connexion with them, he formed the scheme of erecting a new church of secular canons, to bear the name of St. Thomas the Martyr, and of supporting it chiefly at the expense of Christchurch. As the germ of this, he began to rebuild and enlarge the church of St. Stephen at Hackington, about a mile distant from the cathedral,<sup>x</sup> and afterwards removed the site to another place in the neighbourhood. For these works he caused collections to be made throughout all England, with the inducement of ample indulgences, and he endeavoured to draw the other bishops into taking part in the foundation.<sup>y</sup> In these proceedings he was supported by Henry II., who had abundant reasons for disliking the monks of Christchurch. These, however, showed themselves determined to resist by appealing to the pope,<sup>z</sup> and enlisting in their cause the influence of the French king and of other foreign patrons.<sup>a</sup> They declared that the archbishop intended, by bestowing the canonries of his new church on the bishops of his province, not only to transfer to these the rights of the cathedral as to the election of archbishops, but to constitute himself a pope, surrounded by a college of cardinals, subject to the influence of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, but independent of the apostolic see.<sup>b</sup> The popes were naturally inclined to side with the monks, more especially as the usual means of securing the favour of Rome were largely employed;<sup>c</sup> and, with

<sup>t</sup> Gervase, 1481. Gervase, who was one of the monks, has left us a very full account of these quarrels (in Twysden), with his "Imaginations" of the pleadings which might be advanced on each side. The letters connected with the affair have been printed from a Lambeth MS. by Mr. Stubbs in vol. ii. of his 'Memorials of Richard I.' (Chron. ad Mem. 1865.) See also Hook, ii. 550.

<sup>u</sup> Gervas. 1305, &c.; Ben. Petrib. 532; Stubbs, ii. 184, &c.

<sup>x</sup> When Peter of Blois, on the archbishop's part, told the Roman curia that it was more than a mile from the city,

Hugh of Lucca asserted "*per corpus Domini nostri*" that it was within a child's stone-throw of the city, and within a crossbow-shot of the cathedral, so that the singing of one church could be heard in the other. Stubbs, ii. 81.

<sup>y</sup> Gervas. 1306-8, 1481; R. de Diceto, 620.

<sup>z</sup> The justiciary Glanville told them, "*Solam Romam quæritis, sola Roma destruet vos.*" Gervas. 1544.

<sup>a</sup> Stubbs, pp. 84, 86, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. xxxvii.; 55, 80, 117.

<sup>c</sup> An emissary of the convent, named John, is very severe on the corruption



the exception of Gregory VIII., they showed themselves favourable to the convent.<sup>d</sup> In 1189, two legates were sent by Gregory to investigate the matter; but one of them died by the way, and the other, John of Anagni, was not allowed to approach Canterbury until the question had been compromised by Richard I., on the footing that a prior whom Baldwin had nominated should be otherwise provided for, that another should be appointed by the king and the archbishop, and that the archbishop should give up the project of a collegiate church, on condition of receiving from the monks the same obedience which they had paid to his predecessors.<sup>e</sup> The legate indignantly declared that this agreement was void, as having been extorted from the monks, and it was afterwards annulled by Celestine III., who ordered the buildings to be destroyed.<sup>f</sup> Baldwin, before setting out on the crusade, directed that the materials should be removed to Lambeth, which he had lately acquired for his see;<sup>g</sup> but on hearing of his death at the siege of Acre, the monks of Christchurch drove out their prior, appointed another in his room, and elected as archbishop Reginald, bishop of Bath, who ordered the demolition of his predecessor's college at Lambeth. But Reginald died before consecration,<sup>h</sup> and his successor, Hubert Walter, revived the project.

of the Roman court, *e. g.* "*Romanus clamantem, quamvis semper, nisi dederit non exaudiet, et cum acceperit, non ignoscet; emungit multum et sanguinem elicit violentius,*

<sup>c</sup> *Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo.*"

(Stubbs, 214); "*Ablativus propriè, ut dicit Priscianus, Romanorum est, non dativus.*" (Ib. 230; cf. 194). Again, when the bishop of Ostia is appointed legate, "*Verbum secretum: concessit dominus papa nobis Ostiensem, sed sub certa taxatione pecuniæ; is enim est mos et modus ejus.*" Ib. 218.

<sup>d</sup> Gervase speaks strongly against Gregory (1513). Urban III. at one time countenanced the archbishop's scheme, but he afterwards condemned it (Epp. 60, 120-6, 142-5; Patrol. cciii.; R. de Diceto, 631-5; Gervas. 1315-7); and his death is represented by Peter of Blois as a judgment on his opposition to Baldwin (Ep. 211, Patrol. ccvii. 494).

<sup>e</sup> Gervas. 1323-4, 1552, 1556-8, 1563-4; R. de Diceto, 649; Ben. Petrib. 575-7; Hoveden, 377; Pauli, iii. 208.

<sup>f</sup> Stubbs, Epp. 315, 325, 334-6, 356, 358, seqq.; Cœlest. Ep. 660 (Patrol. ccvi.); Diceto, 649; Gervas. 1324, 1572.

<sup>g</sup> Stubbs, Introd. lxxx. 324.

<sup>h</sup> Feeling his end near, he caused a letter to be written, begging the prior of Christchurch to bring him the monastic habit—"Mihi non videtur quod velit Deus quod vester sim archiepiscopus; vester autem volo et desidero esse monachus" (Stubbs, Ep. 388). Peter of Blois represents his death on St. Stephen's day and his burial on St. Thomas's day as judgments on his opposition to a church which was under the patronage of those saints—"ac si unus peremisset eum, et alius tumulto infodisset" (Ep. 211). Peter is styled by Gervase, "*totius fere malitiæ hujus artifex impudicus*" (1490), and, with Gerald la Pucelle (afterwards bishop of Lichfield), is denounced by them as active against the monks of St. Augustine's, in their differences with Archbishop Richard (1821). His letter 211 is in favour of the scheme for a college of canons, which, he says, had been entertained both by St. Anselm and by St. Thomas, because each of them in his exile had been attended by clerks only, while the monks of the cathedral deserted him. But in a later letter (238), addressed to the monks of the cathedral, Peter professes shame for having opposed them, and says that, as he had laboured

But, although he had the support of King Richard, although all the Cistercian abbots in England exerted themselves for him,<sup>l</sup> and although the authority of archbishops Anselm, Theobald, and Thomas was alleged in favour of the design, he was compelled by Innocent III., in 1199, to pull down the buildings which he had begun to erect.<sup>k</sup>

In other English cathedrals which were in the hands of monks, similar troubles often arose; and it is said that archbishop Baldwin induced all the bishops to promise that they would follow his example by turning their episcopal churches into colleges of secular clergy.<sup>m</sup> Hugh of Nunant, bishop of Lichfield, incurred the especial abuse of the monastic writers, with the single exception of Giraldus Cambrensis,<sup>n</sup> by substituting secular canons for the monks of Coventry, and is said to have advised Richard I. to suppress all the monks in England;<sup>o</sup> but a few years after he was obliged to succumb, and archbishop Hubert, in obedience to papal authority, reinstated the monks whom Hugh had ejected.<sup>p</sup>

While monks were thus brought into rivalry and actual collision with secular canons, they were involved in a continual controversy with the regular canons as to the superiority of their respective manners of life, while the canons denied the right of the monks to preach, and would have confined them to the strict duties of religious seclusion. Among the writers who took the monastic side were Abelard, Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, and Rupert, abbot of Deutz;<sup>q</sup> among the champions

against them for eight months, so he had been punished by severe illness of the like duration (Patrol. ccvii.).

<sup>i</sup> Gervas. 1613.

<sup>k</sup> Gesta Innoc. 42 (Patrol. ccxiv.); Innoc., Epp. i. 111, 350-1, 357, 432, 433-6; ii. 71; Gervas. 1572, 1593, 1602, 1612, 1623; R. Coggeshale, 852; Vit. S. Hugon. Lincoln. iii. 11 (Patrol. cliii.); Bened. Petrib. 625; R. Hoved. 377, 457; Stubbs, ii. 380, &c.; Chron. Petrib. in Sparke, 398; R. de Diceto, 705-8 (who says that Innocent, "si fas est dicere," unduly favoured the monks, and that, although God has given St. Peter the power of building, his power to destroy the holy place may be doubted). The substance of the arguments for and against the foundation may be found in Stubbs, 520-538. Ugolino Conti, the kinsman of Innocent, and afterwards Pope Gregory IX., had acted for the convent in the last stages of the affair, and would accept no other

recompense than some relics of St. Thomas. Ib. 471-2, 476. <sup>m</sup> Gervas. 1670.

<sup>n</sup> Ap. Wharton, Angl. Sac. ii. 351-3.

<sup>o</sup> "Monachos ad diabolos!" said the bishop (Gervas. 1556). William of Newbridge, a writer usually remarkable for moderation, calls him "homo callidus, audax, inverecundus, et ad ausus improbos litteratura eloquentiaque instructus." iv. 36.

<sup>p</sup> Coelestin. III., Ep. 327 (Patrol. 206); Innoc. III., Ep. i. 245 (ib. ccxiv.); R. de Diceto, 701; Gervas. 1600; R. Wendover, iii. 126-8; Ric. Divis. cc. 84-5; Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 435; Annal. Burton, ap. Gale, i. 254; R. Coggeshale, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 846-7.

<sup>q</sup> Abælard, Ep. 12 (Patrol. clxxviii.); Hugo, Dialog. 6 (ib. excii.); Rupert. Tuit., 'Altercatio Monachi et Clerici,' 'Qua ratione ordo Monach. præcellit ord. Clericorum;' 'De Vita vere Apostolica' (ib. clxx.).



of the canons were Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, Philip of Harveng, a Præmonstratensian abbot in the diocese of Cambray, and Lambert, abbot of St. Rufus, near Avignon.<sup>r</sup>

Notwithstanding the frequent attempts at a reformation of monastic life, and the institution of new orders with a view to a greater severity of discipline, we still find that the state of monachism is a subject of frequent complaint. Godfrey of Vigewis describes the monks of his day as spurious heirs of the older cœnobites; as lax in their diet, devoted to the vanities of fashion, and otherwise unfaithful to the true idea of their profession.<sup>s</sup>

Wibald of Stablo speaks of some monastic societies as careless of their rule, and engrossed by talk of "canons, decrees, appeals, councils, rights, laws, condemnations," and the like; as devoted to bodily indulgences and temporal good things, and impatient of all control from their superiors.<sup>t</sup> Nor were the attempts at reform always of such a kind as to deserve approval. Thus, Cardinal Walter of Albano, after praising the zeal of some abbots and others who had agreed to meet annually at Reims with a view to monastic reformation—that by their means houses which had been temples of voluptuousness, the haunts of owls and hedgehogs, sirens and satyrs, had become "glorious sheepfolds of Christ"—goes on to censure them for indiscreet innovation in some respects.<sup>u</sup> Anselm of Havelberg represents people as perplexed by the number, the eccentric affectations, and the contradictory rules of the new orders which had arisen;<sup>x</sup> and John of Salisbury strongly denounces the practices of hypocritical monks, who pretended to an extreme severity of life, in order to cloak their ambition, avarice, and malignity.<sup>y</sup>

(4.) The history of the Military orders of the Temple and the Hospital has in part been noticed by anticipation,<sup>z</sup> and partly in connection with the crusades. In addition to their quarrels with each other, with the patriarchs, and with their other neighbours in the east, we find them continually engaged in disputes as to privileges and exemptions in the west.<sup>a</sup> By the abuse which they made of these (as by keeping

<sup>r</sup> Anselm. Havelb. de Ordine Canon. Regularium (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Phil. de Harveng de Institutione Clericorum (ib. cciii.); Lambert. ap. Martene, Thes. i. 239; Mosh. ii. 460; Schröckh, xxvii. 341.

<sup>s</sup> Bouq. xii. 450.

<sup>t</sup> Ep. 105, Patrol. clxxxix.

<sup>u</sup> Ep. 5, ib. clxxiii.

<sup>x</sup> Dial. iii., ib. clxxxviii.

<sup>y</sup> Polycrat. vii. 21.

<sup>z</sup> Vol. ii., p. 781 (715).

<sup>a</sup> See Pet. Cluniac., Ep. vi. 26 (Patrol. clxxxix.), Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 95 (ib. excix.), and many letters of the popes. In 1179, Alexander III. had to settle a great quarrel between the orders. Ep. 1429 (ib. cc.).

their churches open in time of interdict, receiving excommunicate persons to the sacraments, and giving them Christian burial) they were drawn into frequent collisions with the bishops and clergy, and such abuses were strongly denounced by Alexander III. and by the Lateran council of 1179.<sup>b</sup>

In addition to the Templars and the Hospitallers, other orders, in which religion was combined with special objects, took their origin from the crusades.

The Teutonic order, which afterwards became famous, arose out of the association of about forty Crusaders from north Germany, who, at the siege of Acre, formed themselves

A.D. 1190. into a brotherhood for the care of the sick and wounded—sheltering them in tents made out of the sails of their vessels.<sup>c</sup>

The new society gained the patronage of the king of Jerusalem, of the patriarch, and of other important personages; and Frederick of Swabia, during the short interval between his arrival at Acre and his death, recommended it to his brother, Henry VI., and also to pope Celestine, who, in 1296, confirmed its institution.<sup>d</sup> The order was governed by provincials, with a

A.D. 1210-1239. grand-master at its head. The first grand-master was

Henry of Walpot,<sup>e</sup> but the great extension of the order was due mainly to his third successor, Herman of Salza, who, according to a chronicler, “had the pope and the emperor, with other princes and great men, in his own hand, so that he obtained whatever he might ask for its honour and advantage.”<sup>f</sup> Under him it acquired great privileges and emoluments, and entered on its career of conquest on the shores of the Baltic;<sup>g</sup> and, whereas Herman had expressed a wish that by the sacrifice of one of his eyes he might raise the order to the number of ten military brethren in arms, it counted soon after his death more than two thousand knights, of noble German families.<sup>h</sup>

At Acre, also, was instituted an English order of Hospitallers, named after St. Thomas the Martyr,<sup>i</sup> whose birth came by a

<sup>b</sup> Alex. Ep. 1173; Conc. Later. c. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Pet. Dusburg. i. 1, in Hirsch, ‘Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum,’ t. i., Lips. 1861; De Primord. Ordinis Teutonici, ib. Supplem. 220, seqq.; Raumer, ii. 297; Michaud, iv. 129. There was, however, an older germ of the order, about 1127 (Joh. Iperius, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 626; Jac. Vitriac. ap. Bonjors, 1084-5; see too, Hirsch, n. on P. Dusb. 27-8). As to the connexion with the hospital at Jerusalem, see Töppen, ib. i. 25-6.

<sup>d</sup> Pet. Dusb. i. 1; De Primord. ap. Hirsch. i. 225.

<sup>e</sup> Pet. Dusb. i. 2.  
<sup>f</sup> Ib. 5. The number of privileges, &c., granted to the order by Frederick II. alone is prodigious. See Böhmer and Huillard-Bréholles.

<sup>g</sup> See below, Book VI., c. vi. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Pet. Dusb. i. 53. For the later history of the order see Voigt’s work, Berl. 1857-9.

<sup>i</sup> “Ordo Militiæ Hospitalis S. Thomæ de Acon.” Diceto, 654; Monast. Angl. vi. 646.



romantic story of later date to be connected with the Holy Land ; and in the last year of the century arose the order of Trinitarians or Mathurins, founded by John of Matha, a priest of Provençal birth, for the redemption of captives from the infidels, and confirmed by Innocent III.<sup>k</sup>

In Spain various military orders arose, such as those of Calatrava<sup>m</sup> and Avisá,<sup>n</sup> both instituted for the defence of the faith against the Moors, and connected with the Cistercian order ; and the order of St. James, intended for the protection of pilgrims to the shrine of the apostle at Compostella.<sup>o</sup>

(5.) An association which in so far resembled the military orders as it was formed under a religious sanction for a warlike purpose, was that of the *Caputiati*, or White Hoods of Auvergne. Large bodies of the mercenary soldiers whom it had become usual to employ in war, and who, from the province which originally supplied them, were known by the name of Brabançons, had betaken themselves to a life of plunder and violence, and kept that country in terror. Their numbers were swelled by desperate and disreputable persons of all classes, among whom it is said that there were many clerks, monks, and even nuns.<sup>p</sup> These “hellish legions,” as they were styled by a chronicler of the age,<sup>q</sup> robbed, burnt, slew, carried off the precious ornaments of churches, profaned the holy sacrament, and treated the clergy with savage insult and cruelty, so that some even died of their blows.<sup>r</sup> Although in this they appear to have been moved rather by utter irreligion than by any heretical opinions, they were condemned by the Lateran Council of 1179 in the same canon which proscribed the Cathari.<sup>s</sup> But the beginning of active measures against them was made in 1182 by one Durand, a carpenter of Le Puy en Velay, which had been a place of popular pilgrimage until the outrages of these ruffians made the roads unsafe. Durand professed to

<sup>k</sup> Innoc. III., Ep. i. 481 ; Mansi, n. in Raynald. xix. 36 ; Hélyot, ii. 188 ; Alberic. Tr.-Font. in Bouq. xviii. 761 ; Schröckh, xxvii. 513 ; Michaud, iv. 129. The rule is in Holstein, ed Brockie, iii. 3, seqq.

<sup>m</sup> A.D. 1158. Alex. III., Ep. 273 ; Joh. Iperius, ap. Mart. Thes. iii. 627 ; Innoc. III., Supplem. Epp., Patrol. cexvii. 283 ; Mariana, vii. 24-7 ; Pagi, xix. 119 ; Hélyot, vi. 34, seqq.

<sup>n</sup> A.D. 1162. See Joh. Cirita, Patrol. clxxxviii. ; Gieseler, II., ii. 380.

<sup>o</sup> Alex. III., Ep. 1183 ; Innoc. III., Ep. xiii. 11 ; Joh. Iper. l. c. 628. The

date is variously given, from 1161 to 1170. See Mariana, vii. 63-7.

<sup>p</sup> Gervas. Dorob. 1461.

<sup>q</sup> Godefr. Vosiens. ap. Bouquet, xix. 215. <sup>r</sup> Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 11.

<sup>s</sup> “De Brabantionibus et Aragonensibus, Navariis, Bascolis, Coterellis, et Triaverdinis, qui tantam [in] Christianos immanitatem exercent, ut nec ecclesiis nec monasteriis deferant, non viduis et pupillis, non senibus et pueris, nec cuilibet parcant ætati aut sexui, sed more paganorum omnia perdant et vastent, similiter constituimus,” &c. Can. 27.

have been repeatedly warned by the Blessed Virgin to exhort his neighbours to the establishment of peace;<sup>t</sup> and the bishop of Le Puy gave his sanction to the undertaking. Bishops and abbots, nobles, clergy, and men of all classes banded themselves together in an association for the purpose. The members were pledged to eschew gaming, excess in meat and drink, swearing, and other vices; to do no wrong, and to carry on implacable hostilities against all wrongdoers; and such, it is said, was their union, that, if one had killed the brother of another, the brother of the slain man admitted the slayer to the kiss of peace and was bound to supply his needs. The mark of their profession was a white hood, of monastic shape, with a leaden image of the Virgin sewed on to it.<sup>u</sup>

The enterprise thus set on foot was crowned with success; it is said that in one engagement seven thousand of the Brabançons or Cottereaux were slain;<sup>x</sup> but the clergy of the victorious party disgraced themselves by inciting their companions to cruelties against the prisoners, and fifteen hundred wretched women of loose life, who were among the number, were burnt at a slow fire.<sup>y</sup> The country which had been infested by the Cottereaux was speedily cleared of them; but the White Hoods themselves began to show symptoms of opinions dangerous to social order, maintaining the equality of all men, and attacking the nobles who were within their reach; so that Philip Augustus, who had aided their undertaking at the outset, found it necessary to suppress the association.<sup>z</sup>

### III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) In the early church, the term *Sacrament* (like the Greek *μυστήριον*), had been applied to any symbolical religious act, so that, while Baptism and the Eucharist were regarded as rites having a peculiar character of their own, there was no limit to the number of things which might be styled sacraments.<sup>a</sup> And thus, as late as the twelfth century, we find the name given by Godfrey of Vendôme to the symbolical ring and staff which were

<sup>t</sup> The 'Anonymus' of Laon says that a canon of Le Puy dressed up a young man to personate the Virgin. Bouq. xviii. 705.

<sup>u</sup> Gervas. 1461; Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 11-2; Rob. Altissiod. ib. xviii. 251; Rob. de Monte, Contin. ib. 336; Godef. Vos. ib. xix. 219; Will. de Nangis, ap. D'Achery, iii. 13.

<sup>x</sup> Rigord., p. 67; Godef. Vos. 220-1. The Anon. Laudun. says 9000. p. 706.

<sup>y</sup> Sismondi, vi. 33.

<sup>z</sup> R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 251; Hist. Epp. Altissiod. ib. 729-730; Martin, iii. 512. The Laon 'Anonymus' speaks of the "insana rabies caputiatorum." p. 705.

<sup>a</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 450; vi. 526.



used in the investiture of bishops,<sup>b</sup> and by Bernard to the symbolical washing of feet.<sup>c</sup> From this vagueness in the use of the term, the number of sacraments had been very variously stated. Thus, Raban Maur and Paschasius Radbert, in the ninth century, laid down that there are four sacraments—Baptism, Unction, the Body and the Blood of the Lord,<sup>d</sup> whereas Peter Damiani, in the eleventh century, speaks of twelve,<sup>e</sup> but elsewhere distinguishes three as chief—namely, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Ordination.<sup>f</sup>

In the eastern church, although John of Damascus speaks only of Baptism and the Eucharist,<sup>g</sup> yet from the time of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, in the sixth century, six sacraments had been generally acknowledged, namely, Baptism, the Eucharist, the Consecration of Chrism, Ordination, Monastic Profession, and the Rites for the Dead.<sup>h</sup> But now, in the western church, the mystical number of seven was fixed as that of the sacraments, from the idea of a correspondence with the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost. This number is insisted on in the report of Otho of Bamberg's missionary teaching,<sup>i</sup> and may be gathered from the writings of Hugh of St. Victor, although he also uses the term sacrament in the more general sense of the older writers;<sup>k</sup> but the establishment of the number is chiefly to be ascribed to the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, the most popular theological manual of the age, in which the sacraments are said to be Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, and Matrimony.<sup>m</sup>

(2.) The doctrine of Berengar as to the Eucharist, although

<sup>b</sup> De Ordinatione Episcoporum. Patrol. clvii. 217, C.

<sup>c</sup> Sermo in Coena Dom. § 4 (ib. clxxxiii. 273).

<sup>d</sup> Raban. de Clericorum Institutione, i. 24 (Patrol. ccvii.); Paschas. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. iii. 2 (ib. cxx.).

<sup>e</sup> Viz., Baptism, Confirmation, Unction of the sick, Ordination, Unction of kings, Dedication of churches, Confession, the Consecration of canons, monks, hermits, and nuns, and Marriage. Serm. 69 (Patrol. cxliv.). It will be observed that the Eucharist is not named here. See the editor's note.

<sup>f</sup> Liber Gratissimus, c. 9; Patrol. cxiv.

<sup>g</sup> De Fide Orthodoxa, iv. 8, 13.

<sup>h</sup> Dion. Areop. de Ecclesiast. Hierarchia (Opera, i. 330, seqq., Antv. 1634);

Theod. Studita, Ep. ii. 165 (Sirmond. Opuscula, t. v.). See Allatus de Eccl. orient. et occid. Consensu, 1264-5 (Colon. 1648).

<sup>i</sup> See p. 163. This is said to be the earliest instance; and there is room for a doubt whether the biographers may not have introduced an idea which had become popular between the time of Otho's mission and the date of writing. Gieseler, II., ii. 453.

<sup>k</sup> See extracts from him in Gieseler, II., ii. 451-3. A treatise, 'De Cæremoniis,' &c., ascribed to Hugh, in which the "seven principal sacraments" are distinctly enumerated (i. 12, Patrol. clxxvii.), is by Hugh Paululus, a priest of Amiens. Gieseler, II., ii. 453.

<sup>m</sup> L. IV. Dist. ii. 1 (Patrol. excii.). See Giesel. vi. 528; Herzog, xiii. 243.

condemned, was not extinct.<sup>n</sup> Thus we are told of some who, while they held with Berengar in substance, joined with the church in condemning him, because, instead of contenting himself with the language of Scripture, he had put forward his ideas too nakedly.<sup>o</sup> Abelard speaks of the question "whether the bread which is seen be only a figure of the Lord's body, or be also the real substance of the Lord's very flesh" as being yet undetermined.<sup>p</sup> And Rupert of Deutz expresses himself in such a manner as to the continuance of the bread and wine in their own substance as at least to need a subtle vindication of his conformity with the modern Roman doctrine against the apparent meaning of his words.<sup>q</sup> But the doctrine of Transubstantiation—a word which is first found in a treatise professing to contain the opinions of Peter Damiani,<sup>r</sup>—made way, and the impression of it on the popular mind was strengthened by an ever-increasing multitude of miraculous tales—as that the eucharistic wafer was seen by the priest to change into a beautiful infant; that the bread appeared as flesh, and the wine as blood; and that the consecrated host resisted the power of fire.<sup>s</sup>

(3.) The growing opinion of a material presence in the eucharist introduced an important change in the manner of administration. In early ages, the sacrament had been always given

<sup>n</sup> For the various opinions on the question, see Alger (scholastic of Liège, about 1130), Prolog. in Lib. de Sacramentis, Patrol. clxxx. 739. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, in the next century, tells of a priest and canon of Cologne, who, on hearing another priest, at the administration of the sacrament, ask a sick person, whether he believed it to be the very body of Christ, was astonished, having until then supposed it to be merely "a sacrament, *i. e.*, a sign and representation." On inquiring of the scholastic, he found that he had been holding a heretical doctrine, and in token of penance he built a hospital and a chapel. "But," asks Cæsarius, "if a priest, a man of learning and of excellent life, could thus err, what shall I say of the unlearned and evil?" Dialog. ix. 56.

<sup>o</sup> Zachar. Chrysopolit. in Unum ex Quatuor, l. iv., Patrol. clxxxvi. 508.

<sup>p</sup> Theolog. Christ., l. iv., Patrol. clxxxviii. 1286.

<sup>q</sup> In Exod., l. ii., c. 10. A note on the passage identifies his opinion with that which was condemned at the Fourth Council of Lateran, in 1215 (Patrol.

clxvii. 617); Cf. De Divinis Officiis, ii. 9 (ib. clxx.). Rupert was assailed by William of St. Thierry (ib. clxxx. 344, seqq.). Gerberon labours to defend his orthodoxy against Bellarmine (ib. clxvii. 99, seqq.). Gieseler (II., ii. 433) quotes Bernard's Sermon on St. Martin (ib. clxxxiii. 495, A)—"Usque hodie eadem caro nobis, sed spiritualiter utique, non carnaliter, exhibetur,"—as showing that he did not hold transubstantiation. But these words seem consistent with any amount of belief as to an *invisible* change.

<sup>r</sup> Expos. Canonis Missæ, 7 (Patrol. cxlv. 883—see vol. ii. p. 663); Gieseler, II. ii. 434. So Peter of Blois speaks, Ep. 140, col. 420, D. Others used the word *transition* (Hug. S. Vict. de Sacrament. II., viii. 9, Patrol. clxxvi.); or *translation* ("transfertur"—Honor. Augustod., ib. clxxii. 1249).

<sup>s</sup> *E. g.*, Herbert. Turrium Archiep. de Miraculis, iii. 19, seqq. (Patrol. clxxxv.); Bernard. Vita Malach. 26 (ib. clxxxii.); Rupert. Tuit. de Incendio Tuitii, 5 (ib. clxx.); Vita Hug. Lincoln. v. 4-5 (ib. cliii.); Caesar. Heisterbach. Dialogi, l. 9.



under both kinds, although in Africa it had been usual to allow morsels of the consecrated bread to be carried from the church for the sick, or for the use of devout persons, at times when they could not attend the public communion.<sup>t</sup> The declaration of Pope Gelasius I. against a separation of the elements has been already quoted;<sup>u</sup> and, although primarily directed against the Manichæans, who condemned the use of wine, it is equally applicable against all mutilated administration. Now, however, it began to be thought that there was a danger of profanation in receiving the wine, from the dipping of the beard into the chalice, or from the inability of sick persons to swallow. In order to guard against such accidents, it had been usual from the eighth century to employ a tube in drinking from the chalice;<sup>x</sup> but in the latter part of the eleventh century, a custom arose of dipping the bread into the wine, and so administering both elements together, and, from having at first been practised in the communion of infants and of the sick, it was extended to other cases.<sup>y</sup> This usage was condemned by Urban II. at the council of Clermont,<sup>z</sup> and by Paschal II. in a letter to abbot Pontius, of Cluny, which allows no exception other than the cases of infants or very sick persons, who could not swallow the bread.<sup>a</sup> Ernulf, bishop of Rochester, however, on being questioned by a friend as to the propriety of thus administering in a manner "different from, and almost contrary to" the Saviour's institution, answered by maintaining the right of the church to legislate in such matters, and defending the practice as a safeguard against profanation.<sup>b</sup> And in England it kept its ground until forbidden by the council of London in 1175.<sup>c</sup>

The doctrine of concomitancy—*i. e.*, that Christ is contained entire under each of the eucharistic elements—had been laid down by St. Anselm on independent grounds, and, while stating it, he had spoken of communion in both kinds;<sup>d</sup> but it was now brought to support the novel practice of administering in one

<sup>t</sup> Bingham, XV., iv. 11-3; vol. i., pp. 172, 362.

<sup>u</sup> Vol. i., p. 585.

<sup>x</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 439.

<sup>y</sup> Giesel. l. c.; Neand. vii. 477.

<sup>z</sup> A.D. 1095, c. 28. It had been condemned by a council at Braga, in 675 (c. 2), and the canon was often quoted by mistake as a decree of Pope Julius. See Gieseler, II., ii. 439-440.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 535 (Patrol. clxiii.). See too, against the practice, Hildebert, Ep. ii.

15 (ib. clxxi.), which is supposed to have been addressed to Pontius; and 'Micrologus' (a ritual treatise of the end of the 11th century, which some ascribe to Ivo of Chartres—see Nat. Alex. xiii. 213; Guéranger, i. 317), c. 19 (Patrol. cli.).

<sup>b</sup> Dacher. Spicil. iii. 471. (This letter is not given by Migne. Patrol. clxiii.).

<sup>c</sup> C. 16; Gieseler, II., ii. 440.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. iv. 107 (Patrol. clix.).

kind only.<sup>e</sup> The writers of the age, in general, however,—even those who held that administration in one kind was sufficient, and that a contrary opinion was heretical,<sup>f</sup>—yet maintained the ancient usage of administering in both kinds.<sup>g</sup>

(4.) The belief in the necessity of infant-communion had died out in the West, and, in consequence of the supposed especial danger of profanation by spilling the consecrated wine, the practice was now forbidden, although it was not yet wholly disused. At a later time this usage became a subject of controversy between the Greeks, who retained it, and the Latins.<sup>h</sup>

(5.) The more rigid view as to the observance of the Lord's day continued to grow in the church,<sup>i</sup> and attempts were made to enforce it by some of those pretended revelations which have been used in behalf of the same cause from the time of Charlemagne, or earlier,<sup>k</sup> to the miracle of La Salette in our own days.

Thus, when Henry II. of England was at Cardiff, on A.D. 1172. his way from Ireland to Normandy, as he was mounting his horse after mass, he was accosted by a man apparently about forty years of age, tall and spare in figure, with yellow hair displaying a tonsure, dressed in a white robe, with a girdle around his waist, and with naked feet. After having greeted the king in English,<sup>m</sup> this personage charged him, in the names of the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul, to allow no markets to be held, or any but the most necessary secular works to be done, on the Lord's day, and warned him that a neglect of this command would be followed by heavy

<sup>e</sup> Thus, Rudolph, abbot of St. Trond, wrote—

"Hic et ibi cautela fiat, ne presbyter ægris  
Aut sanis tribuat levius de sanguine Christi;  
Nani fundi posset leviter, simplexque putaret  
Quod non sub specie sit totus Jesus utraque."

(Gieseler, II., ii. 441.) Noël Alexandre mentions an opinion of some, that unconsecrated wine became consecrated by having the consecrated bread dipped in it; but he shows that, according to the better authorities, the sanctification so acquired is not consecration. xiii. 211-3.

<sup>f</sup> *E.g.* William of Champeaux, Patrol. clxiii. 1039.

<sup>g</sup> See Gieseler, II., ii. 441, seqq.; Pet. Lombard. Sentent. IV., xi. 6 (Patrol. excii.); Cæsar. Heisterb. ix. 1, p. 657, &c. Cæsarius (ix. 27) combats the opinion of Peter Cantor, that the sacramental change is not wrought on the bread until the words for the consecration of the wine have been uttered. Robert Pulleyn (about 1140) held that the

example of the Last Supper binds the church to administer to priests in both kinds, but that the manner of administration to the laity is for the church to settle, and that it is best to withhold the cup. (Sentent. viii. 3, Patrol. clxxxvi.). As to the opinions of Folcmar of Triefenstein, see Patrol. exciv. 1481, 1529, &c.; Neand. vii. 479.

<sup>h</sup> See Gieseler, II., ii. 438; Waterland, vi. 64, ed. Oxford, 1843. See Lanfranc, Ep. 33, and D'Achery's notes.

<sup>i</sup> Thus Moneta says that we observe the Lord's Day as the Jews observed the Sabbath, "*hoc excepto, quod illi abstinebant ab aliquibus in sabbato, a quibus nos non abstinemus in die Dominico.*" Adv. Catharos, p. 476.

<sup>k</sup> See vol. ii., pp. 112, 230 (103, 216).

<sup>m</sup> "*God hould dhe, cuning, quod Latine sonat, Deus te custodiat, rex!*" (Girald. de Instr. Princ. 12.) In some books (as Bromton, ap. Twysden, 1079), this becomes, "*Gode olde king.*"



judgments; and, having delivered his message, he disappeared.<sup>n</sup> Again, in 1199, it was said that a letter from the Saviour was found in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, denouncing terrible chastisements for breach of the Lord's day; and this letter was used by Eustace, abbot of Flai, in the diocese of Beauvais, who preached in England with great effect. Eustace denounced the holding of markets on the Lord's day, and the sale of anything, except that of necessary food and drink to travellers—in the case of which sale, one-fourth of the price was to be devoted to pious and charitable uses. He prescribed the observance of rest from the ninth hour on Saturday to sunrise on Monday; and it is said, that his preaching was confirmed by miraculous judgments on some who ventured to profane this extended Sabbath. But a chronicler tells us that the king and other great men questioned the truth of the abbot's doctrine, and that the people feared them more than God.<sup>o</sup>

The observance of the Lord's day, and of other holy days also, is said to have been especially strict in Norway, "so that the people never ventured of their own accord to do anything either great or small."<sup>p</sup>

(6.) To the great festivals of the year, Trinity Sunday was now added. It differed from the rest in character, inasmuch as it was not the commemoration of any event, but was consecrated to a doctrine; yet it seemed a fitting completion for the circle of festivals, and, although not without some opposition on the

<sup>n</sup> Girald. Cambr. Itiner. Cambriæ, c. 6; Hibernia Expugn. i. 39; De Instruct. Principum, 12.

<sup>o</sup> R. Hoved. 466-7. Eustace visited England twice, and it was on his second visit, in 1201, that he displayed the letter from Heaven. He was connected with Fulk of Neuilly, whose preaching will be mentioned in the next chapter, sect vii. (M. Par. in Wendov. v. 141). In addition to preaching against the profanation of the Lord's Day, he denounced usury and other prevailing vices. He is said to have wrought many miracles, and, in particular, to have consecrated a well at Wye, near Ashford, which, almost down to our own times, has been resorted to by the people of the neighbourhood as possessing a supernatural efficacy. (See Wendov. iii. 148-152; R. Coggesh. in Bouq. xviii. 94; Jocel. de Brakelonda, 98; Hasted's Kent, iii. 176, folio ed.) One of his miracles is said to have been as follows:—A woman, swollen to an enormous size, as

if by dropsy, applied to him for cure, and was told to drink of the well at Wye. She did so, and thereupon vomited two black toads, which immediately turned into very black dogs, and soon after into asses; but, on being sprinkled with water from the well, the forms rose and vanished into the air, leaving a foul smell behind them. (Rog. Hoveden, 457, b.) Taxter says that Eustace returned to France, "quia prædicatio ejus multis ecclesiæ prælatiis molesta fuit." Flor. Vigorn. contin. ii. 165.

<sup>p</sup> Herbert. Turritan. de Miraculis, iii. 38 (Patrol. clxxxv.), who goes on to tell that St. Olave, having begun to smooth a stick with his knife on Sunday, without remembering the day, was cautiously admonished by one of his courtiers—"My lord, to-morrow is the second day of the week;" whereupon the king, in compunction, collected the chips and burnt them on the palm of his hand, which, in token of his innocence, escaped unhurt.

ground of novelty, it succeeded in establishing itself, and has held its ground.<sup>a</sup>

(7.) Reverence for the Blessed Virgin was continually rising to a greater and greater excess. The idea of her acting as a mediatrix for those who might fear to approach the Saviour immediately, is inculcated by St. Bernard.<sup>r</sup> She was spoken of as "Queen of Heaven;"<sup>s</sup> the angelic salutation was repeated as an address to her fifty, a hundred, or even a thousand times a day,<sup>t</sup> and in monasteries offices were said in her honour from the time of Gregory VII.<sup>u</sup> As Sundays and festivals were dedicated to God, so Saturdays and eves were dedicated to St. Mary; and the recitation of her office on Saturday was ordered by Urban II. at the council of Clermont.<sup>x</sup> The new orders of monks—above all, the Cistercians—were under her especial protection.<sup>y</sup> The most extravagant and hyperbolical language was employed to express her greatness;<sup>z</sup> while on the other hand, in the vernacular poetry of Germany, she was addressed in strains which borrowed something from the feelings of chivalry.<sup>a</sup>

The heightened reverence for the Virgin had long assumed that she was without sin; but it had been supposed, as by Paschasius Radbert and by Anselm, that she was conceived in sin, but sanctified either before,<sup>b</sup> or after<sup>c</sup> her birth, by the special

<sup>a</sup> Neand. vii. 463-4. In England it was established by Becket, in remembrance of his consecration on that day, A.D. 1162. See Life of him, p. 47.

<sup>r</sup> Serm. de Nativ. B. M. V. 7. (Patrol. clxxxiii. 441; in Dominic. infr. Octav. Assumpt. 2, ib. 430.)

<sup>s</sup> Eliz. Schonaug., quoted at p. 206. Luc. Tudens. 238, 243 (Bibl. Patr. xxv.).

<sup>t</sup> Pet. Damiani, de Bono Suffragiorum, 3 (Patrol. cxlv. 564). Herm. Tornac. de Restauratione S. Mart. Tornac. 57 (ib. 180); Mabillon, Acta SS. vii. Præf. 55. The first order for it is by Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris, 1198. (Ib. ccxii. 64, Præcept. 10); Gieseler, II. ii. 471-2.

<sup>u</sup> Gerhoh. in Ps. xxxix. 4 (Patrol. cxciii. 1436).

<sup>x</sup> (A.D. 1095); Hard. VI., i. 1722; Chron. Sithiens. ap. Bouq. xiii. 479; Giesel. II., ii. 471.

<sup>y</sup> Rainard. Cisterc. c. 18. Patrol. clxxxi. 1729; Cæsar. Heisterb. vii. ult.; Gieseler, II., ii. 469.

<sup>z</sup> E. g. by Rupert of Deutz, l. vii. in Cantica, fin. (Patrol. clxviii. 962); and by Guibert of Nogent, 'De Laude B. Mariæ,' ib. clvi.; Schröckh, xxviii. 203, 237.

<sup>a</sup> See extracts in Gieseler, II., ii. 468-9.

<sup>b</sup> Paschas. de Partu Virginis (Patrol. cxx. 1371).

<sup>c</sup> Anselm., 'Cur Deus Homo,' ii. 16 (ib. clviii.) In c. 18 it is said that she was cleansed through faith. St. Anselm has been spoken of as having introduced the festival of the Immaculate Conception, and a passage from a commentary on St. Paul, which was formerly ascribed to him, has been borrowed by one Romish writer from another, down to Mgr. Gousset, cardinal-archbishop of Reims (Théologie Dogmatique, ii. 328, ed. 5, Paris, 1850, where the reference is incorrect), as showing that Anselm held the modern Roman doctrine on that subject. But (1) the treatise in which this passage occurs has long been ascertained to be the work of a somewhat later writer, Hervé of Bourg-Déols. (2) Even in the work of Hervé, the words are an interpolation, being absent in the best MSS. (see Censur. in Anselm., Patrol. clviii. 41). (3) Anselm in his genuine works speaks clearly on the other side. See Nat. Alex. xiii. 219 as to Anselm's views, and as to the tracts on the conception which have been falsely



operation of the Holy Spirit. A festival was instituted in honour of her conception, and, although it met with opposition in some places, was generally received in England in the course of the century.<sup>d</sup> But now the opinion began to be broached that she was herself conceived without sin,<sup>e</sup> and about 1140, the canons of Lyons proceeded to celebrate the new doctrine by a festival of the *Immaculate Conception*, on the 8th of December. By this, Bernard was drawn to write a letter of remonstrance, in which he states his belief that the Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, but that Christ alone was conceived without sin. If, he says, we were to suppose that the Saviour's mother must have been so conceived in order that she might be fitted to give Him birth, we might be required to suppose the like as to her parents also on both sides, and so of all her ancestors; and he censures the institution of such a festival without the sanction of the apostolic see.<sup>f</sup> Other eminent divines of the age took the same view with Bernard; as Peter of La Celle, who strongly defended him in two letters against a monk of St. Alban's named Nicolas;<sup>g</sup> Potho, a monk of Prüm;<sup>h</sup> and the ritualist John Belet, who says that the feast of the Virgin's immaculate conception ought to be suppressed, forasmuch as she was conceived in sin.<sup>i</sup>

ascribed to him; also Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* vi. 121.

<sup>d</sup> It was sanctioned by a council at London, in 1129 (*Annal. Theokesbur.* in ann.), and was forwarded by the authority of Bishop Gilbert Foliot. Osbert. de Clara, Epp. 8, 21 (published by Col. Anstruther, with Herb. Losinga, Brussels, 1846.) See, too, the *History of St. Peter's at Gloucester*, i. 15 (*Chron. and Mem.*).

<sup>e</sup> It has been said that "the Latin church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception of the Virgin mother" (Gibbon, v. 33; cf. Sale, n. on Koran, c. 3, p. 39). But the passages alleged for this (Kor. iii. vv. 31, 37), even if we admit Sale's explanation of v. 31. by a tradition, seem to imply no more than an exemption from actual sin—not reaching to the idea of a sanctification in the womb, much less to that of the immaculate conception.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. 174. The attempts of writers in the Roman interest to get over this letter are remarkable. Thus Baronius (1136. 14-5) asserts that Bernard wrote, not as expressing his own opinion, but merely in order to bring the matter

before the pope for decision. This idea is rightly declared by Pagi to be incredible. Others say that he objected to the festival only, not to the doctrine,—an evasion which a simple reading of the letter is enough to refute; others, that, as he professes in the conclusion to submit the whole question to the Roman church—"ipsius, si quid aliter sapio, paratus judicio emendare"—he must be supposed to acquiesce in the decree which Pius IX. pronounced, in 1854, in favour of the Immaculate Conception. But the only question which concerns us is that of Bernard's own judgment on the subject; and, indeed, he can hardly have been unaware that the western church in his own time was not likely to decree against any opinion of his. See on the history of the doctrine, Mill's *University Sermons*, 1848, pp. 491, seqq.

<sup>g</sup> *Patrol. ccii.* 617, seqq.; clxxxiii. 32.

<sup>h</sup> *De Domo Dei*, l. iii. fin. (*Bibl. Patr.* xxi. 502). He also blames the introduction of Trinity Sunday and the Transfiguration as novel and superfluous festivals. *Ib.*

<sup>i</sup> *Rationale Divin. Offic.* 146 (*Patrol. ccii.* 149). See the editor's note.

(8.) The ancient pagan festival of the Saturnalia, with its wild license and misrule, had affected the Christian celebration of the Christmas season, as appears by the protests of a chain of witnesses which reaches down from the fourth century.<sup>k</sup> Out of this arose a class of mock festivals, in which the rites of religion were parodied in a strange and startling fashion—at first, perhaps, without any evil intention, but gradually developing into gross profanity. The “Feast of Fools”<sup>m</sup> was celebrated in some places on the Circumcision, and in others on the Epiphany or its octave, when the subdeacons chose a Bishop of Fools. This prelate was arrayed in pontificals, and performed a burlesque mass, during which his attendant minister ate sausages, and carried on all manner of extravagant gambols in church.<sup>n</sup> In 1198, a papal legate, cardinal Peter, strongly condemned this profane mummery at Paris, and in the following year it was suppressed in that church by bishop Eudes of Sully.<sup>o</sup> In the thirteenth century, a still stranger festival of like kind—the “Feast of Asses,” in mock commemoration of the ass which carried the infant Saviour into Egypt—was celebrated at Rouen and elsewhere;<sup>p</sup> and in England the boy bishop or abbot was chosen by the choristers of the greater churches on the feast of St. Nicholas, the patron of children, down to the time of the Reformation.<sup>q</sup>

(9.) The passion for relics was greatly encouraged and nourished by the crusades, which introduced to the Christians of the West many saints before unknown to them—such as the Virgin Catharine of Alexandria—and supplied a vast quantity of materials for superstitious reverence. Among the chief of the relics which now became famous, was the “holy dish” brought by the Genoese from Cæsarea, after the capture of that

<sup>k</sup> See Schröckh, xxviii. 270-1; Gieseler, II., ii. 479.

<sup>m</sup> C. Schmidt, in Herzog, x. 204. Ducange supposes the 16th Latin canon of the council of Constantinople in 869 to relate to this; but it is really directed against the mad buffooneries of the emperor Michael III. (See vol. ii. 356 = 334). There is, however, something more like the ‘Festum Fatuorum’ in the account given by Cedrenus of the patriarch Theophylact of Constantinople (See vol. ii. 503 = 468; Cedren. 639; Gieseler, II., ii. 479). Luke of Tuy says that the parodies which the Cathari enacted in ridicule of the Church’s services (see p. 196) were often witnessed with delight by clergymen, who thought

such amusements lawful. iii. 10.

<sup>n</sup> Belet, c. 72 (who says that the subdeacons were sometimes reckoned with the sacred, and sometimes with the minor orders); Ducange, iii. 959; Schröckh, xxviii. 271-2; Gieseler, II., ii. 480. See Ducange, artt. *Abbas Conardorum* (a mock abbot, who at Rouen, Evreux, &c., was chosen on St. Barnabas’ Day); *Kalandæ*, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Patrol. ccxii. 70; Gieseler, II., ii. 481. See other documents in Goussainville’s Appendix to Peter of Blois, Patrol. ccvii. 1168, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> Ducange, iii. 255; Gieseler, II., ii. 480; Michelet, ii. 95, ed. 1852.

<sup>q</sup> See Scott’s novel of ‘The Abbot,’ c. xiv. and note, as to such festivals.



place in 1101, and still preserved in the cathedral of their city—a vessel which was believed to be of emerald, although in reality made of green glass, and was venerated as having been used at the Last Supper.<sup>r</sup> Another was the Veronica (*vera icon*)—a cloth on which our Lord was said to have miraculously impressed his countenance—exhibited in St. Peter's at Rome from the year 1011, and connected with a legend that it had been brought to Italy for the cure of the emperor Tiberius when afflicted with leprosy.<sup>s</sup> Another relic of great fame was the seamless coat of our Lord found at Argenteuil in 1156—one of many coats which claimed the same sacred connection, but distinguished from the rest as having been made for Him in his childhood by the Blessed Virgin;<sup>t</sup> and from this age also comes the first authentic mention of the holy coat which the empress Helena was said to have presented to an imaginary archbishop of her pretended birthplace, Treves.<sup>u</sup>

To a different class belong the renowned relics at Cologne—the bodies of the Holy Three Kings, which, as we have already seen,<sup>x</sup> were translated from Milan by archbishop Reginald, and those of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins. The legend of the British princess and her virgin companions, who are said to have been martyred by the Huns at Cologne, had been told by Sigebert of Gemblours, in the early part of the century, under the date of 453.<sup>y</sup> But when heresy afterwards became rife at Cologne, and miraculous aid was desirable in opposition to it, some bodies were opportunely found, and were sent to A.D. 1156. St. Elizabeth of Schönaue, who referred the martyrdom of the virgin company to the year 238—a date inconsistent with their martyrdom by the Huns—and had visions of their heavenly glory.<sup>z</sup> In connection with this affair, it is mentioned that the

<sup>r</sup> Will. Tyr. x. 16 (Patrol. cci.), mentions the acquisition of the *sacro catino*—"vas coloris viridissimi"—but appears sceptical as to the material, and says nothing of its legendary history. James de Voragine enlarges much on the value of the supposed emerald, but does not seem to believe the sacred connexion. Chron. Januens. in Murat. ix. 32-3. See Gieseler, II., ii. 460; Murray's Handbook of North Italy, 114, ed. 1860.

<sup>s</sup> Marianus Scotus, A.D. 39, in Pistorius, i. 550 (the passage does not appear in Pertz's edition); Schröckh, xxviii. 211-2. The Veronica is said to have warned Innocent III. of his approaching death by turning upside down

in a procession. M. Paris, 290, ed. Wats.

<sup>t</sup> Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1156; R. de Diceto, 536; Hugo Rothomag. Ep. 15 (Patrol. ccxii.); R. Wendover, ii. 283; Gieseler, II., ii. 461.

<sup>u</sup> See Patrol. cliv. 1133-4, 1249; Herzog, art. *Trier, Heiliger Rock*.

<sup>x</sup> P. 91.

<sup>y</sup> Patrol. clx.

<sup>z</sup> Vita, 116 (Patrol. ccxv.). See above, p. 206; Cæsar. Heisterb. viii. 85-9. The incredible number 11,000 has been explained by supposing that one of the virgins was named Undecimilla. But there is no example of that name, and the most probable theory is that in an

relics had been suspected, because some persons were in the habit of practising frauds in such matters for the sake of money;<sup>a</sup> and of such practices there is abundant evidence.<sup>b</sup>

In the end of the eleventh century, Guibert of Nogent-sous-Couci was led to compose a treatise 'On the Relics of Saints,'<sup>c</sup>—the immediate provocation being the impudence and the success with which the monks of St. Medard's, at Soissons, displayed a pretended tooth of our Lord. Guibert altogether denies that such bodily relics of the Saviour could be genuine;<sup>d</sup> he opposes the practice of disturbing the saints in their graves, and enclosing their remains in gold and silver; and he speaks without reserve of the arts by which both relics and saintly reputations were manufactured.<sup>e</sup> As a specimen of the audacity with which impostures of this kind were carried through, he mentions that once, while listening to a sermon, he was astonished by the preacher's pointing at him as a witness for the genuineness of some crusts which were said to have come from our Lord's own table! and that, although he blushed at the falsehood, he allowed it to pass, out of deference for those who had taken such means of filling their monastic purse.<sup>f</sup> The superstition which Guibert attacked, however, found a zealous defender in his contemporary Thiofrid, abbot of Epternach,<sup>g</sup> and continued in undiminished popularity.<sup>h</sup>

(10.) The practice of pilgrimage had produced the great movement of the crusades, and, after the success of the Latins, the crowds which flocked to the Holy Land were, for a time, greater than ever. Particular indulgences were attached to the longer pilgrimages—such as those of Rome, Compostella, and Jerusalem; and Innocent III. complains that, for the sake of the privileges

inscription "X.I.M.V.," (xi. martyres virgines) the M. may have been wrongly read as *millia*. For the growth of the legend, see Rettberg, Kircheng. Deutschlands, i. 111, seqq.; Gieseler, II., ii. 459.

<sup>a</sup> Eliz. ap. Gieseler, 459.

<sup>b</sup> Thus a council at Poitiers, in 1100, orders "Ut sanctorum reliquias causa pecuniæ et quæstus circumferentes ad prædicationem non admittantur." c. 12. Salimbene, after mentioning that at Bobbio he had seen a waterpot from the marriage of Cana, adds—"Si est, Deus novit, cui nota sunt omnia, aperta et nuda." 188.

<sup>c</sup> De Pignoribus Sanctorum (Patrol. clvi.).

<sup>d</sup> II., vi. 4.

<sup>e</sup> I., iii. 4.

<sup>f</sup> I., ii. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Thiofr. Flores Epitaph. SS. (Patrol. clviii.).

<sup>h</sup> Among instances of this time may be mentioned that the empress Matilda, on returning from Germany, brought with her a hand of St. James the Apostle, "per quod irreparabile damnum regno Francorum intulit." (Annal. S. Disibod. A.D. 1126.) St. Petroc's body was carried off from Cornwall to Brittany, but was restored by command of Henry II. (Ben. Petrib. 228-9; R. Hoved. 324). William of Waterville was deposed from the abbacy of Peterborough for having violently taken holy relics belonging to the abbey, and pawned them to Jews, A.D. 1175. Ben. Petrib. 129.



connected with the Compostella pilgrimage, the scallop-shells which were the token of it were counterfeited.<sup>1</sup> But warnings continued, as in early times, to be lifted up by eminent teachers against a reliance on pilgrimage. Thus, Hildebert praises a widow for having chosen, instead of running after the Saviour's burial-place, to "follow Him in his burial" by entering a convent,<sup>k</sup> and remonstrates with Count Fulk, of Anjou, for neglecting his duties that he might go on pilgrimage to Compostella:—"Among the talents which the Householder hath distributed to his servants," he says, "no doctor and no scripture mentions that of wandering round the world."<sup>m</sup> In like manner, Bernard exhorted against leaving the duties of home in order to visit the Holy Land;<sup>n</sup> and Peter of Cluny strongly reproves a monk for intending to set out on pilgrimage. "It is," he says, "a greater thing to serve God continually in humility and poverty, than to perform the journey to Jerusalem in pride and luxury. If it be well to visit Jerusalem, where the feet of our Lord stood, it is far better to pant after heaven, where He Himself is beheld face to face."<sup>o</sup> It was held that a vow of pilgrimage was fulfilled by entering a monastic order—that thus to vow one's whole life to God was more than the partial vows of pilgrims.<sup>p</sup> Other commutations for the longer pilgrimages were also introduced; thus Calixtus II. allowed the English and Scots, instead of going to Rome, to content themselves with resorting to St. David's—two visits to the Welsh sanctuary being reckoned as equivalent to one pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>q</sup>

(11.) The belief in the continued performance of miracles was unabated; and special collections of miraculous stories were formed, as by Peter of Cluny,<sup>r</sup> Herbert, archbishop of Torre, in Sardinia,<sup>s</sup> and in the next century by Cæsarius of Heisterbach; to which may be added the books on the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury, by William of Canterbury, and Benedict of Peterborough.<sup>t</sup> Yet Abelard ventured to deride the miracles of his

<sup>1</sup> Ep. x. 78.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. i. 5 (Patrol. clxxi.).

<sup>m</sup> Ib., Ep. 15.

<sup>n</sup> Epp. 52, 264, 399.      <sup>o</sup> Ep. ii. 15.

<sup>p</sup> Anselm, Epp. iii. 33, 116; Cæsar. Heisterb. i. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Will. Malmesb. *Gesta Regum*, c. 435; Joh. Petrib. ap. Sparke, 67. "Witness the ancient rhyming verse—

'Roma semel quantum, bis dat Menevia tantum.'

Not that St. David's gives a peck of pardons where Rome gives but a gallon,

as the words at the first blush may seem to import; but that two pilgrimages to St. David's should be equal in merit to one pilgrimage to Rome." (Fuller, i. 298.) For St. Patrick's Purgatory, to which pilgrimages were now made, see Henr. Salteriensis, Patrol. clxxx.

<sup>r</sup> Patrol. clxxix.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. clxxxv.

<sup>t</sup> Benedict's book has been published by Dr. Giles; that of William, which is far larger, exists in MS. at Winchester College.

most famous contemporaries, such as Norbert and Bernard, declaring that they did not rely on their prayers alone for a cure; but sometimes employed medicine in simple cases; that they sometimes ludicrously failed; and that all such failures were set down to the unbelief of the people, while the cures were ascribed to the holiness of those who wrought them.<sup>u</sup>

(12.) The system of penance became more and more widely different from what it had originally been. Not only did pecuniary commutations hold their ground (especially in England), notwithstanding all the prohibitions which councils could utter against them, but other things of a new kind contributed to destroy the ancient system. Among these new influences, the pope's assumption of a right to interfere with the penitential discipline in every diocese has been already mentioned.<sup>x</sup> But most especially the penitential discipline suffered from a system which now superseded the penitential books of earlier times<sup>y</sup>—the system of indulgences which were granted by way of inducement to perform some service for the church. These, unlike the indulgences of former days, were not limited to the forgiveness of particular sins, but extended to all.<sup>z</sup> Thus Gregory VII., in the names of St. Peter and St. Paul, promised absolution of all their sins to those who should take part with Rudolf of Swabia against Henry IV.;<sup>a</sup> and Victor III. endeavoured by a like promise to enlist men for a religious war against the Saracens of Africa.<sup>b</sup> This system was brought into its fullest operation by the crusades, from the time when Urban II. at Clermont proclaimed a plenary indulgence for all who should share in the Holy War.<sup>c</sup> These indulgences, indeed, were intended as remissions of those temporal penalties only which it was believed that the sinner must undergo either in this life or in purgatory; but the people in general understood them, and persisted in understanding them, as promises of eternal forgiveness, while they overlooked any conditions of repentance or charity which had been annexed to them.<sup>d</sup> And the license which marked the lives of the Crusaders, and of the Latins who settled in the Holy Land, is an unquestionable proof of the sense in which the papal offers were interpreted.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Sermo 33, Patrol. clxxviii. 605-6.

<sup>x</sup> P. 214.

<sup>y</sup> Murat., Antiq. Ital. iv. 761.

<sup>z</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 396-8.

<sup>a</sup> Conc. Rom., A.D. 1080, Patrol. exlviii. 818. See vol. ii. p. 640; Gieseler, II., ii. 503.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii., p. 674 (626).

<sup>c</sup> Hard. VI., i. 1724; Vol. ii., p. 680 (632); Morinus, x. 10.

<sup>d</sup> See Alan. contra Hæreticos, ii. 11 (Patrol. ccx.); Planck, IV., ii. 402-3.

<sup>e</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 156; Planck, IV., ii. 415-6; Gieseler, II., ii. 504.



In addition to the enterprises in which life was risked, and to which, therefore, the ancient belief in the cleansing power of martyrdom might be extended,<sup>f</sup> indulgences of lesser degrees were granted by bishops for all manner of small performances, such as the recitation of a certain prayer before a certain altar, visiting a church on a certain day, pilgrimages to relics and miraculous pictures, or the like; and in furtherance of local undertakings, such as the building or enlargement of a church, the building of a bridge, or the enclosure of a forest.<sup>g</sup> Payment towards the expenses of the Holy War was rewarded with indulgences in proportion to its amount;<sup>h</sup> and the allowance of indulgence was greatly increased. Thus an act which in an earlier age would have earned an indulgence of forty days, was now rewarded with absolution from a hundred years or more of purgatorial pain.<sup>i</sup> There were, however, those who, as Abelard, and Stephen, abbot of Obaize, did not hesitate to express their objections to the trade which was driven in indulgences, or their doubts as to the efficacy of these.<sup>k</sup>

The question whether confession to a priest were necessary in order to forgiveness of sin, was often discussed. Both Gratian and Peter Lombard give the arguments on each side; Gratian, with some qualification, decides against the necessity, while the Master of the Sentences takes the opposite view.<sup>m</sup> Peter teaches, as Hildebert had before taught,<sup>n</sup> that true repentance must consist of three parts—the compunction of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of work;<sup>o</sup> but he holds that, if the assistance of a priest cannot be had, confession to a lay Christian is allowable.<sup>p</sup> As to the effect of priestly absolution, he holds that the priest cannot forgive sins, but can only declare them to be remitted or retained; that, although we may have been forgiven by God, yet absolution by the priest's judgment is necessary "in the face of the church;" but that this absolution is valid in so far only as it agrees with the Divine judgment.<sup>q</sup> This opinion is spoken of by Richard of St. Victor as frivolous and

<sup>f</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 404.

<sup>g</sup> Alex. III., Epp. 740, 1427, &c.; Mabillon, Acta SS., vii., Præf. 54-5; Mosh., ii. 181; Schröckh, xxvii. 152; Planck, IV., ii. 396, 411; Giesel, II., ii. 505.

<sup>h</sup> See the 'Ordinatio Regum Franciæ et Angliæ,' A.D. 1184; Hard. VI., ii. 1881-2. (Gieseler wrongly supposes Alexander III. to have been still pope, II., ii. 508.)

<sup>i</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 411.

<sup>k</sup> Abæl. Scito Teipsum, cc. 18, 25 (Patrol. clxxviii. 663, 672); Vita Steph. Obaz. iv. 18, Baluz. Miscell. iv. 131, ed. 8vo.

<sup>m</sup> Gratian. Pars II., Causa xxxiii. qu. 3, dist. 1 (Patrol. clxxxvii.); Pet. Lomb. Sent. iv. 17 (ib. excii.).

<sup>n</sup> Sermo 23, Patrol. clxxi. 447.

<sup>o</sup> Sent. iv. 16, c. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 17, c. 5.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. 18.

ridiculous;<sup>r</sup> yet Richard himself did not venture to maintain that the priest had absolute power to forgive as with God's authority; and as yet the form of absolution continued to be precatory, not declaratory.<sup>s</sup>

#### IV. *State of Learning.*

The rise of great schools, and the increase of intellectual activity which marked the twelfth century, have been already noticed.<sup>t</sup> The foundation of the university of Oxford has been referred to Alfred; that of Paris, to Charlemagne; while Bologna has been carried back, by fable which has called forgery to its support, as far as the reign of Theodosius II., in the year 433.<sup>u</sup> For Cambridge, too, has been claimed an origin from Sigebert king of Essex, in the seventh century, from the British hero Arthur, in the fifth, and even from some date as early at least as the second century, when the professors of Cambridge are said to have converted king Lucius to the Christian faith.<sup>x</sup> But in truth the oldest of these famous seminaries cannot be traced to any earlier time than the twelfth century; nor can any formal foundation of them be shown, inasmuch as they did not owe their origin to any acts of papal or sovereign authority, but to the spontaneous concurrence of lecturers and students. Their distinct organization, and the bestowal of privileges by papal, imperial, or other charters, followed on the establishment of each body, as regulation became necessary, and as privileges were felt to be desirable; and at a later time the sanction of popes and princes was called in to give new universities a rank equal with those of earlier foundation, and especially to secure a general recognition for the degrees which they conferred.<sup>y</sup> The name of University, by which these great schools became distinguished, was not derived from their teaching of universal learning, but from the usage of the Roman law, in which it signified a corporation.<sup>z</sup> Thus,

<sup>r</sup> De Potest. Ligandi et Solvendi, 12 (Patrol. cxcvi.).

<sup>s</sup> Bingham XIX., ii. 4-5; Giesel. II., ii. 491. The higher notions as to the power of the priesthood in this respect were much forwarded by a treatise 'De Vera et Falsa Pœnitentia,' which in the 11th or 12th century was put forth as St. Augustine's, and was largely used by Gratian and Peter Lombard in their compilations. See the Introduction to it, in Patrol. xl. 1112; Gieseler, II., ii. 493.

<sup>t</sup> P. 25.

<sup>u</sup> Bulæus, i. 91, seqq., 211, 228; Savigny, iii. 164. The pretended charter of Theodosius is printed by Muratori, Antiq. Ital. iii. 21-3. For the real origin of Bologna, see ib. 85.

<sup>x</sup> See Bulæus, i. 291; Pits de Scripturibus Angl. 47, ed. Par. 1619. Both Oxford and Cambridge have still more extravagant stories of having been founded long before the Christian era. Pits, 28, 47.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 168, 415-7; Crevier, i. 252-4.

<sup>z</sup> This is admitted by Dr. Newman,



according to the varieties of constitution, the "university" might consist of the masters only (as at Paris), or might include the students also (as at Bologna); a single faculty might form an university, as we find the expressions *universitas artistarum* (i. e. the professors and students of the arts included in the Trivium and Quadrivium) and *universitas juristarum*; <sup>a</sup> and that which is popularly styled the university of a place might in reality consist of two or more universities—as at Bologna, from the time of Innocent VI., there were four universities, each under its own rector—two of them being devoted to law, one to medicine and philosophy, and one to theology. <sup>b</sup>

The story that the knowledge of Roman law, after having been extinct for ages, was revived by the discovery of a celebrated copy of the Pandects at Amalfi on the taking of that place by Lothair, in 1135—that the emperor presented the book to his allies the Pisans, in whose city it was long preserved with reverence—and that, at the instance of the great jurist Irnerius, he decreed that all men should thenceforth obey the Roman law only—appears to be utterly fabulous. <sup>c</sup> Traces of acquaintance with the Roman law are to be found throughout all the ages which had intervened since the time of Justinian; <sup>d</sup> and not only were other copies of the Pandects known before the date of the alleged discovery at Amalfi, but there is reason to believe that the book in question had been at Pisa long before that date—perhaps even from the days of Justinian himself. <sup>e</sup>

The increased study of Roman law would seem rather to have grown out of the needs of the Lombard cities, which, long before they extorted an acknowledgment of their liberties from

even while arguing that an university must teach universal knowledge. 'On University Education,' ed. 2, p. 16. See Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, i. 47; Savigny, iii. 412; Malden on the *Origin of Universities*, 13 (Lond. 1835). The word, indeed, was commonly used to mean a whole body of men of any sort. Thus Frederick II. complains that the "universitates" of some towns have presumed to appoint their own magistrates (Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 256). Perhaps the first application of the word to the university of Paris is in connexion with the affair of Amalric of Bene (see p. 342). *Hist. Litt.* xvii. 45-6.

<sup>a</sup> Savigny, iii. 157, 412-3.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 178-189, 514-5.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 92. The oldest written authority for the finding of the book at Amalfi is said to be a poem by Raynerius de Graneis, a Dominican of Pisa, about 1340, in Murat. *Script. Rer. Ital.* xi. 314 (See Muratori there, and *Antiq.* iii. 887). The oldest authority for the complete story is said to be Sigonius (*De Regno Italiæ*, p. 270, ed. Francof. 1575). Giannone says all that he can in its behalf (l. xi. c. 2). See Gibbon, iv. 197.

<sup>d</sup> Murat. *Antiq. Ital. Dissert.* xlv., t. iii., pp. 886-8; Savigny, i. 439, seqq.; iii. 83; Hallam, *Hist. Litt.* i. 81; *Middle Ages*, ii. 473.

<sup>e</sup> Savigny, iii. 94-8. Since 1411 the MS. has been at Florence, where it is to be seen in the Laurentian library.

Frederick Barbarossa, set up pretensions to independence, and wished for a system of law more suitable to their circumstances than the barbaric codes.<sup>f</sup> Moreover, the ancient civil law was regarded as having a claim on all the West beyond the immediate occasion, inasmuch as from the time of Charlemagne the states of western Europe had all been considered as forming one empire.<sup>g</sup> Hence arose the law-school of Bologna, under Irnerius, who has been supposed by some to have been a German, but was more probably a native of the city;<sup>h</sup> and the first formal recognition of it is in a rescript which Frederick issued at Roncaglia, in 1158. By this document special privileges are bestowed on the schools. The students, and the messengers or posts by whom they kept up communication with their homes, are to travel without hindrance; it is ordered that no one shall be held liable for the misdeeds or for the debts of his countrymen; the students are exempted from the jurisdiction of the secular magistrates, and are subjected to the judgment of their professors or of the bishop.<sup>i</sup>

The method of teaching and the writings of Irnerius and his followers, the "Four Doctors of Bologna,"<sup>k</sup> excited a desire for a compendium of church-law, which had been regarded as a branch of theology;<sup>m</sup> and the need of such a work was the more felt, because the Bolognese lawyers were imperialist and antipapalist in their principles.<sup>n</sup> Collections of ecclesiastical law had, indeed, been formed in times not remote, by Regino, abbot of Prüm,<sup>o</sup> by Burkhard, bishop of Worms,<sup>p</sup> by Ivo of Chartres, and others.<sup>q</sup> But these collections were not reduced to a system, and one great purpose of the digest which was now compiled by Gratian, a monk of Bologna, may be understood from the title which was given to it (although possibly not by the author), "A Concordance of discordant Rules."<sup>r</sup> In this, the matter was classi-

<sup>f</sup> Hallam, M. A., ii. 474; Savigny, iii. 84, 105.

<sup>g</sup> *Ib.* 87.

<sup>h</sup> *Ib.* iii. 426, seqq.; iv. 16. Irnerius has been already mentioned, vol. ii., p. 749 (689). Robert of Mont St. Michel wrongly places him in company with Lanfranc, as early as 1032 (*Patrol.* clx. 418). See Murat. *Antiq.* iii. 855-6, 893; Savigny, iv. 20.

<sup>i</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 114; Savigny, iii. 168-170; Malden, 48, 52. The words "a domino vel magistro suo" do not (as has been supposed) mean different authorities, but the one is added in explanation of the other. Savigny, 170.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 81.

<sup>m</sup> Savigny, iii. 514.

<sup>n</sup> Neand. vii. 281. See vol. ii. 749 (689); and above, p. 81.

<sup>o</sup> *Patrol.* cxxxii.

<sup>p</sup> *Ib.* cxl.

<sup>q</sup> *Ib.* clxi. See Schröckh, xxvii. 20; Gieseler, II., ii. 217; Wasserschleben, in Herzog, vii. 311-5.

<sup>r</sup> "Concordantia discordantium Regularum." Tiraboschi dates the book in 1140 (iii. 393). Fabricius says that it was completed in 1151 (*Bibl. Lat.* 843, Hamb. 1708). See Walter, 224; Wasserschleben, 315. Alberic of Trois Fontaines says that a "magister egregius"



fied under proper heads; the various sentences of councils, popes, and fathers were cited, and harmony was as far as possible established between them, while Gratian, unlike the earlier compilers, added to the usefulness of the book by introducing his own views and "dicta."<sup>s</sup> The genuineness of the False Decretals was assumed, and their principles were carried throughout the work, which thus served to establish those principles instead of the older canonical system. The Decretum (as it was generally styled) was recommended not only by its superiority over other collections in method and completeness, but by the circumstance that it emanated from the city which was the chief seat of legal learning.<sup>t</sup> It was valuable as preserving many important fragments which would otherwise have perished, and became popular as the source of much second-hand learning which is displayed by writers of the middle ages.<sup>u</sup> But it abounds in uncritical blunders, and the compiler's attempts at a harmony of authorities were after all so far from satisfactory, that a Cistercian chapter in 1188 ordered the book to be locked up, lest the promiscuous reading of it should propagate errors.<sup>x</sup> Eugenius III. is said to have approved the Decretum in 1152, and although this statement seems to be very questionable,<sup>y</sup> the importance of the work for the papacy was speedily understood. It became the great text-book of the subject; within a few years after its publication, special professorships of canon law were established both at Bologna and at Paris;<sup>z</sup> the faculty of Canonists or Decretalists arose in rivalry to that of Legists, and each conferred degrees on its members.<sup>a</sup> From this time the popes, if they wished to give currency to new decrees, had only to send them to the professors of the chief universities, by whom they

named Omnibonus compiled a 'Concordantia discordantium Canonum,' which from him was called *Omne-bonum*, and that this was amplified by Gratian, under Alexander III. (Bouquet, xii. 703). It is supposed that Gratian was partly incited by Bernard's complaints as to the sway of the civil law in the pope's court (see p. 69). Schröckh, xxvii. 24. See Gieseler, II., ii. 218.

<sup>s</sup> Wasserschl. 316; Hurter, I. 33.

<sup>t</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 46; Savigny, iii. 514; Gieseler, II., ii. 216-7.

<sup>u</sup> Another great source of such learning was Peter Lombard's 'Liber Sententiarum' (Schröckh, xxviii. 524-6). The medieval quotations almost always

follow any variations which these compilers make from the originals.

<sup>x</sup> Capit. Gener. Cistere. c. 5, ap. Martene, Thes. i. 1263.

<sup>y</sup> See Schröckh, xxvii. 42, who believes it; Planck, IV., ii. 742. Wasserschleben (in Herzog, vii. 316) says that it rests on a forgery of the 18th century. Raumer observes that such sanction was not really necessary for a work composed of such materials. vi. 133.

<sup>z</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 218.

<sup>a</sup> Savigny, iii. 516; Pagi, xix. 56; Schröckh, xxvii. 43. For the later history of the Decretum, see Schröckh, ib. 48-50.

were eagerly caught up, expounded, and disseminated through the agency of their pupils.<sup>b</sup>

The university of Paris owes its origin to William of Champeaux, Abelard, William of Conches, and their contemporaries, whose lectures attracted a great concourse of hearers to the city;<sup>c</sup> and it speedily grew to such an extent that the number of students is said to have exceeded that of the citizens.<sup>d</sup> The earliest documents which recognise the existence of the university are two decretals of Alexander III.<sup>e</sup> Celestine III. exempted the students in all questions as to money from the jurisdiction of the secular magistrates, and ordered that they should be judged according to the canon law, before the bishop, or the abbot of St. Geneviève;<sup>f</sup> and in the last year of the century, in consequence of a great quarrel between the students and the citizens, a grant of privileges was bestowed by Philip Augustus, who acknowledges the office of rector as already existing.<sup>g</sup> As the cathedral school had been the germ of the university, the chancellor of the cathedral was its superintendent; and hence, in other universities founded on the same model, the chief officer bore the title of chancellor.<sup>h</sup> The students of Paris were divided into four nations—a division which was afterwards imitated elsewhere.<sup>i</sup> This arrangement is said to have been fully established before 1169, when Henry II. of England offered to refer his differences with Becket to the judgment of the university;<sup>k</sup> but the evidence appears unsatisfactory.<sup>m</sup>

As Bologna was the great school of law,<sup>n</sup> so Paris took the lead in theology; but it also became eminent in the other faculties. Giraldus Cambrensis, who had studied at Bologna as well as at Paris, tells us that both civil and canon law were best taught

<sup>b</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 739-749; Giesel, II., ii. 220.

<sup>c</sup> Crevier, *Hist. de l'Université*, i. 112. See Joh. Sarisb. *Metalogic*, ii. 10; Hurter, ii. 12-9; *Hist. Litt.* xvii. 45-6.

<sup>d</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 217.

<sup>e</sup> Savigny, iii. 226. See Bulæus, ii. 555.

<sup>f</sup> Bul. ii. 498; Crevier, i. 265.

<sup>g</sup> Bul. iii. 2; Crev. i. 255. The rector is styled *Capitale*.

<sup>h</sup> Savigny, iii. 226.

<sup>i</sup> The nations at Paris were—

(1). *Fren-h*, including Spain, Italy, and the East.

(2). *English*, including Germany, Hungary, Poland, and the Northern kingdoms. The name was changed to *German* in 1430.

(3). *Picards*, including the Nether-

lands.

(4). *Normans*. Savigny, iii. 349.

<sup>k</sup> Bul. ii. 363; Crevier, i. 254; Hallam, M.A., ii. 480.

<sup>m</sup> The authority alleged is R. de Diceto, who says that it was proposed to submit the case "*scholaribus diversarum provinciarum*" (551). But this does not necessarily imply the formal division into four nations; and Becket himself says only "*scholarium Parisiensium*" (*Patrol.* cxc. 586), without any mention of provinces. Du Boulay would deduce the division from the time of Charlemagne! i. 252.

<sup>n</sup> At Bologna an oath was sometimes exacted of lawyers, that they would not teach their science anywhere else. *Murat. Antiq.* iii. 899-903.



in the French university, and quotes the opinion of another, that Paris was the best school for every sort of learning which might be taken up there ;<sup>o</sup> and whereas, in John of Salisbury's time, it was usual for the students of medicine to repair from Paris to Montpellier or Salerno, which were then in the highest fame as medical schools,<sup>p</sup> Paris itself, under Philip Augustus, was provided with facilities of all sorts for teaching medical science.<sup>q</sup>

England bore its share in the intellectual progress of the century. Englishmen, such as Robert Pulleyn,<sup>r</sup> Robert, who, from the place where he lectured, was styled of Melun,<sup>s</sup> and John of Salisbury, became famous abroad for their learning ;<sup>t</sup> and to this time is to be ascribed the real origin of the university of Oxford.<sup>u</sup> The earliest fact which seems to be certain in the literary history of Oxford is the establishment of Vacarius, a Lombard, as professor of civil law there, under the patronage of Archbishop Theobald, in 1149 ;<sup>x</sup> from which we may infer that it was already known as a place of study. It is remarkable that John of Salisbury, although he mentions Vacarius,<sup>y</sup> says nothing

<sup>o</sup> Works, i. 46-8, ed. Brewer ; Anglia Sacra, ii. 478.

<sup>p</sup> Joh. Sar., Metalog. i. 4 ; Crevier, i. 249. For Montpellier, see Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 517 ; for Salerno, Malden, 64-9.

<sup>q</sup> W. Armor. in Bouq. xviii. 182-3. See Bul. ii. 572 ; Crevier, i. 249. The customs of the university are described in a treatise 'De Disciplina Scholarium,' printed with the works of Boëthius (Patrol. lxi. 1223, seqq., but really written by Thomas of Brabant, in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Savigny, iii. 339-340.

<sup>r</sup> Patrol. clxxxvi. He was afterwards a cardinal and chancellor of the Roman see.

<sup>s</sup> Afterwards bishop of Hereford.

<sup>t</sup> Peter of La Celle, in a letter to Nicolas, a monk of St. Albans (Epp. ii. 171, Patrol. ccii.), contrasts the "Anglica levitas" with the "Gallica maturitas," and adds that the English are affected by the water which surrounds their island, so that "nimia mobilitate in tenuissimas et subtiles phantasias frequenter transferuntur, somnia sua visionibus comparantes, ne dicam præferentes . . . Certe expertus sum somniores plus esse Anglicos quam Gallos."

<sup>u</sup> The connexion of Oxford with King Alfred is grounded on a passage in Asser, which, however, is generally supposed to be an interpolation (See Monum.

Hist. Britann. 489-490, and Preface, 89 ; Wood's Hist. of Oxford, ed. Gutch, i. 21-4 ; Pearson's Early and Middle Ages in England, 119 ; Shirley, in Gent. Mag., June, 1865, p. 746). Dr. Lappenberg, however, is undecided as to the question (i. 339) ; and Mr. Huber supposes the words to be partly genuine ('English Universities,' transl. by F. Newman, i. 46, 373-385). Ingulf is made to speak of the studies carried on at Oxford under Edward the Confessor (Fell, 73). But the credit of the writer who assumed this name is now gone. See vol. ii., p. 673 (625) ; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 93 ; M. A. ii. 480.

<sup>x</sup> Gervas. 1665 ; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1149 (Patrol. clx.). Robert informs us that, for the use of his poorer scholars, Vacarius made an abridgement of the civil law, which, according to Savigny (iv. 359, 362), still exists in MS. He was silenced by King Stephen (Joh. Sarisb., Polycrat. viii. 22), but remained in England. Selden, in consequence of a mispunctuation in Robert, has made the mistake (in which others have followed him) of identifying Vacarius with Roger, abbot of Bec, to whom the primacy was offered after the murder of Becket. Dissert. in Fletam, Works, ii. 1082, seqq. See Wood, ed. Gutch, i. 150-4 ; Hist. Litt. xiv. 26 ; Savigny, iv. 348, seqq.

<sup>y</sup> See note x.

of his having taught at Oxford;<sup>z</sup> but Giraldus Cambrensis, about the year 1185, speaks of Oxford as the place most distinguished in England for the excellence of its clerks.<sup>a</sup> The sister university of Cambridge, according to the continuation of Ingulf which bears the name of Peter of Blois, existed as early as 1109, when Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, taught there. But the authority is worthless, and the statement labours under the difficulty that Averroes, whose works Joffrid is said to have expounded, was then unborn.<sup>b</sup> It is not until the beginning of the thirteenth century that any trustworthy mention of Cambridge as a seat of learning is to be found.

The theologians of the western church in these times laboured under the disadvantage of being unacquainted with the original languages of scripture. Anselm appears to have been ignorant of Greek;<sup>c</sup> Abelard's knowledge of it seems to have been limited to such Greek words as are to be found in Latin writers, and he avows that he was unable to read some works of Aristotle and Plato because they had not been translated into Latin;<sup>d</sup> John of Salisbury, although his knowledge of the classical Latin authors was unrivalled among his contemporaries, on meeting with the word *ousia* in a treatise of St. Ambrose, was unable either to understand it or to find any western teacher who could explain it to him.<sup>e</sup> In consequence of this ignorance, the expositors

<sup>z</sup> Hence Professor Schaarschmidt would infer that his teaching was only in the archbishop's household ('Joh. Sarisb.' Leipz. 1862, p. 188); but the authority for Oxford seems to be sufficient.

<sup>a</sup> De Rebus a se gestis, ii. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Contin. Ingulfi, ap. Fell, 114; Hallam, M. A., ii. 480; Hardy, Pref. to Mon. Hist. Brit. 19. Mr. Huber, however, tries to support the story, i. 62.

<sup>c</sup> Rémusat, Vie de S. Anselme, 457 (who refutes the contrary opinion of Hasse).

<sup>d</sup> Dialectica, in 'Œuvres Inédits,' ed. Cousin, i. 200, 206, 399. These passages, says M. Cousin, prove what until the discovery of the treatise was only matter of inference as to the limits of Abelard's knowledge.

<sup>e</sup> "Verbi obstaculum reperi, quod nullus magistrorum nostrorum sufficiat amovere, quia Græcæ linguae expertes sunt." (Then follows a quotation, which is unintelligible as printed in the letter, but may be corrected by a comparison with Ambros. de Incarn. Verbi, 100, in Patrol. xvi.) "Sic quidem Ambrosius

colligit, sed ratio inferentiæ vobis plenius liquet et Græcis, mihi vero et mei similibus nubeculosior est" (Ep. 169, Patrol. excix. See Schaarschmidt, 111). This letter, written while John was an exile in France for his adherence to Becket, is addressed to "Master John the Saracen," who seems to have been a convert of Oriental birth, and therefore presumed to know something of Greek. John of Salisbury's slight acquaintance with Greek was picked up from a Greek whom he had met with in Apulia, on one of his missions to Italy while employed by Archbishop Theobald (Metalog. iv. 15, Patrol. exc. 843; Schaarschm. 112). On the amount of his acquaintance with Plato and Aristotle, through translations, see Prof. Schaarschmidt, 113, seqq.). The title of his 'Polycraticus' has given cause for much conjecture—the word being often derived from *πόλις*, and always from *κρατέω*. I believe, however, that the real derivation is from *πολύς* and *κεράννυμι*—the title expressing the *miscellaneous* nature of the contents.



of Scripture did not so much aim at discovering its real sense, as at forcing into it such matter as they supposed to be edifying;<sup>f</sup> and hence they not only disguised all that they treated by a mystical system of interpretation,<sup>g</sup> but in their choice of subjects there was an especial fondness for the obscurest books, such as the Canticles, Ezekiel, and the Apocalypse.<sup>h</sup> The theologians of the time were divided into three classes—those who, like Bernard, followed the ancient expositors; the more speculative and adventurous thinkers, of whom Abelard is the chief representative; and a middle class, who, after the example of Lanfranc and Anselm, endeavoured to combine original thought with a deference to antiquity. These three classes were respectively known as Positives, Scholastics (a word which from having been used as a general term for learned men, was now applied more especially to signify the professors of philosophical theology),<sup>i</sup> and Sententiaries.<sup>k</sup>

A service like that which Gratian had rendered to ecclesiastical law was performed for theology by Peter Lombard, a native of Novara, who, after having long taught with great reputation at Paris, became bishop of that city in 1159, and died in 1164.<sup>m</sup> The name of Sentences had before been given to the collections of ancient authorities which had been popular since the seventh century.<sup>n</sup> Such a collection of opinions had been formed by Abelard, under the title of 'Yes and No,' with a view of exhibiting their contradictions;<sup>o</sup> but Peter Lombard, on the contrary, in his 'Four Books of Sentences,' aimed at harmonising them. He discusses questions down to those raised by Abelard, although without naming the authors; and the authorities which he cites come down to the time of Bede.<sup>p</sup> The method which was observed in the work gave it the charm of novelty, while in sub-

<sup>f</sup> See John of Salisbury, Polycr. vii. 12, col. 666.

<sup>g</sup> See Schröckh, xxvii. 324.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 322. In Migne's 'Patrologia,' there are at least fourteen commentaries on the Canticles by writers of the 12th century. If printed like the text of this volume, they would fill nearly 3000 pages.

<sup>i</sup> Bulæus, ii. 582, seqq.; Gieseler, vi. 446.

<sup>k</sup> See Mosheim, ii. 486; Possevin, quoted by Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 18.

<sup>m</sup> See Peter's works in Patol. clxxxix.; Schröckh, xxviii. 487; Ritter, 475-7. In vol. xcii. of the Patrologia are four books of Sentences which bear the name of Master Bandinus—a person

of whom nothing is known. It has been supposed that these were the original which Peter Lombard amplified; but they seem rather to be an abridgement of Peter's work. Neand. viii. 78 Gieseler, II., ii. 401.

<sup>n</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 488; Rémusat, 'Abelard,' ii. 169.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 38. On Peter Lombard's obligations to Abelard, see Rémusat, ii. 180. Perhaps the idea of his work was taken from that of John of Damascus, 'De Fide Orthodoxa,' which had lately been translated into Latin. (See vol. ii., p. 91 = 84.) Hampden, Bampton Lectures, ed. 2, p. 44.

<sup>p</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 520-1.

stance it was intended to accord with antiquity; and it speedily obtained a great popularity.<sup>1</sup> The "Master of the Sentences," indeed, was not exempt from censure; Gerhoh of Reichersperg denounced him to Alexander III.,<sup>r</sup> and one of his own pupils, John of Cornwall,<sup>s</sup> attacked him both while living and after death. An opinion imputed to him—that our Lord, in so far as He is man, is nothing,<sup>t</sup>—was brought before the council of Tours in 1163, and before the Lateran council of 1179, and was condemned by Alexander, who directed the French bishops to teach "that Christ, as He is perfect God, so also is He perfect man, consisting, according to his manhood, of soul and body."<sup>u</sup> Joachim of Fiore also charged Peter with heterodoxy, as has been already mentioned; but the Fourth Lateran council in 1215 pronounced in favour of the Master of the Sentences;<sup>x</sup> and from that time his reputation and authority were greatly increased. Lectures and commentaries on his 'Sentences' were composed in vast abundance, and among the authors of them were the most eminent teachers of the church; England alone is said to have produced no less than a hundred and sixty-four writers who illustrated this famous text-book.<sup>y</sup> Yet the work, while it aimed at settling every point of doctrine, was often found rather to suggest questions than to answer them;<sup>z</sup> and in the year 1300 the professors of Paris extracted from it sixteen propositions as to which the Master's opinions were not generally held.<sup>a</sup>

The school of St. Victor at Paris, founded by William of Champeaux, while it endeavoured to reconcile the scholastic method of inquiry with practical piety, was especially opposed to the dialectical subtleties which were now in fashion, and was itself inclined to mysticism.<sup>b</sup> The most famous teachers of this school were Hugh—a Saxon, according to some writers, while others supposed him a native of Ypres—who died in

<sup>1</sup> For estimates of the book, see Schröckh, xxviii. 488, seqq.; Ritter, vii. 479; Hauréau, i. 330.

<sup>r</sup> Ep. 17 (Patrol. exciii.).

<sup>s</sup> This writer's remains are in the Patrologia, vols. clxxvii. and excix. See the Hist. Litt. xiii. Giraldus speaks of a John of Cornwall—probably the same—as fitted by his knowledge of Welsh for the bishoprick of St. David's. Liber Investiv. v. 8.

<sup>t</sup> "Quod Christus, secundum quod est homo, non est aliquid."

<sup>u</sup> Epp. 743-4, A.D. 1170 (Patrol. cc.); Chron. Reichersperg. in Pertz, xvii. 471; Hefele, v. 545, 639; Mosh. ii. 486; Crevier, i. 206. <sup>x</sup> See p. 208.

<sup>y</sup> Pits, 947, ed. Paris, 1619; Hauréau, i. 331. <sup>z</sup> Hauréau, i. 330-1.

<sup>a</sup> "Hic magister communiter non tenetur." (See Schröckh, xxviii. 532.) Twenty-nine such points are enumerated in Patrol. excii. 961-4.

<sup>b</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 402; Hauréau, i. 319, seqq.; Hugonin, in Patrol. clxxxv., Proleg. 80.



1141;<sup>c</sup> Richard, a Scotsman, who died in 1170;<sup>d</sup> and Walter, who, in 1174, wrote against 'The Four Labyrinths of Gaul,' under which name he denounced Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Peter Lombard, and his disciple, Peter of Poitiers.<sup>e</sup>

Other writers, who were no enemies to learning or philosophy, agreed in censuring the dialectical arts which, from having been regarded with suspicion in the preceding century,<sup>f</sup> were now the great weapon of the most popular teachers. John of Salisbury complains of the modern systems of study as ruinous to solid learning,<sup>g</sup> and describes a professor whom he styles *Cornificius* as teaching his pupils to despise all that was ancient, to neglect the old methods of learning, and to consider themselves accomplished philosophers after a course no longer than the time in which young birds become fledged.<sup>h</sup> Other writers of the age agree with John in their complaints as to the waste of time in speculations, the fondness for words rather than things, the abuse of dialectical art in mere quibbling, the too prevalent separation between knowledge and practice in those who professed themselves followers of learning, the tendency to go on to the higher branches of study without having laid a solid foundation. It was complained that Scripture was neglected in comparison of the new and showy kinds of knowledge; and, useful as the labours of Gratian and Peter Lombard were, when rightly employed, they tended, by offering a short and easy way to an appearance of familiarity with earlier writers, to discourage any deeper study of the original works from which their materials were derived.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>c</sup> See *Patrol.* clxxv., *Proleg.* 41-4; *Schröckh*, xxiv. 392; xxviii. 552, seqq.; *Neand.* viii. 65, seqq.; *Gieseler*, II., ii. 403; *Ritter*, vii. 507, seqq.

<sup>d</sup> *Patrol.* excvi.; *Schröckh*, xxiv. 403; *Ritter*, vii. 547, seqq.

<sup>e</sup> The book is known only by the extracts published by Du Boulay in his *History of the University of Paris*, and reprinted by Migne, vol. cxcix. Walter is said to have injured his purpose by exaggeration. *Gieseler*, II., ii. 404. See *Schröckh*, xxviii. 530. For Peter of Poitiers, see *Patrol.* cxi.; *Schröckh*, xxviii. 540-1.

<sup>f</sup> See vol. ii., p. 661 (614).

<sup>g</sup> *Metalog.* i. 24; ii. 17; *Polycrat.* vii. 12, &c.

<sup>h</sup> *Metalog.* i. 3. See *Salimbene*, 212. There was a *Cornificia gens* at Rome, and the name *Cornificius* is to be found in *Catullus* (36); but John of Salisbury probably uses it as meaning one who made horns of dilemmas—a troublesome disputant. *Hauréau*, i. 344.

<sup>i</sup> *Crevier*, i. 209-210. See *Schröckh*, xxviii. 301; *Gieseler*, II., ii. 407; *Neand.* viii. 83-5; *Hardwick*, 317-8; *Girald. Cambr.*, *Gemma Ecclesiæ*, ii. 37 (*Works*, ii. 348).

## BOOK VI.

FROM THE ELECTION OF INNOCENT III. TO THE DEATH OF  
BONIFACE VIII., A.D. 1198-1303.

## CHAPTER I.

INNOCENT III., A.D. 1198-1216.

I. AT the death of Celestine the Third, the urgency of affairs appeared to supersede the observance of the rule which prescribed that the election of a pope should be deferred until after the funeral of his predecessor. On the same day on which Celestine breathed his last, a meeting of cardinals, attended by all but four of the twenty-eight who then formed the college,<sup>a</sup> was held in a church near the Colosseum—probably the monastic church of St. Gregory, on the Cœlian hill.<sup>b</sup> Of three names proposed for the vacant dignity, that of John, bishop of Sabino,<sup>c</sup> found the greatest favour; but this cardinal himself, and the aged Octavian of Ostia, whose influence was powerful in the consistory, exerted themselves that the votes should be united in favour of Lothair, cardinal of SS. Sergius and Bacchus; and Lothair, although he endeavoured by tears and struggles to decline the papacy, was elected by his brethren, invested with the mantle, exhibited to the expectant people, and enthroned in the Lateran as Innocent the Third.<sup>d</sup>

Innocent was of the family of the Counts of Segni, who took from their rank the surname of Conti.<sup>e</sup> The Conti had mixed deeply in the feuds of their neighbourhood, and had usually been arrayed in opposition to the late pope's family, the Orsini.<sup>f</sup> Innocent had studied at Paris, a circumstance to which he refers

<sup>a</sup> Hurter, i. 77.

<sup>b</sup> See note on the *Gesta Innocentii*, 5 (Patrol. cexiv.); Hurter, i. 84.

<sup>c</sup> Hoveden says of John, that he never ate flesh or drank anything "quo inebriari potuit," but that he thirsted after

gold and silver. 468.

<sup>d</sup> *Gesta*, 5.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* 6. This was not until after his time, according to Gregorovius, v. 7.

<sup>f</sup> For the Orsini, see Gregorov. v. 39.



with interest in a letter addressed to Philip Augustus;<sup>g</sup> and he had displayed and strengthened his hierarchical feeling by a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr at Canterbury.<sup>h</sup> After having further prosecuted his studies at Bologna, where he acquired a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical law,<sup>i</sup> he returned to Rome, was ordained sub-deacon by Gregory VIII., and soon after became a canon of St. Peter's.<sup>k</sup> In the twenty-ninth year of his age, he was advanced to the dignity of cardinal by Clement III., to whom he was nearly related;<sup>m</sup> and under this pope, as under his predecessor, Lucius, he was employed in important missions.<sup>n</sup> The papacy of Celestine, to whom he was obnoxious on account of the hostility between their families, condemned him for a time to inaction, and he employed himself chiefly in study, which produced its fruit in a treatise "On the Contempt of the World," and in other writings. The general tone of these is that of a rigid ascetic, withdrawn from the world and despising it—a tone seemingly very alien from the vigorous practical character which the author was soon to display. His sermons<sup>o</sup> are remarkable for the acquaintance with Scripture which appears in them, and for his extraordinary delight in perverting its meaning by allegory—a practice which in later times enabled him to produce scriptural authority for all his pretensions and for everything that he might desire to recommend.<sup>p</sup> And in his books "On the Sacred Mystery of the Altar," he had laid down the highest Roman doctrine as to the elevation

<sup>g</sup> Ep. i. 71.

<sup>h</sup> Innocent said to the chronicler of Andres—"Tempore quo Parisiis in scholis resedimus, apud beatum Thomam peregrinantes in ecclesia tua hospitium habuimus." D'Achery, ii. 839.

<sup>i</sup> Gesta, 2; Hurter, i. 34; ii. 342-3.

<sup>k</sup> See Epp. i. 295; ii. 197.

<sup>m</sup> Gesta, 3.

<sup>n</sup> One of these related to the differences between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury (see above, p. 252-3). Hurter, i. 37.

<sup>o</sup> Innocent, when preaching, sometimes had a book before him. When his chaplains asked why a man of his wisdom and learning did so, the answer was—"I do it for your sake, to give you an example, since you are ignorant, and are ashamed to learn." Salimbene, 4.

<sup>p</sup> As a specimen we may take the opening of the Prologue to the Sermons—"Prophetica docet auctoritas quod beati sunt illi qui seminant super aquas

(Isai. 32); 'Semen enim est verbum Dei' (Luc. 8), et 'aquæ multæ sunt populi multi' (Apoc. 19). E contra, 'Maledictus est ille qui frumentum abscondit in populo, et suffodit in terra talentum' (Prov. 11); quia supererogare debet aliquid stabularius qui duos accepit a Samaritano denarios (Luc. 10), et superlucrari debet aliquid servus cui Dominus duo talenta commisit (Matth. 15). Nam a tunica hyacinthina dependebant aurea tintinnabula, ne pontifex ingrediens absque sonitu sanctuarium morderetur (Exod. 28). Inter cætera siquidem quæ ad pastorale spectant officium, sanctæ prædicationis virtus excellit" &c. Among Innocent's treatises is one on Alms, which opens with a curious piece of etymology—"Eleēmosyna dicitur ab *elimino*, vel ab *Eli*, quod est *Deus*, et *moys*, quod est *aqua*; quia Deus per eleēmosynam maculas peccatorum eliminat, et sordes abluit vitiorum." Patrol. cexvii. 746-7.

of St. Peter and his successors over all other apostles and bishops.<sup>q</sup>

At the time of his election, Innocent was only thirty-seven years old, and on this account fears were entertained by some that he would not prove equal to the burden of the papal office.<sup>r</sup> But all such apprehensions were speedily dispelled by the display of a character which united the boldness of Gregory VII. with the politic caution and patience of Alexander III.,<sup>s</sup> and under him the papacy attained its highest elevation. The vast, although imperfect, collection of his letters attests that immense and varied activity which justified him in saying of himself—"Not only am I not allowed to contemplate, but I cannot even get leave to breathe; I am in such a degree made over to others that I almost seem to be altogether taken away from myself."<sup>t</sup> In what degree these letters may be regarded as his own compositions it may be impossible to say; but there is in them a remarkable unity not only of character but of style. With much redundancy of words, and with that systematic abuse of Scripture which has been already mentioned as characteristic of him, they are marked throughout by the impress of his clear mind and of his powerful will. Yet stern as Innocent was in principle, fully as he upheld the proudest claims of the papacy—and not the less so for his continual affectation of personal humility—he appears to have been amiable in his private character. His contemporary biographer describes him as bountiful but not prodigal, as hot in temper, but easily appeased, and of a magnanimous and generous spirit.<sup>u</sup> He is said to have been even playful in intercourse;<sup>x</sup> he was a lover of poetry and of music, and some well-known hymns of the church have been ascribed to him.<sup>y</sup> Among his defects is noted the common papal failing of a too great devotion to the interests of his own family; thus, he erected a principality for his brother Richard, and provided for other kinsmen with a care which exposed him to reproach.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>q</sup> i. 8 (Patrol. cxvi.). See Hurter, i. 68.

<sup>r</sup> Gesta, 5. The words of Walther von der Vogelweide, A.D. 1201 (p. 11, ed. Wackernagel, Giessen, 1862), have been often quoted—

"Da weinte ein closenære,  
er clagete Gote sînîn leit:  
owe der babest ist ze junc;  
hilf, Hêrre, dîner cristenheit!"

<sup>s</sup> Planck, IV., i. 454.

<sup>t</sup> Prolog. in Sermones, Patrol. cxvii. 312.

<sup>u</sup> Gesta, 1.

<sup>x</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, who saw much of him in the course of an unsuccessful suit for the see of St. David's, represents him as fond of jokes—not always of the most delicate kind—and as laughing excessively at the reporter's tales of Archbishop Hubert's bad Latin and ignorance. De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl., Works, iii. 253-5.

<sup>y</sup> The "Veni Sancte Spiritus," and the "Stabat Mater." Hurter, i. 23; Guéranger, i. 326.

<sup>z</sup> Gregorov. v. 40, 62-3. Richard



Innocent, although he had been some years a cardinal, was as yet only a sub-deacon. Out of scrupulous regard for the laws of the church, he deferred his promotion to the higher orders until the next ember season; and, having then been duly ordained through the several grades, he was enthroned in St. Peter's on the festival of the Apostle's Chair.<sup>a</sup>

Feb. 22.

The pope immediately set on foot a reformation of his own household. The luxury of the court was exchanged for a rigid simplicity. The multitude of nobles who had lately thronged the palace were discarded, except on occasions of high ceremony, and the ordinary services were committed to ecclesiastics.<sup>b</sup> The high-born pages were dismissed, but each of them was presented with a gift sufficient to pay the expenses of knighthood,<sup>c</sup> and an attempt was made to extend to the general administration of the curia that freedom from corruption by which Innocent himself had been honourably distinguished as cardinal. A moderate table of fees for the preparation of bulls and for other official acts was established, and it was ordered that no officer should demand anything of suitors; but the permission to accept voluntary offerings may perhaps have been enough to frustrate in a great degree the effect of this salutary measure.<sup>d</sup> By dismissing most of the doorkeepers Innocent rendered access to his own person more easy.<sup>e</sup> He sat often in his consistory, where the clearness and equity of his judgments were greatly admired, so that lawyers and men of learning were in the habit of frequenting the court in order to hear him.<sup>f</sup>

At the election of the pope, the Romans were clamorous for the donative with which they had been usually gratified on such occasions. Innocent thought it well to comply with their wishes,

was the builder of the Torre de' Conti at Rome. *Ib.* 41, 648.

<sup>a</sup> *Gesta*, 7; Hurter, i. 91-2.

<sup>b</sup> *Gesta*, 148.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* 150.

<sup>d</sup> *Gesta*, 4, 41. Some representatives of the Canterbury monks, in the quarrel with Abp. Hubert (see p. 254) write that Innocent is "*nec personarum acceptor vel munerum*;" but they add "*Veruntamen quia scriptum est, 'Cui honorem, honorem,' consiliosum nobis videbatur, tum pro personæ reverentia, tum pro gratia ipsius plenius adipiscenda, ut ex parte vestra eum pro posse nostro visitaremus*" (*Mem. of Rich. I.*, ed. Stubbs, ii. 457). Giraldus describes the court as still very corrupt; but his insinuations that the pope himself was influenced by

presents to decide against him in the matter of St. David's, may perhaps be set down to his disappointment (*De Jur. et St. Menev. Eccl.* ii. 263, 265, 269). On the subject of payments from suitors, see Mr. Webb's Introduction to *Rich. de Swinfield*, xcv. (Camden Soc.).

<sup>e</sup> Hoveden, 442, b.

<sup>f</sup> *Gesta*, 41. The Evesham chronicle (*Chron. and Mem.*) gives a very full account of a trial before Innocent as to the exemption of the abbey from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Worcester. We can see in it Innocent's clearness of mind, his love of humour, and something of his impatience and irritability. On a statement of the proctor for the abbey, he remarked, "*Iste omnia aufert episcopo, et postea dicit, 'Habeat episcopus*

although he put off the payment until after his consecration;<sup>g</sup> and thus he secured the support of the multitude for the important changes which he intended to effect. Hitherto the prefect of the city had held his office under the emperor. But Innocent abolished this last vestige of the imperial sovereignty, by compelling the prefect to take an oath of fidelity to himself, and to receive investiture at his hands, not by the secular symbol, a sword, but by a mantle and a silver cup.<sup>h</sup> The citizens were also required to swear obedience to the pope.<sup>i</sup> The power of the senate had centred in a single person, who bore the title of senator or consul. Innocent persuaded the senator, Scoto Paparone, to retire, and substituted another, who was bound by an oath to him, and whose tenure of office was annual.<sup>k</sup> Thus the exclusive authority of the pope was established in Rome, although the pontificate of Innocent was not free from serious troubles in the municipal government, or from those outbreaks of the Roman factions which had so often disquieted his predecessors.<sup>m</sup>

II. Next to the affairs of his own city, those of central and southern Italy and of Sicily demanded the pope's attention. The late emperor had established his military officers as dukes and counts, and these with their troops held possession of the country even to the gates of Rome. In order to rid himself of these dangerous neighbours, Innocent was able to take advantage of the hatred which the Italians felt towards the Germans—an ancient hatred which had lately been rendered more intense by Henry's violence and cruelties—and of the jealousies and rivalries by which the German chiefs were divided among themselves, each labouring for his own interest alone, while during the infancy of the young Frederick there was no power that could control or unite them. Conrad of Lützenburg, duke of Spoleto, whose wild and unsteady character had got for him from the Italians the name of *Moscancervello*,<sup>n</sup> was persuaded to swear

*residuum*'' (160). When the bishop's proctor spoke of it as a maxim in the schools that no prescription could run against the episcopal rights, the pope interrupted him—"Certe et tu et magistri tui multum bibistis de cerevisia Anglicana quando hæc didicistis." 189.

<sup>g</sup> Gesta, 8. Hoveden's account of this (442, *b*) seems to be incorrect.

<sup>h</sup> Gesta, 8; Ep. i. 577.

<sup>i</sup> Gesta, 8.

<sup>k</sup> Gesta, 8, 133; Hurter, i. 123; Gregorov. v. 23.

<sup>m</sup> For details, see the Gesta, 135-143; Hurter, i. 340-2, 521-3, 610-7; ii. 37-8; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 37-42; Gregorov. v. 25.

<sup>n</sup> *i.e.* Fly-in-brain. Ricard. Sangerm. ap. Murat. vii. 977; Gesta, 9. The nickname *Musca-in-Cerebro* is used by the pope in a grave document. Patrol. ccxvi. 1029.



that he would obey the pope's commands, and then, notwithstanding all that he could offer for leave to remain in Italy, was compelled to return to Germany.<sup>o</sup> Greater difficulty was found in the case of Markwald of Anweiler, duke of Ravenna and seneschal of the empire—a bold, ambitious, and perfidious man, who was believed to have instigated his late sovereign to some of his worst excesses.<sup>p</sup> Markwald professed to have been nominated by Henry on his death-bed as executor of his will and regent of Sicily.<sup>q</sup> He had been expelled from Sicily by the emperor's widow, Constance,<sup>r</sup> who heartily espoused the cause of her own countrymen against the detested Germans; but he held possession of the Romagna with the march of Ancona, and was formidable from his power and wealth. Markwald, on being required by the pope to give up the patrimony of the church, attempted to draw Innocent into his interest—offering, on the strength of the late emperor's testament, to raise the church to a grandeur such as it had never enjoyed since the days of Constantine.<sup>s</sup> The pope, however, withstood this and all Markwald's offers, whether of money or of other things, and compelled him, after having been excommunicated by two cardinals, to withdraw from the marches into the Apulian kingdom.<sup>t</sup> The pope went about from city to city, receiving the allegiance of one after another.<sup>u</sup> He got possession of many fortresses in the Campagna, and reduced its robber nobility to order.<sup>x</sup> The cities of Tuscany and of the duchy of Spoleto (with the exception of Pisa, which was excommunicated for its adherence to the Ghibelline party) were united in a league resembling that of the Lombards, under the patronage of the pope, to whom they took an oath of fidelity;<sup>y</sup> and Innocent found that he could afford to refrain for a time from pressing the claims of the Roman church as to the Countess Matilda's donation, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the territory of Bertinoro—leaving these in the hands of their actual possessors, with an acknowledgment of the papal suzerainty.<sup>z</sup> Among the acquisitions made during this rapid progress, although all were claimed as the ancient possessions of the church, there were many which really belonged to the empire; and these, when the imperial throne had again found an occupant, became subjects of dispute.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Gesta, 9; Hurter, i. 131-3.<sup>p</sup> Hurter, i. 128.<sup>q</sup> Gesta, 9; Hurter, i. 127.<sup>r</sup> Ric. Sangerm. ap. Murat. vii. 977.<sup>s</sup> Gesta, 9.<sup>t</sup> Gesta, 9.<sup>x</sup> Ib. 14-5.<sup>y</sup> Ib. 11; Innoc. Ep. i. 401.<sup>z</sup> Gesta, 12-13.<sup>a</sup> R. Wendov. iii. 232.<sup>u</sup> Ib. 10, &c.

By a document which professed to be the will of the late emperor, it was directed that his widow and son should perform to the pope all the services that had been done by former kings of Sicily; that, in case of Frederick's dying without an heir, the kingdom should devolve to the pope; that the pope should confirm to Frederick the empire and the kingdom of Sicily, and that in consideration of this certain territories, including almost the whole of the Countess Matilda's inheritance, should be given up to the Roman church.<sup>b</sup> The genuineness of this document, however, has been much questioned, partly on the ground that it was never displayed by Markwald while it was in his possession; and that the deed on which Innocent afterwards rested his claims to Sicily was not this, but the will of the empress Constance.<sup>c</sup> Constance, soon after her husband's death, caused her son, then four years old, to be taken from the custody of the Duchess of Spoleto (wife of Moscancervello), and conveyed to Sicily, where he was crowned as king in May, 1198.<sup>d</sup> In order to secure herself against the Germans, she opened negotiations with the pope, proposing to place the kingdom and its young sovereign under his especial protection; and Innocent took the opportunity to make favourable terms for the papacy, by requiring a renunciation of the privileges which had been granted to the Sicilian kings by Adrian IV., and confirmed by Clement, as to the election of bishops, and the matters of legations, appeals, and councils; he also required a yearly tribute of 600 tarenas for Apulia, and of 400 for Marsia.<sup>e</sup> Constance's envoys were forced, after a struggle, to submit; but before the treaty

Nov. 27. could reach Sicily, the empress died, leaving the pope as chief guardian of her son.<sup>f</sup> Sicily and Apulia were for years a scene of anarchy, violence, bloodshed, and ceaseless intrigues. The pope provided Frederick with a tutor, Cencio Savelli,<sup>g</sup> and endeavoured to exercise authority by means of a legate.<sup>h</sup> But the chancellor, Walter of Pagliara, bishop of Troia, who contrived also to possess himself in an irregular way of the vacant archbishopric of Palermo,<sup>i</sup> compelled the legate to leave Sicily; and the kingdom was distracted and ravaged by the movements of Markwald, and of another German soldier, Diep-

<sup>b</sup> Gesta, 27.<sup>c</sup> Hurter, i. 75.

Ducange, s. v.

<sup>d</sup> Gesta, 21; Hurter, i. 14.<sup>e</sup> Gesta, 21-3; Hurter, i. 144; Raumer, ii. 400; Milman, iii. 454.<sup>f</sup> Gesta, 23; Ric. Sangerm. ap. Murat. vii. 977. See Giannone, iii. 27. A tarene is said to be 20 grains of gold.<sup>g</sup> It seems questionable whether this was the same who afterwards became pope under the name of Honorius III. See Kingston, i. 98.<sup>h</sup> Epp. i. 562; ii. 245; Hurter, i. 264.<sup>i</sup> As to this, see Gesta, 29.



hold (or Theobald), count of Acerra, whom the pope ineffectually denounced with all the thunders of the church.<sup>k</sup> With these two the chancellor Walter was sometimes at enmity, and sometimes in intimate alliance.<sup>m</sup> At one time he held nearly absolute power, which he abused by a profligate disposal of dignities, and by selling part of the royal demesnes;<sup>n</sup> at another time he was driven from Sicily, and reduced to wander about Apulia in poverty and contempt; and yet again he was able to recover his authority. He was deposed and excommunicated, defied the sentence, sued humbly for absolution, was admitted to mercy, and incurred a fresh excommunication.<sup>o</sup> In July, 1200, Markwald was defeated in Sicily by the pope's cousin and general, James; his baggage was captured, and in it was found the alleged testament of Henry VI.<sup>p</sup> Yet Markwald contrived once more to regain the ascendancy, and got possession of the young king's person; but his career was cut short by death from a surgical operation in 1202.<sup>q</sup>

A new turn was given to Sicilian affairs by Walter of Brienne, a noble and gallant Frenchman, who had married one of king Tancred's daughters after her release from her German prison,<sup>r</sup> and in her right claimed the county of Lecce and the principality of Taranto, the original possessions of Tancred, which the late emperor had promised to restore to his family. Walter's determination to attempt the recovery of these territories was sanctioned by the Pope, on condition of his swearing before the college of cardinals that he would be faithful to Frederick, and would aid him against all his enemies.<sup>s</sup> In order to raise money for the enterprise, Innocent authorised Walter to pledge his security for a large sum, and even assisted him with gifts;<sup>t</sup> and Walter appeared in Apulia at the head of a French force which he had been able to enlist by means of pay and of promises.<sup>u</sup> A.D. 1201.

The chancellor, Walter of Pagliara, after the death of Markwald, again entreated that he might be released from his excommunication; but, although this was granted, it was in vain that he asked for restoration to the sees of Palermo and Troia. The

<sup>k</sup> See, as to Markwald, Patrol. ccxiv. 512, A., 514, B., 515, C., 516, C.; Chron. Fossæ Novæ, A.D. 1198 (Murat. vii.); Innoc. Epp. ii. 66, 179, 221, 226; iii. 23, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Gesta, 32.  
<sup>n</sup> Ib. 31; Hurter, i. 347; Raumer, ii. 405.

<sup>o</sup> Gesta, 33; Ep. vii. 71, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Gesta, 27, 37; Hurter, i. 350-3;

Raumer, ii. 403.

<sup>q</sup> Gesta, 35; Ric. S. Germ. ap. Murat. vii. 1202; Ep. v. 89.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 133.

<sup>s</sup> Gesta, 25, 30; Epp. v. 38-9; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 264.

<sup>t</sup> Epp. v. 84, 86-7; Gesta, 30.

<sup>u</sup> Chron. Foss. Nov. in Murat. vii. 884.

legate who pronounced his absolution endeavoured to exact a promise that he would not oppose Walter of Brienne; but his answer was, that he could not make such a promise, even if St. Peter himself required it, and if he knew that his refusal would involve his damnation.<sup>x</sup> He therefore joined Diephold, who was the chief antagonist of the new adventurer. For a time, Walter of Brienne was successful; he repeatedly defeated Diephold, and for four years the advantage of the war was on his side.<sup>y</sup> But his successes produced an overweening confidence in the prowess of the French, as compared with the Germans; and in consequence of this he was surprised, defeated, and taken prisoner by Diephold in 1205, and died of the wounds which he had received in battle.<sup>z</sup>

In 1207, while Frederick was in the hands of the chancellor Walter, a letter complaining of the duration in which he was held was circulated in his name.<sup>a</sup> While the Germans were wholly bent on securing for themselves some advantages from the prevailing anarchy, Innocent, although mainly intent on keeping up the papal suzerainty over Sicily, was sincerely desirous to preserve Frederick's royalty, and appears to have performed his duties as guardian with fidelity. In 1208, when the king had reached the age of fourteen, the guardianship expired, and in the following year, through Innocent's mediation, Frederick married a daughter of the king of Aragon.<sup>b</sup>

III. With regard to the greater dignity which had lately been connected with the kingdom of Sicily, Innocent was resolved to take advantage of circumstances for the enforcement of his theory as to the superiority of ecclesiastical over temporal power. Ever since the death of Henry III. of Germany, the papacy had been gaining on the empire; for, although the Hildebrandine doctrine as to the supremacy of the church had been confronted by the despotic theory of the imperial power which had been propounded by the civil lawyers under Frederick Barbarossa,<sup>c</sup> this had never been much more than a theory. And now that the representative of the imperial family was an infant, the time appeared

<sup>x</sup> Gesta, 34, 36.

<sup>y</sup> R. Sangerm. 980; Gesta, 25-30.

<sup>z</sup> Gesta, 38; R. Sangerm. 1205; Murat. Ann. VII. i. 160.

<sup>a</sup> Huillard-Bréholles, i. 78. The genuineness of this letter is questioned; at all events it was clearly not the composition of Frederick himself. See for it

Raumér, ii. 408; against it, Hurter, i. 81. M. Huillard-Bréholles gives no opinion.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. xi. 134; Hurter, ii. 80-2; Böhm. 68; Giannone, iii. 63. She was widow of Emmerich (Henry) king of Hungary, and at least ten years older than Frederick. Kington, i. 115.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 81.



to be come when the Hildebrandine claims might be successfully asserted in their fullest extent.<sup>d</sup> Frederick had, indeed, already received the homage of the Germans as his father's successor.<sup>e</sup> But the inexpediency of a minor's reign was strongly impressed on the minds of all by the remembrance of the troubles of Henry IV.'s youth, and the obligation to Frederick was set aside under the pretext that it had been wrongfully extorted; that when it was exacted, he was but an infant, and even unbaptised; and that his father's death, at a time when the son was too young to assume the government, had altered the conditions of the case.<sup>f</sup> Philip, duke of Swabia, the youngest son of Frederick Barbarossa, on hearing of his brother's death, hurried from Tuscany, of which he had been governor, to check by his presence the disorders which were certain to break out in Germany, and to secure the interest of his young nephew. But he found the feeling of opposition to the election of the child as king to be irresistibly strong, and the adherents of the Hohenstaufen interest entreated him to become himself the representative of his family in opposition to the other candidates who were set up for the crown.<sup>g</sup> Of these, Berthold, duke of Zähringen, after having spent a large sum, shrank from further outlay, and was persuaded by an ample bribe to give in his adhesion to Philip;<sup>h</sup> and Bernard of Saxony withdrew, partly from a dread of expense, and partly because he felt his health unequal to the labours of the office.<sup>i</sup> The choice of the party opposed to the Swabian family—headed by Adolphus of Altena, Archbishop of Cologne, a man of great ability, but ambitious, artful, and rapacious,<sup>k</sup>—fell on Otho, a younger son of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and nephew by his mother's side of Richard King of England, by whom he had been created Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou.<sup>m</sup> Otho, who in childhood was involved in his father's banishment, had grown up in England, and had been employed by his uncle as viceroy of Poitou; and Richard, who could not forget his German captivity, although he declined the summons to attend an election in consideration of the titular kingdom of Provence which had been bestowed on him by the late emperor,<sup>n</sup> sent commissioners to represent him, recommended the cause

<sup>d</sup> See Giesel, II., ii. 107-8; Miln. iii. 430.

<sup>e</sup> See p. 133.

<sup>f</sup> Raumer, ii. 411; Hurter, i. 106, 150.

<sup>g</sup> Philipp. ad Innoc. de Negotio Imperii, 136 (Patrol. cexvi.); Böhm. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Philipp., l. c.; Annal. Marbac. A.D. 1198 (Pertz, xvii.); Chron. Ursperg.

234; Ægid. Ann. Vall. in Bouq. xviii. 651; Raumer, ii. 411-2.

<sup>i</sup> Phil. de Neg. Imp. 136.

<sup>k</sup> Hurter, i. 152; Abel's 'Philipp der Hohenstaufe,' Berlin, 1852, p. 42.

<sup>m</sup> Böhm. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Annal. Burton ap. Fell, 255.

of his nephew to the pope, and aided Otho with money which he levied by additional taxes on his subjects.<sup>o</sup> Philip was chosen defender of the kingdom by an assembly of princes and prelates, mostly from the eastern part of Germany, at Arnstadt, near Erfurt, on the 6th of March, 1198;<sup>p</sup> Otho, whose strength lay along the Rhine and in the north-west of the country, was elected, about Easter, by a rival assembly at Andernach, but did not arrive in Germany until Philip had appeared for ten weeks to be without a rival.<sup>q</sup> Each of the competitors was in the earliest manhood—Otho, twenty-three years of age, and Philip younger by a year.<sup>r</sup> In personal character, in wealth, and in the number of his adherents, Philip had the advantage. The chroniclers praise his moderation and his love of justice; his mind had been cultivated by literature to a degree then very unusual among princes,<sup>s</sup>—a circumstance which is explained by the fact that he had been intended for an ecclesiastical career, until the death of an elder brother diverted him from it;<sup>t</sup> and his popular manners contrasted favourably with the pride and roughness of Otho.<sup>u</sup> But Otho was the favourite with the great body of the clergy, to whom Philip was obnoxious as the representative of a family which was regarded as opposed to the interests of the hierarchy.<sup>x</sup> Philip was said to have been excommunicated by Pope Celestine for invading the property of the Roman church; and Innocent insisted on this, although Philip himself declared that he had never had any knowledge of having incurred such a sentence.<sup>y</sup> The truth seems to be that he had either done so by holding intercourse with his excommunicate brother Henry, or had fallen under some general denunciation against all who should interfere with ecclesiastical property; and, without admitting all that was said against him, he was now desirous of reconciliation with the church.<sup>z</sup> The pope sent the Bishop of Sutri, a German by birth, into Germany, with instructions to demand the release of Tancred's wife and

<sup>o</sup> R. Coggeshale, 851; Bromton, 1277.

<sup>p</sup> Chron. Urs. 234; Otto Sanblas. 46; Hurter, i. 151; Raumer, ii. 40. On the various dates of time and place, see Luden, xii. 608; Böhm. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Böhrner, i. 26.

<sup>r</sup> O. Sanblas. 46; Gesta Innoc. 22; Philipp. in Patol. cexvi. 1134; Böhrner, 28-9; Hurter, i. 163-4; Luden, xii. 613.

<sup>s</sup> R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 275.

<sup>t</sup> Abel, 38.

<sup>u</sup> See passages from the chronicles in praise of Philip, Böhm. xiii. The Auer-

spurg chronicler says that Otho was chosen "pro eo quod superbus et stultus, sed fortis videbatur, viribus et statura procerus" (235, Cf. 237). But a Tours chronicler describes him as "corpore magnus, facie lætus, sermone jucundus, consilio providus, militia strenuus, domi largissimus, omnibusque moribus adornatus." Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 1056.

<sup>x</sup> Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 48.

<sup>y</sup> De Negot. Imp. 136.

<sup>z</sup> De Negot. Imp. 64; O. Sanblas. 46; Abel, 84-5, 332-3.



daughters, and of the Archbishop of Salerno, who had been carried off as a captive by the late emperor, and he authorised him to absolve Philip on his surrendering these prisoners and swearing to obey the papal judgment as to all the matters for which he had been excommunicated.<sup>a</sup>

But although the release was effected, the bishop incurred his master's censure by pronouncing the absolution without insisting on the terms which had been prescribed.<sup>b</sup> On the 12th of July, Otho was crowned by the archbishop of Cologne, at Aix-la-Chapelle, which he had gained from Philip by winning over the officer who commanded the garrison.<sup>c</sup> He swore to maintain the Roman church, and to relinquish the abuses of his predecessors, especially the *jus exuviarum*; and a similar oath was taken by the electors who were present.<sup>d</sup> Philip, who, although excluded from Charlemagne's city, was in possession of the insignia of the kingdom, and was supported by all the great officers of the imperial court,<sup>e</sup> was crowned at Mentz on the 8th of September, and was hailed as the second of his name—the first having been that Philip, in the middle of the third century, who had come to be erroneously regarded as the earliest Christian emperor.<sup>f</sup> Although the archbishop of Treves, a vacillating man, who had left the party of Otho, was present, he did not venture to deviate from the tradition in favour of Aix by performing the coronation, and the archbishop of Tarentaise officiated;<sup>g</sup> for which he was cited to answer by the pope.<sup>h</sup> The bishop of Sutri was also present, and in punishment of this and of his other offences, was deposed and banished to a monastery in an island, where he soon after died.<sup>i</sup>

Innocent, even if he had not wished to interfere, was called on to do so by applications from both parties. The king of England sent an embassy to him in behalf of Otho,<sup>k</sup> who himself wrote to him, making great offers of privileges for the church;<sup>m</sup> and Philip Augustus of France exerted his interest for Philip.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Innoc. Epp. i. 25-6; Gesta, 27.

<sup>b</sup> *Dé Negot. Imper.* 33, col. 1038, C; Raumer, ii. 414. The Auersperg chronicle says that the bishop recovered some Apulian hostages whom Henry had blinded; and that the pope exhibited these at Rome, in order to raise odium against the Swabian family. 254.

<sup>c</sup> Reiner. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 21; Hurter, i. 171; Böhm. 29.

<sup>d</sup> *De Neg. Imp.* 3, 9; R. de Diceto, 703; Abel, 53-4. Arnold of Lübeck

says that Otho paid 70,000 marks on this occasion. vi. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *De Neg. Imp.* 136; O. Sanblas. 46; Arn. Lub. vi. 2; Chron. Ursp. 235.

<sup>f</sup> See vol. i., p. 97.

<sup>g</sup> *De Negot. Imp.* 1; Hurter, i. 177.

<sup>h</sup> *De Neg. Imp.* 74; see Luden, xii. 41.

<sup>i</sup> *De Neg. Imp.* 29; Chron. Ursp. 254; Gesta, 22; Hurter, i. 167.

<sup>k</sup> Hurter, i. 173.

<sup>m</sup> *Ib.* 174.

<sup>n</sup> *De Neg. Imp.* 13.

The pope wrote to the princes of Germany, telling them that Philip's coronation was invalid. It had not been performed at the right place or by the right person; his absolution had been pronounced without regard to the conditions prescribed, and was therefore null; he had been crowned while excommunicate, so that the oaths to him were of no force; to have him for king would be to forfeit the right of election, and to admit that the kingdom was hereditary.<sup>o</sup> To Philip's envoys he addressed a warning from Scripture and history, that the empire had no chance of success in opposition to the priesthood; but he added that he would consider of the question;<sup>p</sup> and he drew up a formal statement of the case under the title of a 'Deliberation on the Three Elect.' In this paper, after laying down (as he had already done in his speech to the envoys)<sup>q</sup> that to the papacy belongs "principally and finally" the disposal of the empire—inasmuch as by the pope it had been transferred from the Greeks to the West, and it was the pope who conferred the crown—he discussed successively the claims of Frederick, Philip, and Otho. In favour of Frederick were the oath which the princes had taken to him during his father's life, and his connection with the pope as his guardian. Innocent, however, pronounces the oath to be invalid, inasmuch as it was taken when Frederick was an infant and unbaptised, and because the unforeseen death of his father had occasioned the necessity of choosing another king at a time when Frederick was unfit to perform the duties of the office. The papal guardianship he declares to relate to the kingdom of Sicily only, not to the empire; and he points out the inconveniences which would result from the union of the Sicilian kingdom with the imperial dignity. As to Philip it is admitted that he had been elected by a greater number than Otho; but numbers, it is said, are not the only thing to be regarded; and the objections to Philip are insisted on—his excommunication, the irregularity of the absolution pronounced by the bishop of Sutri, his alleged connection with Markwald and Diephold, the offences of his family against the church, the danger of seeming to substitute the principle of hereditary right for that of election. And the judgment concludes in favour of Otho, as having been chosen by the more judicious, if not the larger, party, as descended on both sides from ancestors devoted to the church,<sup>r</sup> and in himself possessing the qualities requisite for the

<sup>o</sup> De Neg. Imp. 21.<sup>p</sup> Ib. 18.<sup>q</sup> Col. 1015, D.<sup>r</sup> "Et ex utraque parte trahat originem ex genere devotorum, ex parte ma-



empire.<sup>s</sup> The pope is said to have declared that either he must take the crown from Philip, or Philip must take from him the ensigns of apostolical dignity.<sup>t</sup>

War immediately broke out along the Rhine, and for ten years it was carried on with extraordinary ferocity—the Bohemians, as in former wars, being branded as guilty of atrocities surpassing those of the Germans.<sup>u</sup> Among the disastrous effects of this war on religion, it is noted that in the choice of bishops, regard was chiefly had to their martial qualities, and that this contributed greatly to swell the general disorder of the German church.<sup>x</sup>

From both the contending parties Innocent received frequent applications for his support. Conrad, archbishop of Mentz, and primate of Germany,<sup>y</sup> who had been engaged in the crusade during the earlier proceedings, in returning from the Holy Land in 1199, had frequent interviews with the pope, who entreated him to use the influence of his high dignity, his age, his great experience, and his revered character, for the re-establishment of peace. But the archbishop, on reaching his own country, found the undertaking beyond his power, and withdrew into Hungary, where he attempted to mediate between two rival claimants of the Hungarian crown.<sup>z</sup> In returning from this mission, Conrad died at Passau, in October, 1200,<sup>a</sup> leaving his see to become the object of a contest between representatives of the parties of Philip and Otho.<sup>b</sup> The anti-papal candidate, Leopold, bishop of Worms, a man of resolute character, who had taken part in the affairs of Italy<sup>c</sup> both as a negotiator and as a warrior, is said to have gone so far as to retaliate the pope's excommunication of him by pronouncing with all the most solemn forms an anathema against Innocent himself.<sup>d</sup> Of the other great

tris de domo regum Angliæ," &c. (col. 1031, C). We should hardly have expected this character of the Anglo-norman kings.

<sup>s</sup> De Neg. Imp. 29. See Planck, IV., i. 460-4.

<sup>t</sup> Chron. Urspr. 234.

<sup>u</sup> Chron. Urspr. 234; Chron. Milovic. ap. Pertz, xvii. 709; Hurter, ii. 100-2; Raumer, ii. 425; Abel. 336. Arnold of Lübeck says that in Thuringia they destroyed 16 monasteries and 350 parish-churches. vi. 5.

<sup>x</sup> Hurter, ii. 100, 162-3.

<sup>y</sup> See pp. 94, 103. He had recovered Mentz on the death of Christian. See p. 106.

<sup>z</sup> De Neg. Imp. 22, 30; Annal. Admont., A.D. 1200 (Pertz, ix.); Chron. Urspr. 236; Raumer, ii. 416; Hurter, i. 271-2.

<sup>a</sup> Abel. 121; Luden, xii. 135; Böhm. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Chron. Urspr. 236; Arn. Lub. vi. 3; Luden, xii. 136; Böhm. 12.

<sup>c</sup> It is said that when, in the south of Italy, his soldiers scrupled to plunder churches and cemeteries, Leopold showed his contempt both for such scruples and for the veneration of relics, by saying—"Si ossa mortuorum tollitis, tunc primum cœmeteria spoliatis." Cæs. Heisterbac. ii. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Cæsar. Heisterb. l. c.; Cf. Abel,

Rhenish prelates, John of Treves continued to waver from one party to the other,<sup>e</sup> while Adolphus of Cologne, the chief author of Otho's elevation, forsook his interest, and in November, 1204, did homage to Philip. The pope threatened him, and appointed in his stead another archbishop, who for a time got possession of Cologne, and was supported by the citizens.<sup>f</sup> It was remarkable that, of the German bishops, many sided with what was supposed to be the national cause, notwithstanding the terrors of spiritual censure; while the abbots, from their greater dependence on Rome, were generally in favour of Otho.<sup>g</sup> Everywhere there were contests for churches, and appeals to Rome for a decision between rivals; and it is said that, in consequence of the dissensions which prevailed, many members of monastic societies fell away from the communion of the church.<sup>h</sup>

In 1201 legates were sent into Germany, carrying with them the 'Deliberation on the Three Elect,' as their instructions.<sup>i</sup> It would seem that, from whatever reason,<sup>k</sup> their intercourse was almost wholly with Otho's party, and that they listened to its representations exclusively. They published the pope's judgment at Cologne, declared Otho to be king and "semper Augustus," and reported to their master that Otho had almost all Germany with him, that he had 100,000 men ready to take the field, while Philip was reduced so low that he could not venture to show himself.<sup>m</sup>

The pope wrote letters in all directions, zealously recommending the cause of Otho; but, although he was careful to enforce his lofty hierarchical doctrines by considerations of temporal advantage, his exertions had but little success. Richard of England, who had warmly supported Otho,<sup>n</sup> was succeeded in 1199 by John, and Innocent repeatedly urged the new king to give his nephew effectual assistance. But John was indifferent in the matter; in 1200 he concluded a treaty with France, by which he swore to refrain from helping Otho; and he even alleged this treaty as a reason for withholding payment of a legacy which Richard had bequeathed to Otho.<sup>o</sup> The pope annulled

204. The pope wrote strongly against Leopold, Epp. vi. 160; viii. 73-4, &c.

<sup>e</sup> See De Neg. Imp. 83, 126.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 80, 100, 116-8, 126; Ep. ix. 96; Chron. Ursp. 235; Böhm. 16; Raumer, ii. 431.

<sup>g</sup> Hurter, i. 420.

<sup>h</sup> Chron. Ursp. 235.

<sup>i</sup> De Neg. Imp. 29-33.

<sup>k</sup> In one of their letters they say that

some bishops shut up their houses in order to avoid receiving the legatine citations. De Neg. Imp. 51.

<sup>m</sup> De Neg. Imp. 52; Hurter, i. 417-8; Raumer, ii. 420.

<sup>n</sup> De Neg. Imp. 4; Hoved. 449.

<sup>o</sup> Rymer, i. 80; Hoved. 454, b, 456; Böhm. 32.



the oath; but it was with difficulty that he persuaded John to pay even a portion of the legacy; and, although Otho received some money from England in 1202, it was either too little or too late to be availing.<sup>p</sup> To Philip Augustus, Innocent urged the dangers which might be apprehended from the union of Sicily with Germany, as a reason for opposing the Swabian house; but he found that the French king was more powerfully swayed by his jealousy of England, which inclined him to make common cause with Philip against Otho.<sup>q</sup> He endeavoured to secure Ottocar of Bohemia to the cause of Otho, by confirming the royal title which he had received from Philip,<sup>r</sup> and by favourably entertaining a proposal to erect a metropolitical see, so as to render the Bohemian church independent of the primate of Mentz.<sup>s</sup> He reminded the Lombards of the ancient enmity between them and the Hohenstaufen family.<sup>t</sup> He urged again and again on the princes and prelates of Germany the misdeeds of the Swabian house, the personal demerits of Philip, the danger of allowing the principle of inheritance to supersede their electoral rights, while he disclaimed for himself all wish to interfere with these or to overrule their decision; it is not, he said, the man that is to be provided with an empire, but the empire that is to be provided with a man worthy to govern it.<sup>u</sup> He declared all oaths which had been taken to Philip to be null and void;<sup>x</sup> and he showered privileges and immunities of all sorts on the bishops and the monastic societies who espoused the party of Otho. Yet Philip's strength increased from year to year. His arms prevailed in the field, and he was able to gain some of his rival's chief partisans—such as Adolphus of Cologne, king Ottocar, and Henry, duke of Lorraine and Brabant,<sup>y</sup>—so that at length Otho had hardly any other support than that of the people of Cologne; and even this city, the most important in Germany, which had been long the great mart of northern commerce, and had lately acquired a new religious significance through the possession of the relics of the Holy Three Kings,<sup>z</sup> was compelled to forsake Otho's party for that

<sup>p</sup> Rymer, i. 87; Pertz, Leges, ii. 207-8; De Neg. Imp. 28, 49, 69, 129-131, &c.; Hurter, i. 359; Pauli, iii. 301, 331-3, 336.

<sup>q</sup> De Neg. Imp. 47, 63-4; Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 49; Hurter, i. 414-5, 466-7; Raumer, ii. 424-5. See the treaty of June 29, 1198, in Pertz, Leges, ii. 202.

<sup>r</sup> De Neg. Imp. 44; Ep. vii. 49; Arnold. Lubec. vi. 2. He was crowned a

second time by Otho, Aug. 24, 1203 (Böhm. 36). Philip humbled Ottocar, and stripped him of half his territory. ib. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. vii. 52. The separation did not take place until 1343. Herzog, ii. 271.

<sup>t</sup> De Neg. Imp. 92.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. 33, col. 1040, A.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 33, 34, 43, 55, 63, &c.

<sup>y</sup> Hurter, ii. 46-7.

<sup>z</sup> See pp. 91, 267.

of Philip, in October, 1206.<sup>a</sup> In order that the defects of form in his earlier election might be remedied, Philip in 1205 resigned the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of a great assemblage of princes; he was enthusiastically re-elected, and Jan. 6, was crowned in Charlemagne's minster by his new ad-  
1205. herent Adolphus of Cologne.<sup>b</sup> Each of the rivals from time to time endeavoured to propitiate the pope by large offers of concession as to the subjects which had been disputed between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers—the election of bishops and abbots, the “*jus exuviarum*,” and the like; by promising to employ the secular authority for the enforcement of ecclesiastical and monastic discipline, and for the protection of the church's property. Philip offered to submit to the judgment of the Roman church in all points as to which he might have offended; to restore all that his predecessors or himself had taken from the church; to assume the cross, and to use the influence of his connection with the imperial family of Constantinople<sup>c</sup> for the subjection of the Greek church to Rome.<sup>d</sup>

The course of events in Germany told even on Innocent's resolution. In August 1207, his legates were commissioned to absolve Philip, although without any acknowledgment of his title as king, and to endeavour to procure a peace, or at least a truce for two years.<sup>e</sup> The absolution was pronounced at Worms,<sup>f</sup> while Philip agreed to give up Bruno, the papal archbishop of Cologne, who was his prisoner, to admit Sifrid as archbishop of Mentz, and to send the antipapal claimant of that see, Leopold, with Adolphus of Cologne, to the pope for his judgment.<sup>g</sup> It seemed that Innocent, in despair of Otho's success, was about to abandon his cause;<sup>h</sup> even a matrimonial connection between the pope's family and that of Hohenstaufen was projected.<sup>i</sup> But

<sup>a</sup> Arn. Lub. vii. 1; Reiner. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 31-2; Böhm. 20, 38; Hurter, i. 734-5.

<sup>b</sup> Arn. Lub. vii. 1; Böhm. 16; Hurter, i. 730-1.

<sup>c</sup> Philip had married the Byzantine princess Irene or Mary, not in consequence of the agreement mentioned at p. 121, but after the death of Roger, son of Tancred of Sicily, to whom she had been betrothed or married. Nicet. de Alexio, ii. 1; Böhm. 1.

<sup>d</sup> See De Neg. Imp. 77, 136, 140; Mansi, xxiii. 699; Pertz, Leges, ii. 208-9; Raumer, ii. 429-432; Hurter, i. 416, 538.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. Ursperg. 237.

<sup>f</sup> Böhmer, 24.

<sup>g</sup> De Neg. Imp. 142-5; Hurter, ii. 48-52; Abel, 210-1. As to Adolphus, see a letter of Otho, De Neg. Imp. 166.

<sup>h</sup> The Guelfic Annalist of Piacenza says that Philip's money had won almost all the Germans, both lay and clerical; and that Innocent, notwithstanding his former enmity, “*audiens illum potentem esse sine timore ipsius, auro et argento corruptus, concordia cardinalium, pactum dandi ei coronam fecerat.*” Pertz, xviii. 422. See Raynald. 1207-8; Murat. Annal. VII., i. 167; Hurter, ii. 89; Abel, 219.

<sup>i</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 209; Chron. Ursperg. 237. Hurter disbelieves this. ii. 11.



on the 21st of June, 1208, Philip was assassinated at the castle of Altenberg, near Bamberg, by Otho of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of Bavaria, in revenge, as was supposed, for having retracted a promise of giving him his daughter Beatrice in marriage.<sup>k</sup> The news of this crime—which excited general horror, and made the perpetrator an outcast until, some months later, he was discovered in a stable and slain by one of his victim's officers<sup>m</sup>—overtook the legates on their return from Germany;<sup>n</sup> and Innocent hastened to write to the German princes, charging them to acquiesce in the manifest declaration of Divine Providence in favour of Otho,<sup>o</sup> by refraining from all opposition to him. He exhorted Otho to moderation and conciliation,<sup>p</sup> and for a time this advice was followed. Philip had left no son, and the only male representative of the Hohenstaufen family was the young Frederick of Sicily. On both sides there was an ardent desire for peace after the troubles which for ten years had desolated Germany; and a proposal which had in vain been urged on Philip,<sup>q</sup> that Otho should marry the daughter of his rival, was now renewed with better success. In a great assembly at Frankfort, on St. Martin's day, Otho was invested with the diadem and the holy lance; and the princess Beatrice,<sup>r</sup> a child of twelve years of age, was led in by the bishop of Spire, who in her name demanded punishment of her father's murderers. She avowed her consent to the proposed marriage, and the canonical objections which existed in this as in most other cases of princely marriages, were overruled by the pope's dispensation, on condition that Otho should rule with justice, should protect widows and orphans, monasteries, and the church, and should go in person on the crusade.<sup>s</sup> In March, 1209, Otho executed at Spire a document by which he renewed his promises to the pope as to

Nov. 11.

<sup>k</sup> The refusal was grounded on a pretext of relationship, but is said to have really arisen from a dread of Otho's violent character (Otto Sanblas. 50). The Marbach annalist says that the match was broken off on this account by the judgment of an assembly of princes (Pertz, xvii., A.D. 1201, 1208; Cf. the chronicle of Senones, an abbey in the Vosges, in D'Achery, ii. 625). Arnold of Lübeck gives an account of the matter which is generally regarded as fabulous (vii. 14. See Abel, 234). The murderer's title of *Pfalzgraf* puzzles some Italian chroniclers, who call him *Falsusgradus* and *Falsagrates*. (Pertz, xviii. 127, 468.) The Auersperg chroni-

cler regards Philip's death as a judgment on account of his exactions from monasteries. 237.

<sup>m</sup> Otto Sanblas. 51; Chron. Ursp. 237.

<sup>n</sup> De Neg. Imp. 152.

<sup>o</sup> "Consentientes dispositioni divinæ, quæ circa charissimum in Christo filium nostrum illustrem regem Ottonem evidenter elucet." De Neg. Imp. 155; Cf. 153-4.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 154.

<sup>q</sup> Chron. Ursp. 238; Hurter, ii. 52.

<sup>r</sup> Philip had two daughters of this name, and this was the elder. Abel.

<sup>s</sup> O. Sanblas. 51; De Neg. Imp. 169, 178, 181-2; Arn. Lub. vii. 1; Hurter, ii. 164. See too, Arn. Lub. vii. 19; Böhm. 43, No. 62.

the freedom of appeals and elections, the property of deceased bishops, and respect for the rights of the church, and engaged himself to give effectual aid for the extirpation of heresy, and to assist the pope in recovering all the territory which rightfully belonged to the see of Rome.<sup>t</sup> The betrothal with Beatrice was celebrated at Würzburg on the octave of Pentecost;<sup>u</sup> and in the middle of July, Otho set out, with an imposing train of nobles and prelates, at the head of a powerful army, to receive the imperial crown.<sup>x</sup>

In the north of Italy, the feuds of the imperialists and the papalists had raged with great fury. Not only was city opposed to city, but each city was distracted between the two embittered factions—Guelfs and Ghibellines, as they were now called<sup>y</sup>—which divided every class of society, and were outwardly distinguished from each other not only by differences of dress, but even by the architecture of their houses.<sup>z</sup> Some of the cities which had achieved independence, had already fallen under the dominion of lords or tyrants. The first of these was Azzo, marquis of Este, who was chosen by Ferrara, and other nobles after his example made themselves masters of towns in their neighbourhood.<sup>a</sup> Otho, in his progress southward, found much to do in endeavouring to reconcile the enmities of the Italians.<sup>b</sup> The statement of some writers, that he received the Lombard crown either at Milan or at Monza, appears to be mistaken;<sup>c</sup> indeed, it is very questionable whether he even visited Milan at this time. After a succession of festive receptions at Bologna and other cities,<sup>d</sup> he was met by the pope at Viterbo; on the 4th of October, he was crowned as emperor by the hands of Innocent in St. Peter's at Rome,<sup>e</sup> renewing by an oath the promises which he had subscribed at Spire;<sup>f</sup> and for the first and last time an emperor professed to hold his dignity “by the grace of God and the apostolic see.”<sup>g</sup> But hardly was the ceremony completed by which Innocent raised to the temporal headship of Christendom a prince of his own choice, when differences began to show themselves.

<sup>t</sup> De Neg. Imp. 189; Böhm. 43.

<sup>u</sup> Böhm. 44.

<sup>x</sup> Arn. Lub. vii. 20; Mansi, in Rayn. i., p. 230; Böhm. 45; Hurter, ii. 166.

<sup>y</sup> For the supposed origin of these names, see p. 23. But it is not known how or when they began to be used as designations of the Italian factions. Hurter, i. 168.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 169. See Sismondi, R. I., ii. 25; Raumer, iii. 1-2; Abel, ‘Otto und Fried-

rich,’ Berl. 1856, pp. 37, seqq.

<sup>a</sup> Sismondi, R. I., ii. 54.

<sup>b</sup> Hurter, ii. 172-7.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 177; Raumer, iii. 16; Böhm. 46.

<sup>d</sup> O. Sanblas. 50; Arn. Lub. vii. 20.

<sup>e</sup> As to the date, see Raumer, iii. 8; Böhm. 47.

<sup>f</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 216-8; Raynald. 1209. 10-2; Abel, Otto u. Fried. 47.

<sup>g</sup> Gregorov. v. 80.



Otho, hitherto so profuse of offers and promises, now felt himself in a new position, and bound to maintain the prerogatives of his crown against the encroachments of the spiritual power. He was assured by jurists that such promises as he had made to the pope in ignorance were not binding; and perhaps a knowledge of Innocent's late negotiations with Philip may have set his mind at ease as to any obligations of gratitude.<sup>h</sup>

Immediately after the coronation, the quarrels which had become customary on such occasions were renewed between the Romans and the emperor's troops, and many of the Germans were slain.<sup>i</sup> Otho demanded compensation for his loss in men and horses, and, on the pope's refusal, retired from the city, but, on being requested to withdraw his troops from the neighbourhood, he declared that he would remain until they should have exhausted its provisions. He refused to pay the donative which the Romans claimed at imperial coronations, and enriched himself by the plunder of pilgrims whom his soldiery intercepted on their way to Rome.<sup>k</sup> He seized on some towns and fortresses which the pope had occupied during the vacancy of the empire, and which partly belonged to the inheritance of the countess Matilda; and when Innocent remonstrated, and reminded him of his oath to respect the property of the church, he replied that he also had taken an oath, imposed by the pope himself, to maintain the rights of his crown; that, while he owned the authority of the pope in spiritual things, he was himself supreme in the affairs of this world.<sup>m</sup> After having spent about twelve months in Tuscany and Lombardy, Otho, in November 1210, proceeded into Apulia, where he received the adhesion of Diephold, and invested him anew in the Duchy of Spoleto.<sup>n</sup> On this invasion of a territory which was under the special guardianship of the apostolic see, Innocent issued a sentence of anathema against the emperor and his adherents, interdicted the clergy of Capua for having celebrated divine offices in his presence, and declared his subjects to be released from the duty of obedience; and, after having made fruitless attempts by the offer of large concessions to reconcile Otho and

<sup>h</sup> Hurter, ii. 194; Raumer, iii. 10-1; Planck, IV., i. 476; Abel, Otto u. Fried. 49.

<sup>i</sup> Reiner. Leod. in Pertz, xii. 662.

<sup>k</sup> Will. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 84-5; Raumer, iii. 8.

<sup>m</sup> R. Wendover, iv. 233; Raumer, iii. 10; Hurter, ii. 329-330; Böhm. 47-8.

<sup>n</sup> R. Sangerm. 984; Chron. Foss. Nov. 890-2; Böhm. 55.

<sup>o</sup> Mansi, xxii. 813-6; Oger. Panis, ap. Pertz, xviii. 130; Will. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 85. There is some question as to the date. Böhm. 55; Huill.-Bréh. i. 179. See Hurter, ii. 366.

Frederick—for which purpose the abbot of Morimond visited the emperor five times in his winter quarters at Capua<sup>p</sup>—he renewed the anathema on Maunday Thursday, 1212. Innocent took active measures to make this sentence generally known, and to stir up against Otho those whom he had formerly laboured to enlist in his favour; and, in allusion to the disappointment of his policy, he quoted the text—"It repenteth me that I have made man on the earth."<sup>q</sup>

Otho was recalled from his career of success in Italy by tidings of serious disturbances in Germany,<sup>r</sup> which he endeavoured to quell by arms and by negotiation. On the 7th of August, 1212, his marriage with the daughter of his late rival was celebrated at Nordhausen; but within four days Beatrice suddenly died. Her death was popularly ascribed to poison administered by one of the mistresses whom the emperor had brought with him from Italy;<sup>s</sup> and the result was disastrous for Otho. The feelings of attachment to the Swabian house, which he had hoped to secure for himself by his late marriage, were now centered on the undoubted and only heir of the Hohenstaufens, Frederick of Sicily, who was already on his way to claim the German kingdom. Otho had made himself unpopular by his pride, by the roughness of his manners, by his illiberality as to money, which was unfavourably compared with the remembrances of Philip's generosity, and by the heavy taxation which he found it necessary to lay on his subjects.<sup>t</sup> The great prelates,—among them Adolphus of Cologne, whom Innocent, in disgust at Otho, now allowed to resume his see,<sup>u</sup>—had turned against him, and had been followed by the clergy in general, who were offended by the rudeness with which he treated the highest members of the hierarchy, and by his proposing to reduce their state and their revenues;<sup>x</sup> and some of the chief personages who had by turns sided with both parties in the late contest, such as the king of Bohemia<sup>y</sup> and the duke of Austria, with many of those who were specially attached to the imperial service, had joined the movement of opposition.<sup>z</sup> Otho was declared by the princes to have forfeited the empire, and in the end of 1211, envoys were sent in their name to invite Frederick to Germany.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Chron. Ursperg. 239.

<sup>q</sup> (Gen. vi. 6.) Ep. xiii. 210; Cf. xiii. 193; xiv. 74, 78-9; xv. 31, 122, 138.

<sup>r</sup> Chron. Ursperg. 243; Chron. Fossænovæ, A.D. 1212, ap. Murat. vii. He was at Como on Feb. 21, and at Frankfort on March 4, 1212. Böhm. 56-60.

<sup>s</sup> Reiner. Leod. in Pertz, xvi. 665; Hurter, ii. 414.

<sup>t</sup> Chron. Ursperg. 239; Raumer, iii. 12.

<sup>u</sup> Ep. xiii. 177; Hurter, ii. 413.

<sup>x</sup> Chron. Ursperg. 239; Hurter, i. 373.

<sup>y</sup> See Böhm. 71. <sup>z</sup> W. Armor. 85.

<sup>a</sup> The genuineness of the letter in



To the pope the election of Frederick could not be altogether pleasing. He was yet but a boy of sixteen; his claims were founded on that principle of inheritance which Innocent had always striven to exclude from the election; he was the representative of a family which the pope had always denounced, and already he had shown symptoms of having inherited the traditions and the feelings of his race. But no other policy than that of supporting Frederick seemed possible; and Innocent gave his approval of the choice.<sup>b</sup> By Frederick himself, the invitation of the Germans was eagerly welcomed. The promptings of ambition, the desire to emulate the renown of his forefathers, to find a wider scene for himself than the kingdom of the Sicilian Normans, prevailed over the advice of his southern counsellors and the entreaties of his wife; and, having seen his infant son Henry crowned as his successor, he set out from Palermo on his bold enterprise on Palm Sunday, 1212.<sup>c</sup> In April he arrived at Rome, where he had frequent conferences with the pope, and received from him a large supply of money.<sup>d</sup> He then proceeded by sea to Genoa, where he remained nearly three months;<sup>e</sup> May—July. and, as the Alpine passes were in the hands of Otho's partisans, he made his way across the north of Italy to Trent, under the escort of cities which were friendly to him, and not without occasional danger from those of the opposite party, such as Milan and Piacenza.<sup>f</sup> From Trent, with a handful of companions, he crossed the mountains to the great monastery of St. Gall, where the abbot received him with honour, and secured to his interest the wavering bishop of Constance. On reaching that city, he was informed that Otho was at hand, and that his culinary train was already within the walls; but the emperor, on arriving three hours later, found that the gates were shut Sept. 1212. against him, and that the citizens had declared for his rival.<sup>g</sup> As Frederick proceeded down the Rhine, accessions of strength continually poured in on him, and the general disposition in his favour was increased by his popular manners and by his bounti-

which their invitation is said to have been conveyed is questionable. See Hurter, ii. 407 (where it is given); Raumer, iii. 15. M. Huillard-Bréholles considers it to be a school-composition. i. 195.

<sup>b</sup> W. Armor. 85; Raumer, iii. 11; Hurter, ii. 407.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. Foss. Nov. A.D. 1212; Hurter, ii. 409; Raumer, iii. 19.

<sup>d</sup> Annal. Placent. Guelf. ap. Pertz,

xviii. 426; Chron. Foss. Nov. A.D. 1212 Huill.-Bréh. i. 201-3. See Böhm. 69.

<sup>e</sup> Oger. Panis, ap. Pertz, xviii. 131; Marchisius, ib. 142.

<sup>f</sup> Og. Pan. l. c.; Annal. Placent. Guelf. ap. Pertz, xviii. 426. Cf. Innoc. Epp. xv. 138, 189; xvi. 58; Huill.-Bréh. i. 212-3.

<sup>g</sup> W. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 85; Raumer, iii. 21; Böhm. 70.

ful largesses.<sup>h</sup> On the 12th of November, he was met at Vaucouleurs in Lorraine, by the dauphin, Louis, who in the name of his father, Philip Augustus, assured him of support ;<sup>i</sup> and a week later a formal alliance with the French king was concluded at Toul.<sup>k</sup> In the mean time Otho was so deeply engaged in a war with France, that he was unable to check the progress of Frederick. At the great battle of Bouvines, near Tournay, on the 27th of July, 1214, Philip Augustus was victorious over Otho and his allies ;<sup>m</sup> and for the remaining five years of his life the emperor was forced to confine himself within his hereditary

territory of Brunswick.<sup>n</sup> On St. James's day in the following year, Frederick received the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, from the primate Sifrid of Mentz ;<sup>o</sup> and, in the enthusiasm of the moment, he, with many others, took the badge of the crusade, to which he afterwards more fully pledged himself by oath at Nuremberg, in the presence of a Roman legate.<sup>p</sup> The ambition to emulate the fame of Frederick Barbarossa and his other ancestors prevailed over the advice of counsellors who represented to the young prince that the difficulties of Germany required his presence at home ; but the result of the engagements into which he thus rashly entered was such as he little expected. In the same year, the question of the empire was considered in the great council of the Lateran, and the pope, after having once adjourned the meeting on account of the heat of the discussion, pronounced in favour of Frederick.<sup>q</sup>

On the other hand, Frederick repaid the pope for his support by large promises in favour of the hierarchy and of the Roman see. In July, 1213, he pledged himself at Eger, in Bohemia, in the very words of the oath which Otho had taken and had broken, to allow freedom of elections and appeals, to renounce the *jus exuviarum*, to labour for the suppression of heresy, and to do all that might be in his power towards recovering for the papacy all the territories which it claimed under the donation of Matilda or otherwise.<sup>r</sup> In May, 1216, he granted fresh immu-

<sup>h</sup> Chron. Ursperg. 243 ; Hurter, i. 472 ; Raumer, iii. 23.

<sup>i</sup> Huillard-Bréh. i. 226 ; W. Armor. 85 ; Chron. Turon. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 1049 ; Böhm. 72.

<sup>k</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 223.

<sup>m</sup> W. Armor. (an eyewitness), 94-100 ; Philipp. l. ix. ; Geneal. Comitum Flandr. ap. Bouq. xviii. 566-7 ; Hunter, ii. 546, seqq. Raynaldi thinks that the victory was granted to Philip "ob insecta-

tos ferro flammisque hæreticos." 1214. 21.

<sup>n</sup> Chron. Turon. i. 1052 ; Böhm. 63-5.

<sup>o</sup> Böhm. 83 ; Cologne was then vacant. Reiner. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 54.

<sup>p</sup> W. Armor. 108 ; Rein. Leod. l. c. ; Hurter, ii. 599, 688.

<sup>q</sup> Ric. Sangerm. ap. Murat. vii. 989.

<sup>r</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 224.



nities to the church,<sup>s</sup> and in the same year, he executed at Strasburg an act by which he promised that, on his coronation as emperor, his son Henry should be July 1. emancipated from the paternal power, and should alone hold the kingdom of Sicily, both beyond and within the Strait, under the Roman church; that during his minority, he should be under the care of a governor responsible to the pope; and that the Sicilian kingdom should always be separate from the empire.<sup>t</sup>

IV. With Philip Augustus of France, Innocent was drawn into a contest which lasted many years. In this contest the pope appeared as the protector of innocence against wrong; nor is there any reason for supposing that he was influenced by a mixture of lower motives, although his conduct was marked by much of the assumption which had become characteristic of the papacy. Philip, an able, ambitious, prudent, and unscrupulous prince, under whose reign the kingdom of France was doubled in extent, and the power of the crown was much strengthened as against that of the great feudatories,<sup>u</sup> had lost his first wife while preparing to set out on the Crusade in 1190. On his return from the East, he was attracted by the fame of the beauty and virtues of Ingeburga, sister of the king of Denmark, a country which at that time had much intercourse with France, as appears from the fact that in the university of Paris there was a special college for Danish students. It is said that, on being sounded by the Danish king as to his expectations of dowry, Philip answered by asking for a transfer of the claims on the crown of England which Denmark had derived from the great Canute, with a year's service of a Danish fleet and army for the assertion of them; but that Canute VI., from unwillingness to involve himself in a war with the formidable Richard of England, preferred to portion his sister in money.<sup>x</sup> In 1193, the princess was conducted to Amiens, and her marriage with Philip was celebrated on the day of her arrival.<sup>y</sup> Next day the royal pair were crowned; but during the ceremony Philip was observed to look pale and to tremble. It was found that since the preceding day he had conceived an unconquerable aversion for Ingeburga, which, as the real cause of it was not disclosed, was popularly ascribed to sorcery.<sup>z</sup> The Danish nobles who had

<sup>s</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 226.<sup>t</sup> *Ib.* 228.<sup>y</sup> *Gesta Innoc.* 48; *Diceto*, 671.<sup>u</sup> See Guizot, *Lect.* xiii., vol. iii.<sup>z</sup> *Gesta Innoc.* 48; *Rigord.* ap. Bouq.<sup>x</sup> *W. Neubrig.* iv. 26; *Hurter*, i. 188. xvii. 38.

escorted the queen refused to take her back to her native country, and she herself was determined to remain in France.<sup>a</sup> Philip knew, by the experience of some of his predecessors, that he could not hope for peace, unless a divorce could be obtained in regular form.<sup>b</sup> The usual objection of relationship within the forbidden degrees between Ingeburga and his former wife was there-

fore set up against the marriage;<sup>c</sup> and a council at Compiègne, composed of bishops devoted to the king, pronounced for a separation on this ground.<sup>d</sup> Ingeburga, who was present, was filled with astonishment and grief when the sentence was explained to her. In her scanty knowledge of French, she could only give notice of an appeal by crying out—"Wicked France! Rome! Rome!"<sup>e</sup> and the suit was earnestly urged by her brother on Celestine III.<sup>f</sup> The pope declared the sentence of the late council to be annulled by apostolical authority, reproved the French bishops for the part which they had taken in the matter, and charged them to prevent Philip from contracting another marriage.<sup>g</sup> But it was in vain that he desired Philip to restore his queen to her rights.<sup>h</sup> Ingeburga was shut up in a convent at

Beaurepaire, in the diocese of Arras,<sup>i</sup> where her piety and gentleness won the respect of all who approached her;<sup>k</sup> and Philip, after having met with refusals in other quarters, married Agnes, the beautiful daughter of the duke of Merania, who ruled over a large territory in Istria, the Tyrol, and Bohemia.<sup>m</sup>

The aged Celestine's interest in the matter appears to have cooled, and no decided step was taken during the remainder of his pontificate.<sup>n</sup> But Innocent, on succeeding him, took up the question with characteristic vigour. Even before his consecration, he wrote to the bishop of Paris, desiring him to admonish the king to put away Agnes and to restore Ingeburga;<sup>o</sup> he soon after addressed to Philip himself a letter, in which arguments of all sorts were enforced by threats of the heaviest ecclesiastical penalties;<sup>p</sup> and he sent Peter, cardinal of St. Mary in the Via Lata, as legate into France, with authority, in case of the

<sup>a</sup> Diceto, 671.

<sup>b</sup> Hurter, i. 184.

<sup>c</sup> Dahlmann says that this was groundless. i. 350.

<sup>d</sup> See Hist. Litt. x. 514-7.

<sup>e</sup> Gesta Innoc. 49.

<sup>f</sup> For letters in this affair, some of them written in the names of Ingeburga and Canute, see Will. S. Thomæ de Paraclito, Epp. i. 30-5; ii. 22, seqq., 79

(Patrol. ccix.); Ingeb., ib. ccvi. 1277.

<sup>g</sup> Ep. 212, ib. ccvi.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. 214.

<sup>i</sup> See Patrol. ccxiv., note on Gesta Innoc. 49.

<sup>k</sup> Steph. Tornac. Epp. 262-3 (Patrol. ccxi.).

<sup>m</sup> Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 46; Hurter, i. 187-9; Martin, iii. 561.

<sup>n</sup> Gesta Innoc. 50; Luden, xii. 97.

<sup>o</sup> Ep. i. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 171.



king's obstinacy, to lay his dominions under an interdict.<sup>a</sup> The legate held a council at Dijon, from which the king Dec. 6,  
1199. by his representatives, appealed to Rome; and the legate—"not out of deference to the appeal, but that he might find a more convenient time and place for fulfilling his commission"<sup>r</sup>—put off the sentence to another council, which he held at Vienne, then within the imperial territory.<sup>s</sup> There the interdict was proclaimed, and, as the king shewed no sign of repentance, it was generally published by the bishops in the beginning of February 1200. Some bishops who at first refused, were compelled by the pope to carry out his orders, although a few still continued to celebrate the offices of religion as usual.<sup>t</sup>

The innocent—such was the theory of the interdict—were to suffer for the guilty sovereign, in order that his heart might be softened either by pity for their misery, or by fear of their discontent. And the sentence of general interdict was one which had never before been felt in France; for that against Robert and Bertha had been limited to their persons,<sup>u</sup> and that against Philip I. and Bertrada had been of force only in the places where the sinful pair should be found.<sup>x</sup> The misery now inflicted was extreme. "Awful and wonderful it was," says Ralph of Coggeshale, "to see in every city the doors of the churches locked, Christians debarred like dogs from entering them, a cessation of divine offices, no consecration of the Sacraments of the Lord's Body and Blood, no flocking of the people, as had been usual, to the high solemnities of the saints, the bodies of the dead not committed to burial with Christian rites; but the stench of them infected the air, while the frightful sight of them struck horror into the minds of the living."<sup>y</sup>

For a time Philip met the interdict with defiance. He expelled from their sees some of the bishops who had published it, and reproached them with their indifference to the sufferings of the people.<sup>z</sup> Instead of restoring Ingeburga, he removed her to the castle of Étampes, where she was treated with greater severity than before;<sup>a</sup> and he declared himself ready to turn

<sup>a</sup> Gesta, 51; Epp. i. 347; ii. 397; iii. 11, seqq.

<sup>r</sup> Gesta Innoc. 51.

<sup>s</sup> Ib.; Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 51; Mansi, xxii. 707-9; R. de Diceto, 706. See n. on the Gesta Innoc.; Hurter, i. 372-3.

<sup>t</sup> Gesta, 52; R. Coggeshale, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 867. The form of

the Interdict is given in Martene. Thes. iv. 147; Patrol. cexiv. xcvii.

<sup>u</sup> See vol. ii. p. 429 (401).

<sup>x</sup> Ib. pp. 677, 703 (629, 648).

<sup>y</sup> Ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. 868; cf. Rob. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 263; Gesta Innoc. 52; Hurter, i. 374.

<sup>z</sup> R. Coggesh. 867; Hurter, i. 381-2.

<sup>a</sup> Rigord. 51.

Mussulman, and professed to envy Saladin for having no pope to annoy him.<sup>b</sup> But after a time the fear of personal excommunication induced him to send envoys to Rome;<sup>c</sup> and there were circumstances which tended to procure for them a favourable hearing. Bishops who had not shrunk from a conflict with the secular power began to fear that their people might learn to despise the ordinances of religion which were denied to them, and might thus fall a prey to heresy; Innocent himself, too, had reason to foresee a contest with England, and was thus disposed to conciliate the king of France.<sup>d</sup> Cardinal Octavian, of Ostia, was therefore sent into France, with orders to require that Philip should receive Ingeburga as queen, should send Agnes out of his dominions, and should make compensation to the clergy for the damages which they had suffered; if the king should wish to impugn the validity of his marriage with the Danish princess, he must begin the proceedings within six months.<sup>e</sup> The legate had an interview with Philip at Sens, where he reproved him for his misdeeds, and Philip with tears promised to obey the pope's commands. The king and queen afterwards met in Octavian's presence; Ingeburga was treated with royal pomp, and was publicly displayed as queen; and on this the interdict was taken off, after having weighed on the

Sept. 8. people of France for upwards of seven months, and the bishops who had been suspended for refusing to publish it were released from their suspension, on swearing to go to Rome and to obey the pope's commands.<sup>f</sup>

But, although Philip complained to the pope that Octavian had dealt hardly with him,<sup>g</sup> the cardinal had contented himself with receiving promises which were not to be performed.<sup>h</sup> Ingeburga was again sent back to her prison-like seclusion at Étampes, until the question of the marriage should be tried before Octavian and another legate.<sup>i</sup> For this purpose a council was held at Soissons, in Lent, 1201.<sup>k</sup> The king's lawyers began by arguing the objection on the ground of affinity; but the advocates who had been sent from Denmark for the queen's cause

<sup>b</sup> Hurter, i. 834 (who refers to Cape-figure).  
<sup>c</sup> R. Hoved. 456.

<sup>d</sup> Hurter, i. 379; Pauli, iii. 336-7.

<sup>e</sup> Epp. Innoc. Suppl. 40 (Patrol. cxvii.); Gesta, 54.

<sup>f</sup> Epp. iii. 11-15; Gesta, 57; Hoved. 461; Rigord. 53; Chron. Aquieinet., A.D. 1201 (Patrol. clx.); Hurter, i. 385-7.

<sup>g</sup> Innoc. Ep. iii. 17.

<sup>h</sup> The pope censures him for this. iii. 16.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. iii. 16; Hurter, i. 389.

<sup>k</sup> There is some difference as to the time. The Anchin chronicler says that the council was adjourned from March till May. A.D. 1201 (Patrol. clx.). See Cossart, ap. Hard. vi. 1966.



appealed to the pope, on the ground that Philip had not treated her as his nobles had sworn for him that he would treat her, and also because Octavian, as being related to the king, and for other reasons, was suspected of partiality in the case. The legate desired them to wait for the arrival of his colleague, cardinal John of St. Paul; but they refused and withdrew. Ingeburga was left alone and friendless; but after a discussion of several days, in which Philip's counsel exhausted the resources of their learning, an unknown clerk stood forward, and, having asked leave to speak in the queen's behalf, argued her cause with a skill and a power which extorted admiration even from the king himself.<sup>m</sup> Philip saw that the judgment of the council, which cardinal John was about to pronounce, would be against him, and resolved to prevent such a result. He announced his intention to treat Ingeburga as a wife and a queen; and, proceeding to the convent where she lodged, after a long interview with her, he placed her behind him on his horse and carried her away.<sup>n</sup> On being informed of this, the council broke up. But when Philip's object had been gained by averting a sentence, the unfortunate Ingeburga was again removed to the castle of Étampes, where she was treated with increased rigour.

Agnes of Merania, while the interdict was in force, had implored the pope to let her enjoy the society of Philip as a husband; for the crown she declared that she did not care. The French nobles had advised the king to send her out of the country; but it was impossible to act on this advice after the council of Soissons, as she was then far advanced in pregnancy;<sup>o</sup> and she soon after died of grief, having given birth to a son, on whom she bestowed the significant name of Tristan. This child did not long survive his mother; but at the earnest suit of Philip, who represented that the divorce pronounced by the council of Compiègne had led him to think himself free to marry—and perhaps also from motives of policy—Innocent consented to acknowledge the two elder children of Agnes as legitimate, and capable of inheriting after their father.<sup>p</sup> Agnes was

<sup>m</sup> The various accounts of the council are collected by Hardouin, vi. 1963-6, and Mansi, xxii. 737-740. The story of the unknown clerk, who is said never to have been seen before or after, is found only in the chronicles of Anchin (Patrol. clx. 345) and of Andres (D'Acher. Spicil. ii. 831); but, as Cossart observes, it is somewhat countenanced by Inno-

cent's biographer. "Et licet rex plures et majores advocatos haberet, non tamen defuit qui propter Deum verbum intrepidus faceret pro regina." Gesta, 55.

<sup>n</sup> Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 53.

<sup>o</sup> Gesta Innoc. 54.

<sup>p</sup> "Quod factum eo tempore pluribus displicuit." Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 54; Hurter, i. 431-2.

buried at Mantes with great splendour, and in memory of her Philip erected and endowed a convent for a hundred and twenty monks.<sup>q</sup>

From time to time Ingeburga addressed to the pope complaints of the treatment which she received, and entreaties that he would interfere in her behalf. It is represented that she was kept in close seclusion, seeing no one except occasionally a priest; that her character was aspersed by slander; that she was denied the opportunity of confessing, and was rarely admitted to the mass; that she was cut off from all communication with her native land, and that even her two Danish chaplains were not allowed to speak with her except in French and in the presence of Frenchmen; that her guards were persons of low condition and of rude behaviour; that she was ill supplied with food and clothing, so as to be reduced even to accept charitable gifts for her comfort; that she was denied the use of the bath and of medical attendance; and she prays that any concession which may be wrung from her by such treatment may not be allowed to prejudice her rights.<sup>r</sup> The pope in consequence of these letters often wrote to Philip, exhorting him to fulfil his promises to Ingeburga, or, if he could not love her, at least to show her outward respect. Philip endeavoured by various means to procure a divorce; by ascribing his aversion to the influence of magic, by endeavouring to induce Ingeburga to become a nun, or to make such statements as should agree with his own account of their conjugal connexion. But the pope steadily adhered to his purpose—exhorting Philip, if he believed himself to be under magical influence, to strive against it by fasting and prayer, and telling him that compliance with his wishes was unlawful and impossible.<sup>s</sup>

At length, in the year 1213—twenty years after the repudiation, and seventeen years after Ingeburga had been committed to seclusion—Philip, after consultation with the cardinal-legate Robert Curzon, and probably with a view to popular support in his quarrels with England and Flanders—consented to receive Ingeburga as queen.<sup>t</sup> They lived together until his death in 1223; and Ingeburga founded at Corbeil, where she spent her fourteen years of widowhood, a college of priests in connexion

<sup>q</sup> W. Armor. in Bouq. xvii. 75; Hurter, i. 431.

<sup>r</sup> Innoc. Epp. iii. 16 [which, however, is earlier]; vi. 85; &c.

<sup>s</sup> Epp. vi. 86, 182; viii. 113; ix. 42;

x. 176; xi. 85-6, 140-2; xiii. 66; xv. 106, &c.

<sup>t</sup> W. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 88; Hurter, ii. 477.



with the military order of St. John, for the benefit of her husband's soul.<sup>u</sup>

V. The sovereign of England, during all but the first year of Innocent's pontificate, was one whose character—sensual, faithless, cruel, violent and weak, without religion, but not without superstition—afforded ample opportunities for the encroachment of the papacy on the secular power. John, after having been forgiven by his brother Richard for many offences, had <sup>April 6,</sup> been declared by him his heir, in preference to Arthur, <sup>1199.</sup> the son of an elder but deceased brother. The crown of England, although limited to one family, had hardly ever since the Norman conquest descended according to the strict rule <sup>Ascension-</sup> of inheritance; <sup>day, May 27.</sup> and it is said that at John's coronation the archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, addressed the assembled nobles in words which declared it to depend on election.<sup>v</sup> John had already given general scandal by carrying off the betrothed bride of the Count de la Marche, while he himself had another wife living;<sup>z</sup> he was believed to have instigated the murder of his nephew Arthur, or even to have murdered him with his own hand.<sup>a</sup> For this he was cited by Philip Augustus, as suzerain of his continental territories, to answer before the peers of France—a court of fabulous origin, and of which this is the first mention in authentic history.<sup>b</sup> In default of appearing, he was condemned to forfeiture; and, through the disaffection which his vices and his extravagant taxation had excited among

<sup>u</sup> Honor. III. ad Ingeb. ap. Bouq. xix. 770; Alberic. Trois Fontain. ib. xxi. 621; Hurter, 479.

<sup>x</sup> Lingard, ii. 296.

<sup>y</sup> Wendover, v. 149-150. This is an insertion of M. Paris, who goes on to say that Hubert, being afterwards asked why he had spoken thus, answered that he had reason to expect that John would act ill, and therefore wished to restrain him beforehand. Carte (i. 785, and others question the truth of the story; but Louis of France, when he invaded England, asserted that Hubert had made such a speech at the coronation. Thorn, ap. Twysd. 1869. See Lingard, ii. 296-7; Pauli, iii. 297.

<sup>z</sup> R. de Diceto, 706; Pauli, iii. 304-6.

<sup>a</sup> As to the death of Arthur, the chroniclers differ greatly. "Modus sui exitus ignoratur," says the chronicle of Savigny (Bouq. xviii. 351). Wendover

says that the prince, having been closely shut up in the castle of Rouen, "subito evanuit," and that John was generally suspected of having murdered him with his own hand (iii. 171); to which Matthew Paris adds—"modo fere omnibus ignorato; utinam non ut fama refert invida!" (v. 153.) The Margam annalist distinctly charges John with the act (A.D. 1204). So too, William the Breton (Bouq. xvii. 100; Philipp. vi. 491-504). Cf. Chron. Lanercost. 12; Joh. de Oxenedes, 104-5. The story with which Shakespeare has made us familiar comes through Holinshed from R. of Coggeshale (in Bouq. xviii. 97). See Pauli, iii. 310-2. and an elaborate note on Hemingburgh, i. 232, who says that John employed Peter de Mauley as the murderer.

<sup>b</sup> See Brial, in Bouq., Introd. to vol. xvii.; Sismondi, vi. 234.

his subjects, Philip was enabled to wrest from him within a few months the great inheritance of Rollo.<sup>c</sup> His matrimonial irregularities, although really as criminal as those of Philip Augustus, had passed without censure from the pope.<sup>d</sup> But he had already been involved in serious differences with Innocent, on account of his disposal of sees, his taxation of monasteries, and other offences,<sup>e</sup> when a question as to the appointment of a primate brought him into direct collision with the papacy.

On the death of Archbishop Hubert, in 1205, the younger monks of Canterbury hastily assembled by night and elected the sub-prior, Reginald, placed him on the high altar, seated him in the archiepiscopal chair, and sent him off to sue for the pall at Rome, under an obligation to keep his election secret until he should appear in the pope's own presence.<sup>f</sup> But Reginald's vanity was too strong for this promise, and immediately on landing in Flanders he proclaimed his new dignity. When this was known in England, the monks—even those who had elected him—became ashamed of their choice, and, in order to disarm the king's indignation, they applied to him for leave to proceed to a fresh election. John recommended one of his chief counsellors, John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who was accordingly chosen, invested with the temporalities of the see, and sent to Rome with a statement on the king's part that he had been unanimously elected, and with a protest against any claims which might be set up in favour of a rival.<sup>g</sup> The bishops of the province, however, who had been disregarded in the affair, sent envoys to assert their customary right to a share in the election;<sup>h</sup> and Innocent saw in these circumstances an opportunity for effectually interfering with the Anglo-Norman system, by which, wherever the choice of bishops might nominally be lodged, it was really in the hands of the sovereign.<sup>i</sup> He therefore disallowed both the elections, denied the claim of the suffragan bishops to a share in the appointment of their metropoli-

<sup>c</sup> R. Coggesh. ap. Bouq. xviii. 95; R. Altissiod. ib. 269; Rigord. 56-7; Will. Armor. 75-6; Philipp. II. vii.-viii.; Martin, iii. 575-585; Pauli, iii. 509-514.

<sup>d</sup> Hurter tries to justify Innocent as to this, i. 484.

<sup>e</sup> See *e.g.* Innoc. Epp. v. 160; vi. 68-70, 73; viii. 5, &c.; R. Hoved. 458, 464; R. Coggesh. 860-4, 866; Pauli, iii. 329-332. One subject of frequent remonstrance was John's refusal to pay the

dowry of Richard's widow, who was compelled "quasi abjecta et paupereula mendicare;" and this was not settled until the pontificate of Honorius. Epp. vi. 194; vii. 168; xiii. 74, &c.; Patrol. cccvii. 203; Raynald. 1216. 11.

<sup>f</sup> R. Wendov. iii. 183-4.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 184; Innoc. Ep. ix. 34; Pauli, iii. 319.

<sup>h</sup> R. Wend. iii. 186. See above, p. 219.

<sup>i</sup> Inett, ii. 452, seqq.; Pauli, iii. 321.



tan,<sup>k</sup> and desired that fifteen monks of Christchurch should be sent to Rome by a certain day, as representatives of the convent, to choose on the spot an archbishop of his own nomination.<sup>m</sup> The person whom the pope recommended was Stephen Langton, an Englishman, who had been his fellow-student at Paris, and, after having taught in that university with great distinction, had lately been promoted to the cardinalate of St. Chrysogonus.<sup>n</sup> It was in vain that the representatives of the Canterbury monks urged the necessity of the king's approval. Innocent peremptorily declared that such was not the case when an election was made at the place of the pope's own residence; and, with the protest of a single monk, on the part of the king and of his candidate, Langton was elected by the deputies of Christchurch, and was thereupon consecrated by the pope.<sup>o</sup>

Such an interference with the rights of the national church, in entire disregard of the crown, was wholly new in England, and might reasonably have awakened the king's resentment.<sup>p</sup> But through the unpopularity and folly of John, the high reputation of Stephen Langton, and the energy with which Innocent carried out his policy, the result was very different from what it might otherwise have been.

On receiving an account of the late proceedings from Innocent, with a request for his approval (although the pope intimated that this was unnecessary),<sup>q</sup> John violently objected to Langton as one who, although by birth an English subject, was personally unknown to him, and had lived among his "public enemies" in France. He reminded the pope that England contributed more to the income of the Roman church than all the other countries north of the Alps; he declared himself resolved to carry through the promotion of the bishop of Norwich, and, in case of the pope's refusal, to cut off all communication between

<sup>k</sup> Epp. viii. 161; ix. 205. The author of the 'Gesta' says that Innocent was inclined to favour the bishops until the arguments on the other side decided him (131). But his decision falls in suspiciously with the usual Roman policy of depressing the episcopal order.

<sup>m</sup> Gesta, 131; Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 165; R. Wendover, iii. 211; Pauli, iii. 322-3.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. ix. 206; Gesta, 131; R. Altiss. ap. Bouq. xviii. 275; Hoved. contin., ib. 165. See Hist. Litt. xviii. 51.

<sup>o</sup> R. Wendov. iii. 212-3. Matt. Paris gives a somewhat different account of the

matter (v. 158). The chronicler of Andres (Dacher. Spicil. ii. 839) was an eyewitness. In order to prevent a recurrence of this, Henry III., in 1232, told the monks of Canterbury that if any of them should go to Rome for an election, they must not make it without his leave. Royal Letters, ed. Shirley, i. 406.

<sup>p</sup> Inett, ii. 405-7; Pauli, IV., i. 488. There were, however, examples elsewhere. Thus in 1204, on a disputed election to Reims, Innocent named an archbishop. Ep. vii. 116.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. ix. 206.

his dominions and Rome.<sup>r</sup> In the mean time he turned his rage against the monks of Canterbury, whom two of his officers, with the assistance of mercenary soldiers, ejected from their convent; and he seized their lands, together with those belonging to the archbishoprick. The monks, however, as had been usual in the case of ecclesiastics driven from England for opposition to the royal will, found an eager welcome abroad, and were entertained at St. Bertin's and in other foreign monasteries.<sup>s</sup> The pope continued the correspondence for some time. He remarked that John could not well be unacquainted with Langton's character, inasmuch as he had congratulated him on his advancement to the cardinalate,<sup>t</sup> and, in disregard both of the king's threats and of the money with which the English envoys were furnished, he bestowed the pall on Langton with his own hands at Viterbo.<sup>u</sup>

Innocent, after some further exchange of letters,<sup>x</sup> empowered the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to interdict the kingdom of England, without excepting even the churches of monastic or military orders,<sup>y</sup> if John should obstinately refuse to hearken to the admonitions which they were charged to deliver. On the announcement of this, John burst out into a paroxysm of rage, uttering violent abuse against the pope, with threats against the clergy and all who should bring any message from the Roman court; and he drove the bishops from his presence.<sup>z</sup> The

March 23.

interdict was therefore published in Lent, 1208,<sup>a</sup> and John met it by putting his threats into execution. At first, he was disposed to deny the clergy the protection of the laws, so that, when a man was charged with the murder of a priest, the king exclaimed "He has slain one of my enemies; let him go free."<sup>b</sup> But he afterwards changed his policy in this respect, and ordered that any one who should outrage a clerk should be hanged on the nearest oak.<sup>c</sup> A general order was issued for the

<sup>r</sup> Wendov. iii. 215-6.

<sup>s</sup> Wendov. iii. 243-4; R. Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xix. 165; Annal. Waverl., A.D. 1207; Innoc. Suppl., Ep. 118; St. Langton, in Wilk. i. 520; Flor. Vigorn. contin. iii. 167; Joh. Iper. 688; Chron. Andrense, 841.

<sup>t</sup> Wendov. iii. 217, or Ep. x. 219.

<sup>u</sup> Wendov. iii. 213; Pauli, iii. 327-8.

<sup>x</sup> It was at this time that, according to Matthew Paris (223), Innocent sent to the king of England a present of four rings, with a letter of what Collier (ii. 417) calls "Pythagorean, hieroglyphical, and visionary fancies" as to their properties. But it seems certain

that such a letter had been addressed by the pope on his election to Richard (Ep. i. 206), who expressed his thanks for the gift (De Negot. Imp. 4), so that M. Paris seems to be wrong in supposing it written to John, and the editor of the epistles to be wrong in repeating it (x. 218). See Hurter, i. 111; Coxe, n. on Wendover, iii. 213.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. x. 161.

<sup>z</sup> Innoc. Ep. x. 113; R. Wendov. iii. 221-2; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1208.

<sup>a</sup> Patrol. cexvii. 190; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1208; Annal. Margan. 29, ed. Luard.

<sup>b</sup> Wendov. iii. 224.

<sup>c</sup> Bymer, i. 101.



banishment of all clergymen; and, as many of them would not leave the country, it was ordered that their property should be seized, but that enough to sustain life should be allowed them. Severe measures were also taken against the wives or concubines of the clergy.<sup>d</sup> The bishops who had published the interdict fled across the sea, and were followed by all their brethren except those who enjoyed the king's favour; and a chronicler strongly blames them for leaving their flocks to the wolf, while they themselves lived "in all manner of delights" abroad.<sup>e</sup> At length Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, was the only member of his order who remained in England, and he, says a chronicler, remained, not as a defender of the church, but as a minister of the king.<sup>f</sup> The Cistercians at first continued to celebrate their rites, in neglect of the interdict, but were compelled by the pope to refrain;<sup>g</sup> and when, at a later time, some other societies of monks were allowed at the primate's intercession to celebrate, the Cistercians were punished by exclusion from this favour.<sup>h</sup> It was in vain that the king's nephews, the duke of Saxony and Otho of Germany, entreated him to make peace with the church;<sup>i</sup> but, although the sufferings of the English during the time of the interdict were great, they were far less severe than the misery which had lately been produced by a like sentence in France. For it was found impossible to enforce the interdict in all its rigour;<sup>k</sup> the nobles, who at other times stoutly opposed the crown, had no wish to see the hierarchy supreme, and even among the clergy there was a strong feeling of nationality. And thus it was that, while the powerful and able Philip Augustus was reduced to submission by an interdict in seven months, the weak, pusillanimous and unpopular John was able to hold out against the pressure of a like censure for upwards of six years, even although an excommunication of his person was added to the general sentence.<sup>m</sup> In 1209 the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, and Arras were authorised to pro-

<sup>d</sup> Wendov. iii. 223; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1208; Lingard, iii. 318.

<sup>e</sup> Wendov. iii. 224.

<sup>f</sup> Hoved. Contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 166.

<sup>g</sup> See Flor. Vig. contin. ii. 168; Patrol. cexv. 1456. The general chapter of the order in 1208 put all the Cistercian abbots in England, except three, to a slight penance for having obeyed the interdict. Mart. Thes. iv. 1306.

<sup>h</sup> Wendov. iii. 226; Innoc. Epp. xi. 214, 235, 259, 260; xii. 9-10. The pope

evidently felt a difficulty as to the best way of dealing with so powerful a body as the Cistercians.

<sup>i</sup> Annal. Wav. A.D. 1208.

<sup>k</sup> Wendover seems to have somewhat exaggerated the effect of it, iii. 222. See Mr. Coxe's note there. Various relaxations were gradually allowed. See Coggesh. in Bouq. xviii. 105; Innoc. Epp. Suppl. 136; Annal. Theokesb. 1209, 1212.

<sup>m</sup> Flor. Vig. Contin., 171; Pauli, iii. 357; see Milman, iv. 13.

nounce the anathema;<sup>n</sup> but they did not venture into England for the purpose, and John took all possible means to prevent the introduction of letters conveying the sentence, as it was considered that a formal delivery of such a document was necessary to its taking effect.<sup>o</sup> But reports of the excommunication reached England, and were acted on by the more scrupulous of the ecclesiastics who remained in the country. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, resigned a judgeship in the Exchequer on the ground that he could not serve an excommunicated sovereign; whereupon he was imprisoned, loaded with a leaden cope, and scantily fed; and under these severities he died.<sup>p</sup> Hugh of Wells, a royal chaplain who was much employed in the king's affairs,<sup>q</sup> having been elected to the bishoprick of Lincoln, in 1209, obtained leave to go abroad that he might be consecrated by the archbishop of Rouen; but on landing in France, he took his way to Pontigny, where Langton, like his predecessor Becket, had found a refuge, and there he received consecration from the banished primate. In punishment of this, the revenues of Lincoln were confiscated, and the bishop was compelled to remain in exile.<sup>r</sup> In the mean time John endeavoured to obtain supplies of money by taxing the monasteries excessively, and the Cistercians, as they were longest spared, had at last to pay heavily in proportion.<sup>s</sup> In 1210, the pope absolved all John's subjects from their oath of fealty;<sup>t</sup> and it is said that the king, on his part, endeavoured to strengthen himself by sending a mission to seek an alliance with the Mahometans of Africa.<sup>u</sup>

In 1212 Langton went to Rome, in company with the bishops of London and Ely, to represent to the pope the crimes of John against the church, and the sufferings which the bishops and clergy had endured. Indignant that his spiritual thunders should have been spent so long without effect, Innocent resolved to employ means of another kind, and the archbishop on his return to France was authorised to pronounce the deposition of John, and to invite Philip Augustus to an invasion of England, promising to all who should take part in this enterprise the privileges

<sup>n</sup> Innoc. Epp. xi. 211, 221; xii. 57; Wendov. iii. 235; Trivet. A.D. 1210. Suppl. 115; Wendov. iii. 229.

<sup>o</sup> Hurter, ii. 193; Schröckh, xxvi. 297.

<sup>p</sup> Wendov. iii. 229. See Foss, ii. 244.

<sup>q</sup> Wendover is wrong in speaking of him as chancellor. Foss, ii. 512.

<sup>r</sup> Wendov. iii. 238; Hurter, ii. 193-4.

<sup>s</sup> Hoved. Contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 166; iii. 882.

Wendov. iii. 235; Trivet. A.D. 1210.

<sup>t</sup> Wendov. iii. 237.

<sup>u</sup> This is positively affirmed by Matthew Paris, who tells the story as if on the authority of one of the envoys (Wendov. v. 167-172). But it is probably an invention of the St. Alban's monks. See Lingard, iii. 325; Milm. iv. 16; Pauli, iii. 882.



of Crusaders.<sup>x</sup> Philip eagerly caught at the hope of adding England to the territories which he had already wrested from John; the crusade was resolved on at a national <sup>April 8,</sup> assembly at Soissons, and preparations were made for <sup>1213.</sup> a speedy and formidable descent on England, while John endeavoured to prepare for meeting it by assembling a fleet at Portsmouth, and an army on Barham Downs, near Canterbury.<sup>y</sup> John's superstitious mind had been much alarmed by a prophecy of one Peter, a hermit of Pontefract or Wakefield, that he would cease to reign before Ascension Day, the anniversary of his coronation; and this prediction, with others of the same person, or feigned in his name, had become generally current, and had produced a strong impression on the people, although Peter, on being questioned by the king, professed himself unable to explain in what manner the fulfilment was to take place.<sup>z</sup> While men's minds were in general alarm, and while the forces on either side were mustering, Pandulf, a Roman sub-deacon<sup>a</sup> of great experience in affairs, arrived in England, with two knights of the Temple, and had a meeting with <sup>May, 1213.</sup> the king at Dover. They represented to him the imminent danger in which he was from enemies both abroad and at home, and Pandulf suggested that there was but one way of safety possible—namely, through reconciliation with the church—through resigning the kingdoms of England and Ireland to St. Peter, and consenting to hold them in vassalage, and on condition of a yearly tribute, under the Roman see.<sup>b</sup> To this proposal—not the less degrading because in other kingdoms and in other circumstances some similar tenure had been admitted in consideration of special benefits or privileges<sup>c</sup>—John was fain to consent. He promised to submit to the pope's judgment as to all the matters which had caused his excommunication; to recall the banished bishops and clergy, and to pay them a compensation for their losses; and on the eve of Ascension Day, at a house of the Templars near Dover, he formally yielded up

<sup>x</sup> Wendov. iii. 241-2; Pauli, iii. 364-5.

<sup>y</sup> Rymer, i. 104; Wendov. iii. 245-6; Pauli, iii. 370-1.

<sup>z</sup> Wendov. iii. 240; Hoved. Contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 168-9.

<sup>a</sup> He was not a cardinal, nor a legate (Lingard, ii. 338). That the story of an interview between Pandulf and John at Northampton in August 1212 (Annal. Burton. 209, seqq. ed. Luard; Annal.

Waverl. A.D. 1212; Chron. Lanercost, pp. 5-6.) is probably an invention, see Pauli, iii. 365.

<sup>b</sup> Wendov. 240, 246-8.

<sup>c</sup> Pauli, iii. 376; Martineau, 394-6.

The continuer of Hoveden defends it on account of John's difficulties, "licet id multis ignominiosum videretur, et enorme servitutis jugum" (Bouq. xviii. 171). Comp. Lingard, ii. 331-3; Hook, ii. 694-6.

the crowns of England and Ireland, and did homage for his kingdoms to the papal envoy.<sup>d</sup> The Yorkshire hermit's prophecy was popularly regarded as fulfilled; and, whether in acknowledgment or in denial of its truth, John caused Peter and his son to be dragged at the tails of horses from Corfe Castle (where he had imprisoned them) to Wareham, and there to be hanged.<sup>e</sup> The interdict was relaxed, and Pandulf, on his return to France, charged Philip in the pope's name to refrain from carrying out his designs against England, as the king had become the vassal of St. Peter. Philip indignantly exclaimed against the pope for having lured him by deceitful hopes to incur vast trouble and expense in preparing for the expedition which his representative had now forbidden.<sup>f</sup> In the mean time John summoned his liegemen to attend him on an expedition into Poitou, and, on their hesitating to comply, under the pretext that he was not yet formally absolved,<sup>g</sup> he invited Langton and the other banished bishops to return.<sup>h</sup> The primate was

received with great honour, and on St. Margaret's Day, July 20. in Winchester Cathedral, the king swore in his presence to do justice in his courts to all men, to keep the ancient laws, (especially those of Edward the Confessor,) to restore all church property, and to compensate the owners for all that they had lost.<sup>i</sup> With a view to the settlement of all remaining difficulties, as well as to the preaching of a crusade, and summoning a general council, Nicolas, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, arrived in England as legate about Michaelmas; and at a council which was held at St. Paul's in October, John again went through the humiliation of doing homage for his kingdom to the representative of Rome, and paid the first portion of the stipulated tribute.<sup>k</sup>

In the beginning of February, 1214, John set out for his campaign in Poitou, where his army met with considerable

<sup>d</sup> Innoc. Epp. xvi. 76-81, 134; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1213; Wendov. iii. 248-255. The yearly tribute was to be 5000 marks, of which 300 were for Ireland. Rymer, i. 111-2. Matthew Paris inserts in Wendover's narrative a story that Pandulf trod under foot some money which the king offered as the earnest of his subjection, "archiepiscopo dolente et reclamante" (Wendov. iii. 255; v. 165). But this is generally disbelieved, more especially as the archbishop was not yet in England. See Milman, iv. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 171; Wendov. iii. 255.

<sup>f</sup> Wendov. iii. 256.

<sup>g</sup> Will. Armor. ap. Bouq. 90; Wendov. iii. 259.

<sup>h</sup> Rymer, i. 112. The outlawry of the clergy was revoked, ib. 113. For some correspondence between the king and the archbishop during the interdict, see Dacher. Spicil. iii. 568-9.

<sup>i</sup> Wendov. iii. 260-1; Hoved. contin. 171; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1213. As to the observance of the terms, see Innoc. Epp. xv. 236-9.

<sup>k</sup> Rymer, i. 115, 119; Wendov. iii. 275.



success.<sup>m</sup> But he was recalled by the tidings of the great victory gained by Philip at Bouvines, where among Otho's July 27, allies was a large force of English under the Earl of 1214. Salisbury, who himself was struck down and taken prisoner by the martial bishop Philip of Beauvais.<sup>n</sup> On hearing of this defeat, John passionately exclaimed that since his reconciliation with God and the church everything had gone ill with him.<sup>o</sup>

The removal of the interdict was delayed by negotiations as to the indemnity which was to be paid to the clergy. But Innocent was now disposed to take part with his new vassal,<sup>p</sup> and the legate Nicolas disgusted the English clergy by insisting on a compromise which was far short of their demands.<sup>q</sup> When this had at length been settled, the interdict was formally taken off on St. Peter's and St. Paul's day, 1214.<sup>r</sup> June 29.

The barons of England felt deeply the degradation which John's abject submission to the pope had inflicted on them and on the whole kingdom; and his long misgovernment, his reckless indulgence in excesses of tyranny and lust, had excited a general desire for the privileges and the control of settled law.<sup>s</sup> It was therefore resolved to insist on the fulfilment of the king's solemn promise to observe the laws of King Edward; and in this movement the primate took the lead, with the intention of guiding it according to equity and to written right. At a meeting held at St. Paul's, London, in August, 1213, he announced to the assembled nobles that he had found a charter of liberties, granted by Henry I. at his coronation, and confirmed by Henry II.; and on this it was determined by the bishops and barons that they would take their stand.<sup>t</sup> The spiritual and the lay chiefs swore to support each other in the attempt, and the compact was renewed in a later meeting at Bury St. Edmund's.<sup>u</sup> It was in vain that the legate Nicolas threw all his influence into the opposite scale; that the king raged, and swore never to consent to a claim of liberties which would reduce him to the condition

<sup>m</sup> Wendov. iii. 285; Pauli, iii. 394.

<sup>n</sup> See above, pp. 234, 304; Hurter, ii. 571; Pauli, iii. 405.

<sup>o</sup> Wendov. iii. 292.

<sup>p</sup> See Epp. xvi. 134-5.

<sup>q</sup> Innoc. Epp. xvi. 79-83, 133, 164; Suppl. 198; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1213; Wendov. iii. 270, 275, 284; Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 172; Pauli, iii. 386-9.

<sup>r</sup> Wendov. iii. 276, 284. See Rymer, i. 122.

<sup>s</sup> Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1215. A Tours chronicler, however, may be suspected of exaggerating his misdeeds—"Quasi alter Herodes, a bimatu et infra pueros occidebat, alios excoriabat... alios\* in aquis calentibus bullire faciebat, alios, fame afflictos, socios et etiam semetipsos devorare et comedere faciebat," &c. Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1050.

<sup>t</sup> Wendov. iii. 263; Lingard, ii. 336; Pauli, iii. 384-5.

<sup>u</sup> Wendov. iii. 266, 294.

of a slave; that he tried to detach the bishops from their alliance with the barons by offering entire freedom of election to sees; that he took the cross at the hands of the bishop of London, in order to secure the privileges of a Crusader; that he surrounded himself with foreign mercenary soldiers.<sup>x</sup> He found himself deserted by all but the nobles of his court; the barons pressed steadily onwards, possessed themselves of the capital, and on the 15th of June, 1215, extorted from the king at Runnymede the signature of the Great Charter—a document intended to record with unquestionable certainty, and thereby to secure, the rights to which English subjects were already entitled on the ground of earlier laws, with such new provisions as were necessary to counteract new dangers and usurpations.<sup>y</sup> In the first article of this it is declared, with a reference to the king's "spontaneous" grant of freedom of election, that "the Church of England shall be free, and shall have her rights entire and her liberties uninjured."<sup>z</sup>

John reckoned on evading his obligations under the pretext that, as the pope was now suzerain of England, the charter could have no validity without his consent.<sup>a</sup> It is said that Innocent, on hearing of the meeting at Runnymede, burst out into an indignant exclamation, swearing by St. Peter to punish the barons for attempting to dethrone a king who had taken the badge of a Crusader, and had placed himself under the protection of the Roman Church;<sup>b</sup> and on the 24th of August he issued a bull by which he condemned and annulled the charter, released all men from their obligations to observe it, and severely censured the English primate for the part which he had taken in extorting it from the king.<sup>c</sup> Against Langton, in whom he had expected to find a submissive instrument of Rome, Innocent was especially provoked, not only by his political conduct, but by his opposition to the legate Nicolas, whose claims as to patronage and other matters had frequently clashed with the ancient privileges of Canterbury.<sup>d</sup> The Bishop of Winchester, the

<sup>x</sup> Will. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 108; Wendov. iii. 298; Lingard, ii. 344; Pauli, iii. 414-5.

<sup>y</sup> Wendov. iii. 300-2; Hurter, ii. 609; Lingard, iii. 349; Pauli, iii. 423-4.

<sup>z</sup> Rymer, i. 131-2. John had promised freedom of election on condition that the king's leave should first be asked. If it were not granted, the election might go on; but the royal con-

fimation was to be asked (Rymer, i. 126). Innocent confirmed this. Suppl. Ep. 107.

<sup>a</sup> W. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 108-9.

<sup>b</sup> Wendov. iii. 323. John had complained to the pope (Rymer, 129, 138), and Innocent had written some letters in his behalf. Suppl. Epp. 108, 197.

<sup>c</sup> Rymer, i. 135-6; Wendov. iii. 323-9.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. xii. 138; Wendov. iii. 278-9;



Abbot of Reading, and Pandulf, who about this time was elected to the see of Norwich, were charged to pronounce an excommunication against all who should oppose the king, and to suspend any prelate who should refuse to publish the sentence.<sup>e</sup> Langton was on the point of setting out for the Lateran Council when he received notice from the commissioners that he was suspended by the pope's command.<sup>f</sup> But, while professing obedience to the papal authority, he declared that the order had been issued on false information, declined to publish it until he should have had an opportunity of conferring with the pope, and proceeded on his way to the council.<sup>g</sup> At that great assembly John had his representatives, who dwelt on the primate's alleged offences, and the pope declared himself unreservedly for the king. Excommunication was denounced against all who should oppose John;<sup>h</sup> Langton was severely censured by Innocent for having taken part with the barons, and for having disregarded the notice of suspension; and the election of his brother Simon to York was disallowed in favour of the king's nominee, Walter de Grey, Bishop of Worcester.<sup>i</sup> The primate's suspension was removed in February, 1216, but with the condition that he should not return to England until peace should have been concluded between the king and the barons, by a party of whom Louis, eldest son of the King of France, had been invited into England, as the only means of successfully opposing the foreign mercenaries whom John kept in his pay.<sup>k</sup> Louis had eagerly embraced the opportunity, in defiance of solemn and repeated warnings and threats from the pope's legate, Gualo<sup>m</sup>—alleging that John had never been rightful king, that he had been condemned for the murder of his nephew, that he had violated his coronation-oath, that his surrender of the kingdom was void, because unsanctioned by the barons;<sup>n</sup> and England was for a time a prey to the ravages of three foreign armies—the French, the Scots, who took the opportunity to break in on the north, and the king's Brabançons, or mercenaries.<sup>o</sup>

Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 373; Pauli, iii. 388-9. Nicolas had been recalled in 1214 on account of his excesses in his office. Hoved. contin. l. c.; Pauli, iii. 410.

<sup>e</sup> Rymer, i. 138.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 139.

<sup>g</sup> Wendov. iii. 336, 340; Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 177; R. Coggesh. 109-110; Innoc. Epp. Supplem. 205-6.

<sup>h</sup> R. Coggesh. 110.

<sup>i</sup> Wendov. iii. 338-346, 349; Hurter,

ii. 624; Pauli, iii. 449, 450.

<sup>k</sup> Wendov. iii. 360; Shirley, Pref. to Letters of Hen. III., vol. i. p. xvi. Langton did not return until 1218. Trivet, 203.

<sup>m</sup> W. Armor. 119; R. Hoved. contin. 177; Wendov. iii. 364-5.

<sup>n</sup> Wendov. l. c.; Thorn. ap. Twysden 1868-9; Rymer, i. 140.

<sup>o</sup> R. Coggesh. 109; Wendov. iii. 351. The annalist of Waverley, A.D. 1215,

In the mean time, Innocent endeavoured to support John by spiritual denunciations<sup>p</sup> against his chief opponents, and by interdicting the city of London, which took part with the invaders. But these sentences were generally disregarded, and John at his death on October 16th, 1216 (three months after that of Innocent), left to a boy only nine years old a kingdom of which the soil was in great part occupied by a foreign invader.<sup>q</sup>

VI. In his dealings with the less considerable states of Christendom, Innocent displayed the same lofty conception of his authority, the same vigour and firmness in asserting it, the same skill in finding opportunities for intervention, which we have seen in his policy toward the empire, France, and England. Thus, in Hungary, he took advantage of a disturbed succession, when, on the death of Bela III., Andrew employed against his brother Emmerich the forces which he had raised as if for a crusade; and the pope, by persuading the rivals to  
A.D. 1199. lay down their arms, while he restored peace to the country, established his own spiritual sway.<sup>r</sup>

In the Christian kingdoms of Spain, he benefited by the irregular marriages of sovereigns, which placed them at his mercy for the employment of spiritual punishments, such as interdict and anathema, and compelled them to submit to his decisions.<sup>s</sup> The reigning family of Aragon had risen from being counts of Barcelona to a degree of importance which seemed to warrant the assumption of the royal title; but they had never been crowned, and the young King Peter resolved to seek the papal confirmation of his dignity. In 1204 he received the crown from Innocent's hands in the church of St. Pancras without the walls of Rome, and then, accompanying the pope to St. Peter's, he laid his crown and sceptre on the altar. Having thus offered his kingdom to St. Peter, he was reinvested in it by the symbol of the sword, and promised to hold it as a fief of the apostolic see, paying a yearly tribute, and granting entire freedom of election to bishopricks and abbacies, for the disposal of

calls the mercenaries "*barbari alienigenæque*." Matthew Paris says that the English threw the blame of their cruelties on the pope, with whom John was leagued. Wendov. ed. Coxe, v. 197-8.

<sup>p</sup> His letter forbidding Louis to invade England is lost; but the substance of it is preserved in the index. See *Patrol.* ccxvi. 994.

<sup>q</sup> Wendov. iii. 354-7; Pauli, iii. 455-466. The Tours chronicle (already quoted p. 315) tells a strange story as to the disappearance of John's body. 1057.

<sup>r</sup> Hurter, i. 204-8, 295, 649. See p. 295.

<sup>s</sup> See Epp. i. 92-3; ii. 75; vi. 80; vii. 94, &c.; Gesta, 58; Raynald. 1199. 40-1; Hurter, i. 195-7, 289, 641; ii. 66-7, &c.



which the consent of the sovereign had until then been necessary.<sup>t</sup> On returning home, Peter found that his concessions to Rome had excited some discontent among his subjects; but the compact was observed, and, although Peter himself, as we shall see, was drawn into opposition to the cause which the pope sanctioned in the religious war of southern France, it was not from any want of loyalty to the papacy, but from sympathy with his own relations and allies, for whom he had interceded with Innocent in vain.

Innocent earnestly exerted himself to persuade the Christians of Spain to peace among themselves, and to combination against their Moslem enemies.<sup>u</sup> When a great invasion from Africa, under the Miramolin Mahomet el Nazir, was threatened in 1211, he authorised the raising of a crusading force from other countries for the assistance of the Spanish Christians, and instituted solemn prayers at Rome for the success of their arms.<sup>x</sup> In 1212 the invaders were overthrown by the kings of Aragon and Castille, with their allies, in the battle of Navas de Tolosa—a victory which recalls that of Charles Martel at Poitiers by its greatness both in itself and in its results, inasmuch as it for ever delivered Europe from the fear of invasion on the side of Africa.<sup>y</sup> In acknowledgment of the pope's assistance, the victors sent the banner and the lance of the Saracen leader to be hung up in St. Peter's; and a solemn thanksgiving was there celebrated, in which the King of Castille's report of the victory was publicly read, and the pope addressed the assembled multitude on the deliverance which had been wrought for Christendom.<sup>z</sup>

In Portugal,<sup>a</sup> in Scotland,<sup>b</sup> in the Scandinavian kingdoms,<sup>c</sup> and in Poland,<sup>d</sup> the vigilance and the vigour of Innocent's

<sup>t</sup> *Gesta Innoc.* 120-1; *Gesta Comitum Barcinon.* ap. Bouquet, xix. 232; Hurter, i. 644-6.

<sup>u</sup> *Ep.* xv. 15; Hurter, ii. 435.

<sup>x</sup> *Epp.* xiv. 154-5; Hurter, ii. 438.

<sup>y</sup> The reports of the number of slain differ greatly from each other, while they agree in representing the loss on the two sides as vastly unequal. Berengaria, queen of Leon, writes to the queen of France that 70,000 men and 15,000 women were killed on the side of the infidels, while the Christian loss was about 200 (*Bouq.* xix. 255). Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne (notorious in the Albigensian war), himself an eye-witness, makes the numbers 60,000 and 50 or less respectively (*ib.* 253). Cf.

*Annal. Waverl.* A.D. 1212; Hurter, ii. 447-8. King Alfonso of Castille, in a letter to the pope, raises the loss of the infidels to 100,000, and diminishes that of the Christians to 25 or 30. The only drawback to the victory is, he says, that so few have earned the glory of martyrs. *Innoc.* *Ep.* xv. 182.

<sup>z</sup> *Ep.* xv. 183; *W. Armor.* ap. Bouquet, xvii. 86; Hurter, ii. 450.

<sup>a</sup> *Epp.* i. 99, 448-9, &c.; Hurter, ii. 197-9, 379, 382, 413.

<sup>b</sup> *Ep.* i. 218; xv. 121.

<sup>c</sup> *Gesta*, 59; *Ep.* viii. 192, &c.; Raynald. 1198. 71; Hurter, i. 200, 382-4, 553; ii. 67, 129, seqq.

<sup>d</sup> Hurter, ii. 133-140.

administration made themselves felt, in inculcating the obligations of Christian morality and religion, as well as in asserting the pretensions of the Roman see. In countries where the claims of the Greek Church conflicted with those of the Latin, he laboured to secure the allegiance of the princes and of their people to St. Peter; but, although he was successful in Dalmatia,<sup>e</sup> and in Bulgaria, where he conferred the title of king on the barbarian prince Joannicius,<sup>f</sup> it was in vain that he attempted to conciliate the Russians by the offer of a similar dignity, with the power of St. Peter's sword. "Has your master a weapon like this?" said the Russian prince Roman to the papal envoy, laying his hand on his own sword—"If so, he may dispose of kingdoms and cities; but so long as I carry this on my thigh, I need no other."<sup>g</sup> And when the overtures were renewed after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Russians continued obstinately to hold to the Greek patriarch who had established himself at Nicæa.<sup>h</sup>

With Armenia Innocent was drawn into particular communication by the connexion of the Crusaders with that country. The differences of doctrine and usages which had divided the churches were smoothed over; the Armenian patriarch accepted a pall from Rome, and promised to appear either in person or by deputy at councils convoked by the pope, and to send a representative to Rome every fifth year.<sup>i</sup>

VII. The state of the Latin kingdom in the East engaged the attention of Innocent from the very beginning of his pontificate. The late attempt at a crusade had not only failed of its object, but had thrown discredit on the Western nations which had been concerned in it. Even before the Germans had relinquished the expedition, the pope endeavoured to stir up fresh volunteers to take their place in fighting the infidels.<sup>k</sup> He attempted, by correspondence with the emperor and with the patriarch, to draw the Greeks of Constantinople into a new enterprise for the common cause of Christendom;<sup>m</sup> and in the last days of the year 1199, he issued letters summoning the West to the deliver-

<sup>e</sup> Raynald. 1199. 55-8.

<sup>f</sup> Epp. ii. 266; v. 115; vi. 142; vii. 1-12; Gesta, 65, 73, 76; Hurter, i. 311-3, 653-8; ii. 507. See p. 338.

<sup>g</sup> Strahl, Kirchengesch. von Russland, i. 199, Halle, 1830.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 201; Hurter, ii. 68-9.

<sup>i</sup> Epp. ii. 217, seqq., 253-5, 259; v.

43-8; viii. 1, 2, 219, 220; xii. 41; xvi. 2-7, &c.; Gesta, 109-119; Raynald. 1199. 65, seqq.; Hurter, i. 304, seqq., 661.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. i. 302.

<sup>m</sup> See Epp. i. 353-4; ii. 208-213; Gesta, 60-4. Cf. Epp. i. 336; ii. 189, 251, &c.



ance of the Holy Land.<sup>n</sup> He bound himself and the cardinals to give a tenth of their income towards the cost of the expedition; from other ecclesiastics a fortieth at least was required.<sup>o</sup> For the Cistercians and Præmonstratensians, the Carthusians, and the order of Grammont, the demand was only a fiftieth; but the Cistercians pleaded the privileges granted by former popes, and it is said that a threatening vision of their patroness, the Blessed Virgin, terrified the pope into exempting them from all contribution, except their prayers for the success of the crusade.<sup>p</sup> The old privileges of Crusaders were renewed and extended; and this, we are told by Villehardouin, was an inducement which persuaded many to take the cross.<sup>q</sup> But the legates and the preachers who were sent to publish the crusade in various countries, found in general a lack of zeal for the cause. There was a prevailing suspicion that the money contributed for the Holy Land was sometimes detained in the Roman coffers;<sup>r</sup> and Innocent condescended to counteract this suspicion, by announcing that the funds for the new Crusade would not pass through his hands—that in every parish a chest with three locks was to be provided for the collection, and that the keys were to be entrusted to the bishop of the diocese, with a Knight of the Temple, and one of the Hospital.<sup>s</sup> Among those who enlisted themselves for the Crusade there was no prince of the highest rank. In Germany, Philip and Otho were contending for the possession of the imperial crown. The pope's endeavours to unite the rival kings of France and England in a new expedition to the East had been fruitless;<sup>t</sup> and after the death of Richard, Philip Augustus was engrossed by the interests of his kingdom at home, and by the difficulties which had arisen out of his marriage.<sup>u</sup> The highest in dignity and importance of those who took the cross was Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, whose father, Philip, had died in the Holy Land.<sup>x</sup>

In France, a remarkable excitement was produced by the preaching of an ecclesiastic named Fulk, of Neuilly on the Marne.<sup>y</sup> Fulk had been for years a parish-priest of the ordinary kind, when

<sup>n</sup> Epp. ii. 270-1.

<sup>o</sup> Epp. ii. 271-2, 305; Gesta, 46, 84.

See Inett, ii. 384-7.

<sup>p</sup> Ep. ii. 268; M. Paris, ap. Wendov. v. 153; Annal. Waverl. A.D. 1201.

<sup>q</sup> Villehard. c. 12, in Petitot, i.

<sup>r</sup> This is plainly hinted by R. de Diceto, 707; Walther v. d. Vogelweide, quoted by Hurter, i. 223.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. ii. 270-1.

<sup>t</sup> Ep. i. 355.

<sup>u</sup> Milman, iv. 49. During the interdict on France, Crusaders were exempt from it. R. Hoved. 436.

<sup>x</sup> Genealog. Comit. Flandr., in Patrol. ccix. 970.

<sup>y</sup> See Hist. Litt. xv. 288; Jac. Vitriac. 6-8; Herzog, xix. 516.

he became impressed with the desire of something higher and better than the life which until then had satisfied him. Feeling his ignorance, he resorted to the lectures of Peter the Chanter, a famous teacher of Paris;<sup>z</sup> and with the knowledge which he thus acquired, a spirit and a fervour altogether new appeared to animate him. His preaching became famous; he eloquently denounced the errors of heretics, the subtleties of dialecticians and decretalists, and reprobated the vices of all classes—especially those of usurers.<sup>a</sup> He reclaimed many women from a life of sin, and either persuaded them to enter into convents, or portioned them for marriage.<sup>b</sup> He sent disciples to preach in various parts of France, and in other countries—among them, Eustace of Flai, whose visit to England has been already mentioned.<sup>c</sup> After a time, the power of Fulk's preaching was reinforced by miracles; he cast out devils, he cured the blind, the dumb, the deaf, and the lame—discovering by a special gift who were likely to receive spiritual benefit from the bodily cures which he bestowed on them;<sup>d</sup> and those who refused to believe, were delivered by him to Satan—a sentence which was followed by the vengeance of heaven.<sup>e</sup> Nor were the admonitions of Fulk confined to the multitudes of low condition, who flocked around him with such eagerness that sometimes he was even in danger from their pressure; it was he, according to some authorities, who reproved Richard of England for cherishing as his three daughters, pride, covetousness, and luxury; to which the king replied that he bestowed his pride in marriage on the Templars, his greed on the Cistercians, and his luxury on the prelates of the church.<sup>f</sup> Yet, in the midst of his success, Fulk incurred much suspicion by the difference of his habits from the asceticism which was generally affected by such preachers; for he rode on horseback, shaved his hair, and professed no austerity

<sup>z</sup> Peter's works are in vol. ccv. of the *Patrologia*.

<sup>a</sup> R. Coggeshale, ap. Bouq. xviii. 81; Otto Sanblas. 47; Sigeb. Auctar. Aquincet. A.D. 1198; Rob. Altissiod. A.D. 1198 (Bouq. xviii.); Reiner. Leod. in Pertz, xvi. 654.

<sup>b</sup> O. Sanblas. 47. The Convent of St. Antony at Paris was founded for such of these as wished to become nuns. Vincent. Bellov. xxix. 59; Alberic. Tr.-Font. in Bouq. xviii. 762.

<sup>c</sup> R. Hoved. 448, b; M. Paris, in Wendov. v. 141.

<sup>d</sup> R. Coggesh. ap. Bouq. xviii. 81.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. Cluniac. ib. 742. It was in the third year of Fulk's preaching that he began to work his miracles, "quæ hic prætermittimus propter hominum nimiam incredulitatem" (Rigord., ib. xvii. 48). Cf. R. Hoved. 448, b; O. Sanblas. 47; Sigebert., Auctar., l. c. See a curious story as to an usurer, Coggesh. ap. Bouq. xviii. 81.

<sup>f</sup> R. Hoved. 448, b. Bromton, whose account of Richard's death has a fabulous air, represents the admonition as given to him on his deathbed by Archbishop Walter of Rouen.



as to clothing or diet.<sup>g</sup> By these suspicions the effect of his preaching was impaired, so that many of his converts fell away;<sup>h</sup> the offence which he had given to many persons seemed to stand in the way of his work;<sup>i</sup> and it would seem that the freshness and energy of his preaching had worn off, when he was commissioned to preach the crusade in the room of Peter the Chanter, who had undertaken the task, but had died bequeathing it to his pupil.<sup>k</sup> For this new object Fulk exerted his eloquence with even more than his former vigour and effect. He presented himself at the general chapter of the Cistercians, where he, with the bishop of Langres and others, solemnly took the cross.<sup>m</sup> At Ecry, on the Aisne, he arrived at the time of a great tournament given by the young count Theobald of Champagne, brother of Henry, the late king of Jerusalem; and such was the effect of his fervid words, that the count himself, with most of his guests, took the cross—among them, Walter of Brienne (who, however, afterwards relinquished the crusade for his attempt in Southern Italy), Simon de Montfort, who had already been distinguished as a Crusader,<sup>n</sup> and Geoffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, who eventually became the historian of the expedition.<sup>o</sup>

At meetings which were afterwards held, it was resolved that the surest way to weaken the Mussulman power was by means of an attack on Egypt;<sup>p</sup> and with a view to this, as well as from a remembrance of the disasters which had befallen former expeditions by land, it was resolved to proceed by sea. Villehardouin was therefore despatched, with five others, to Venice, in order to negotiate for the means of transport.<sup>q</sup>

Venice had by this time become the most important of the Italian trading cities; excelling her rivals Genoa and Pisa, not only in the number of her ships, but in their size and build, and in the boldness, the skill, and the discipline of their crews. She was the great centre of commerce between the East and the West, and had a factory or quarter of her own in all the chief

<sup>g</sup> O. Sanblas. 47.

<sup>h</sup> R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 263.

<sup>i</sup> R. Coggesh. l. c.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. See Joh. de Flissicuria, in Bouq. xviii. 800-1.

<sup>m</sup> R. Coggesh. ap. Bouq. xviii. 81, 93.

<sup>n</sup> Hurter, i. 219.

<sup>o</sup> Villehard. cc. 1-4, in Petitot, i. Bernard the Treasurer (*i.e.*, the continuator of William of Tyre) says that some of the nobles were supposed to join the crusade out of fear of Philip Augustus, who had become more formidable

through the death of Richard (Murat. vii. 183). Villehardouin's "age and his own expression, 'moi qui ceste œuvre dicta,'" says Gibbon, "justify the suspicion that he could neither read nor write" (vi. 13). But Villehardouin probably used the French word, as his contemporaries used the Latin *dictare*, in the sense of *to compose*. See Hist. Litt. xvii. 162.

<sup>p</sup> Gunther, in Patrol. cexii. 230-1.

<sup>q</sup> Villehard. 11.

cities of the Levant. The Lateran council of 1179 had forbidden all Christians to supply munitions of war to the Saracens,<sup>r</sup> and Innocent had endeavoured to put an end to all commerce with the infidels; but the Venetians represented to him that, as they had no agriculture, a suppression of their traffic would be ruinous to them; and the pope relaxed his order by allowing them for a time to trade with "the kingdoms of Egypt and Babylon" in everything but warlike stores, adding the expression of a hope that this indulgence would render them more zealous to help Jerusalem.<sup>s</sup> The Venetians, although always respectful to the papacy, had been accustomed—perhaps through some influence of their communication with the infidels and the schismatics of the East—to behave with firmness in their dealings with Rome, and had thus achieved for themselves a peculiar amount of spiritual independence.<sup>t</sup> Their relations with Constantinople had been for some time unfriendly; their merchants had been plundered by the emperor Manuel, their settlers had been massacred under Andronicus, and, although Isaac Angelus had restored their privileges, the dethronement of that emperor by Alexius, in 1195, had produced a new and unfavourable turn in the state of affairs.<sup>u</sup>

At Venice, Villehardouin and his companions found a ready hearing. Henry Dandolo, the doge, who is said to have been then ninety-four years of age, and was almost entirely blind, but retained all his mental vigour, and even his martial spirit,<sup>x</sup> entered eagerly into the project, and after a solemn mass in St. Mark's, an agreement was ratified by the acclamations of 10,000 Venetians who were present, and by mutual oaths on the Holy Gospels. In consideration of a certain sum, the Venetians were to provide, by the Feast of St. John, 1202, ships and provisions for the transport and maintenance of the crusading force; they were to add at least fifty galleys of their own, and, so long as the partnership should last, any conquests which might be made were to be equally divided between the contracting parties.<sup>y</sup> The pope sanctioned the enterprise, with the significant condition that no attack should be made on any Christian people.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>r</sup> C. 24.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. i. 539.

<sup>t</sup> Gibbon, vi. 15; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 93; Milman, iv. 83.

<sup>u</sup> Gibbon, vi. 7-10; Hurter, i. 439-440.

<sup>x</sup> "Licet senex et visu debilis, fortis tamen" (And. Dandul. in Murat. xii. 322). Some describe his blindness as

total. Villehardouin attributes it to a wound (34), but other stories are told. See Gibbon, vi. 16; Daru, i. 233; Raumer, iii. 36; Hurter, i. 443; Wilken, v. 142-3; Finlay's 'Greece and Trebizond,' 95.

<sup>y</sup> Murat. xii. 323, seqq.; Villeh. 14-7; Gibbon, vi. 17; Daru, i. 237.

<sup>z</sup> Gesta, 83.



On returning to France, the envoys found the gallant Theobald of Champagne dangerously sick, and he soon after died, at the age of twenty-five.<sup>a</sup> The command of the expedition was thus left vacant, and after having been declined by the duke of Burgundy and other princes, it was accepted by Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and brother of the famous Conrad. Boniface, in consequence of an invitation to France, appeared at an assembly at Soissons, where he was invested with the cross and with a general's staff by the bishop of the place and Fulk of Neuilly; and at a chapter which the marquis afterwards attended at Cîteaux, Fulk was able to declare that he had given the cross to 200,000 men.<sup>b</sup>

At the appointed time, the Crusaders appeared in great numbers at Venice, and it was found that the Venetians, in their naval preparations, had more than fulfilled their part of the engagement.<sup>c</sup> But as many of the Crusaders, in the hope of finding cheaper terms of passage, had preferred to embark at Marseilles, or at some port of southern Italy,<sup>d</sup> those who assembled at Venice were unable to make up the stipulated sum; and although Count Baldwin and other chiefs liberally contributed all that they had with them, including plate and jewels, and even all that they could borrow, a large deficiency still remained.<sup>e</sup> Although the price had been calculated for a much larger number, yet, as it had been promised in one sum, the Venetians were peremptory in requiring full payment before they would consent to sail;<sup>f</sup> and at length, when the fulfilment of this condition was evidently hopeless, the doge proposed to the Venetian council that, instead of insisting on further money, or of using their right to seize as forfeit that which had already been paid, they should persuade the Crusaders to join them in an expedition against Zara, in Dalmatia, which had been lately taken from the republic by the king of Hungary.<sup>g</sup> The Crusaders were informed that, if this proposal were accepted, the forces of

<sup>a</sup> Villeh. 19-20.

<sup>b</sup> Villeh. 20-2; R. Coggesh. ap. Bouq. xviii. 93; Gibbon, vi. 18; Hurter, i. 449-450. It is said that Fulk refused to enlist rich men, as being unworthy of the cause (Reiner. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 22). The Winchester annalist says that some supposed him to be a forerunner of Antichrist (p. 68, ed. Luard). Suspicions were cast on him as if his collection of money for the Holy War were but a pretence, and (probably with greater justice) he was

blamed for being "ultra mensuram iracundus" (Alberic. Tr.-Font. in Bouq. xviii. 762; Anon. Laudun. ib. 711). He died at Neuilly while the Crusaders were at Venice, leaving all that he had collected for their enterprise. Villehard. 37; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 265.

<sup>c</sup> Villeh. 26. <sup>d</sup> See Villeh. 26, 29.

<sup>e</sup> Villeh. 31; Hurter, i. 501-2.

<sup>f</sup> Wilken, v. 142.

<sup>g</sup> Villeh. 32; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiv. 37; Chron. Halberst. ap. Leibn. ii. 143; Alberic. Tr.-Font. ap. Bouq. xviii. 765.

Venice would go with them to the Holy War; and at a great assemblage in St. Mark's, the doge announced from one of the lecterns that he himself, although old, infirm, and needing rest, would gladly take the lead of his countrymen in so glorious an enterprise. His words were received with acclamations of joy, mixed with tears; and Dandolo, descending from the lectern, proceeded to the altar, where, amidst intense excitement of the multitude, he fell on his knees, weeping profusely, and received the cross.<sup>b</sup>

On the 8th of October, 1202, a fleet of 480 vessels sailed from the port of Venice, and, after having reduced some of the small islands of the Adriatic to subjection, the Crusaders arrived off Zara.<sup>i</sup> A cardinal, whom the pope had sent to accompany the expedition, had returned to his master, on finding himself refused by the Venetians as legate, although they were willing to admit him as a preacher; and on his report, Innocent had threatened to anathematize the Crusaders if they made war on any Christians.<sup>k</sup> Guy, abbot of Vaux-Cernay, who had accompanied Simon de Montfort, now protested in the pope's name against attacking a Christian city, belonging to a king who himself had taken the cross. But Dandolo replied that the king of Hungary's crusading was only a pretence, and it was with difficulty that Simon was able to save the zealous abbot from the fury of the Venetians.<sup>m</sup> On St. Martin's day, siege was laid to Zara, and on the sixth day the defenders, after having in vain appealed to the sympathy of the Crusaders by displaying crosses and sacred pictures from the walls, were forced to surrender.<sup>n</sup> The expedition was now joined by the marquis of Montferrat, who had been unable to accompany it at the outset;<sup>o</sup> but it was weakened by the departure of Simon de Montfort and others, who had taken no part in the assault on Zara.<sup>p</sup>

During the winter, which was spent at Zara, some serious conflicts took place between the French and Venetians,<sup>q</sup> and negotiations were actively carried on with the pope. Innocent, after having severely reproved and excommunicated the Crusaders for their transgression of his commandments, was at length persuaded to accept their professions of repentance, and to absolve

<sup>b</sup> "Moult plorant." Villehard. 34.  
Gibbon has remarked on the readiness  
with which tears start into the eyes of  
Villehardouin's heroes. vi. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Villeh. 38; Raumer, iii. 37; Wilken,  
v. 165-6.

<sup>k</sup> Gesta, 85. <sup>m</sup> P. Val. Sarn. 19, ap. Bouq. xix.; xii. 321.

Raumer, iii. 38.

<sup>n</sup> Innoc., Ep. v. 161; Gunther, in  
Patrol. cexii. 232; Villeh. 42-3.

<sup>o</sup> Villeh. 45.

<sup>p</sup> Villeh. 50-1, 55; Hurter, i. 516.

<sup>q</sup> Villeh. 44; A. Dandul. in Murat.



them, charging them to restore Zara to the king of Hungary, and to undertake no further expedition against Christians, but to go on to the Holy Land.<sup>r</sup>

But a new object was now suggested for their enterprise, and was rendered the more attractive by the necessities into which a great part of them had by this time fallen. Alexius, son of the dethroned emperor Isaac Angelus of Constantinople, and brother-in-law of Philip of Swabia,<sup>s</sup> had entreated their leaders while at Venice to help in the recovery of his father's throne.<sup>t</sup> His first application had been fruitless, and he had been unable to obtain any decided answer from the pope.<sup>u</sup> But at Zara the Crusaders received envoys from Philip, who recommended the cause of his Byzantine connexions, and held forth on the part of the young Alexius tempting offers of money and of co-operation towards their great object, with the hope of reunion between the Greek and the Latin churches, if they would turn aside for a short time to restore the rightful emperor to the throne of Constantinople. Innocent again remonstrated through his representatives, and there was much division of opinion among the Crusaders. The French were inclined to obey the pope, but the keen Venetians, who were animated not only by the desire of gain, but by the feeling of national and even personal enmity, were for closing with the new proposal, and prevailed.<sup>x</sup>

About the middle of May, 1203, forty thousand men sailed from Zara, and, after having spent three weeks at Corfu, they came in sight of Constantinople on St. John's Eve.<sup>y</sup> "Much," says Villehardouin, "did those look at Constantinople who had never before seen it; for they could never have believed

June 23.

that in all the world there could be a city so rich and so beautiful; when they saw its high walls, and the fair towers wherewith it was surrounded on all sides, and its sumptuous palaces and its lofty churches, whereof there were so many as no man could believe unless he beheld it with his own eyes, and the length and breadth of the city which was mistress of all others. No one was there among them so bold but that his heart beat; and no

<sup>r</sup> Epp. v. 161-2; vi. 99-100; vii. 18; ix. 129, 136; Gunther, c. 7; Gesta, 87; Villeh. 53-4. The pope exempted Zara from the Venetian province of Grado (Epp. vii. 127), and refused to give the pall to an archbishop whom the Venetians set up in the see. xii. 83.

<sup>s</sup> See p. 298, n. <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Villeh. 35.

<sup>u</sup> Innoc., Ep. v. 122; Gesta, 82.

<sup>x</sup> Nicetas de Alex. Isaaci fil. iii. 8-9; Villeh. 46-9; Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 55; R. Altiss. ib. xviii. 267; Gunther, 8; Gesta Innoc. 89.

<sup>y</sup> Wilken, v. 192.

wonder, for never since the world began was so great an enterprise undertaken by a like number of people.”<sup>z</sup> The usurper, in his devotion to his pleasures, had neglected to prepare against invasion, and the Greeks looked on with stolid or affected contempt while the western armament passed along the quays, with Alexius the son of Isaac conspicuously standing on the stern of one of the ships as the rightful heir of the empire.<sup>a</sup> On the 6th of July the grand assault was made; the tower of Galata, which commanded the harbour, was taken, and the chain which stretched across the Golden Horn was burst by the force of a Venetian ship driven against it with the sails swollen by a strong wind. Dandolo appeared in the prow of the foremost vessel, with the banner of St. Mark displayed before him, and after having been the first to land, exposed himself gallantly while he cheered on his men to the fight.<sup>b</sup> The usurper, Alexius, after having been roused with difficulty to show himself at the head of his troops, who were tenfold as many as the assailants, deserted them.<sup>c</sup> It was in vain that the “axe-bearing barbarians” (as a Greek historian<sup>d</sup> styles them)—the English and Danes of the Varangian Guard—fought manfully, and that the Genoese and the Pisan settlers exerted themselves in defence of the privileges which they had acquired in preference to the Venetians.<sup>e</sup> Alexius ran off during the following night;<sup>f</sup> the blinded Isaac was brought forth from his prison, hastily arrayed in imperial robes, placed in a chair of state, and surrounded with the magnificence of a court, that he might give audience to Villehardouin and another noble Frank, who appeared as envoys from the Crusaders, to offer him the restoration of his crown on condition of his ratifying the terms of their compact with his son.<sup>g</sup> On hearing the statement of these terms, Isaac declared that he felt them to be heavy and difficult, but that no recompence could be too great for the allies to whom he owed his deliverance; he swore to the compact, sealed it, and was then allowed to embrace his son.<sup>h</sup> On the feast of St. Peter Aug. 1. ad Vincula, Isaac was again enthroned with great pomp in St. Sophia’s, and the young Alexius was anointed as his colleague in the empire.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Villeh. 66.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. 74; Nicet. iii. 9; Raumer, iii. 42-3.

<sup>b</sup> Villeh. 83-90; Gibbon, vi. 23-4; Wilken, v. 217-9.

<sup>c</sup> Villeh. 93-4; Nicet. p. 720.

<sup>d</sup> Nicet. p. 721.

<sup>e</sup> Villeh. 89; Hurter, i. 574; Wilken, v. 227. <sup>f</sup> Nicet., pp. 723-4; Villeh. 94.

<sup>g</sup> Villeh. 94-6; Nicet., pp. 727-8.

<sup>h</sup> Villeh. 98-9; Hurter, i. 579-580.

<sup>i</sup> Villeh. 100-1.



The Crusaders were now desirous to go on; but the young emperor entreated them to remain at Constantinople until the following Easter, for the purpose of securing his father's throne, as the Greeks were not to be trusted; and the offers of further benefits which accompanied the proposal prevailed on them, although not until after some opposition had been manifested.<sup>k</sup> The payment of the stipulated money to the allies was begun by instalments; but while the Greeks complained that in order to this they were heavily taxed, and that churches were stripped of their precious ornaments, the Latins cried out that the payments were irregular, scanty, and continually diminishing, until at length they ceased altogether.<sup>m</sup> Other causes of quarrel speedily appeared. The reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches, which Innocent in the beginning of his pontificate had urged on the late emperor and on the patriarch, and to which Isaac and his son had pledged themselves, was hindered by the assumption of the Latins, and by the bigoted prejudices of both parties.<sup>n</sup> The Greeks saw with disgust that Alexius degraded the crown by familiarly associating with the Franks, conforming to their manners, and playing at dice in their tents;<sup>o</sup> the Latins complained that the emperors were estranged from them, and that their services were requited with ingratitude.<sup>p</sup> While Alexius and the Marquis of Montferrat were engaged in an expedition to reduce the country to subjection and order, a serious affray took place in consequence of an attack which was made on the Mahometan mosque by some Flemings, Pisans, and Venetians. In the defence of their building, the Mussulmans were assisted by the Greeks; the mosque was set on fire, and a conflagration ensued, which raged for two days, and is said to have destroyed a fourth part of the city.<sup>q</sup> By this calamity the hatred of the Greeks against the Latins was further exasperated; continual skirmishes took place, and an attempt was made to burn the crusading fleet.<sup>r</sup> A deputation from the Crusaders, of which Villehardouin was a member, waited on the emperors, to reproach them with their

<sup>k</sup> Villeh. 101-4; Innoc., Epp. vi. 210-1, 229-232; Letter of the Crusaders, in Patrol. coix. 924.

<sup>m</sup> Nicet., pp. 729-730; Villeh. 110.

<sup>n</sup> Hurter, i. 602-3. Rigord says that the Franks routed the tyrant, "cum suis fermentariis hereticis et parvulos nostros rebaptizantibus." Bouq. xvii. 56.

<sup>o</sup> Nicet. 737; Wilken, v. 252.

<sup>p</sup> Villeh. 110; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 270; Baldw. ap. Innoc., Ep. vii. 152.

<sup>q</sup> Nicet. 731-4, 741; Villeh. 107-8; Gibbon, vi. 32. See Finlay, Gr. and Trebiz. 98.

<sup>r</sup> Villeh. 113-4; Gibbon, vi. 32. See Wilken, v. 260.

ingratitude, and insist on the fulfilment of their promises, with a threat that otherwise the Latins would hold themselves released from their own engagements.<sup>s</sup> Jealousies arose between the elder and the younger emperors, and Isaac, whose misfortunes might have bespoken pity, made himself hated by his vices.<sup>t</sup>

Jan. 27, 1204. An attempt to set up one Nicolas Cannabus as emperor proved futile;<sup>u</sup> but soon after this a more dangerous design was matured and executed by Alexius Ducas, a prince of the blood, who, from the meeting of his bushy eyebrows, was commonly called Murzuflus.<sup>x</sup> Having failed to draw the Latins into a scheme for the dethronement of the princes whom their arms had restored,<sup>y</sup> Murzuflus decoyed Alexius into a prison, where it is believed that the young emperor was murdered, although the usurper pretended that his death was natural, and honoured him with a costly funeral;<sup>z</sup> and Isaac soon after died of grief.<sup>a</sup>

By these unexpected events all terms of peace were necessarily brought to an end, and the Latins, after some fruitless negotiation, and many slight encounters both by sea and land, resolved to take possession of Constantinople for themselves. Their first assault was repulsed, with heavy loss; but three days later they again made an attempt; Murzuflus, after Apr. 9-12. calling all the holiest relics to his assistance, and after having vigorously withstood the enemy for a time, was driven to flight, and the imperial city fell into their hands.<sup>b</sup> A great slaughter followed; but the cruelties which were inflicted on the Greeks<sup>c</sup> were not so much the work of the Crusaders as of the Latin settlers, who had lately been plundered and driven out of the city to seek a refuge in the camp of the besiegers.<sup>d</sup> In the wildness of their triumph acts of profanity were committed by the Crusaders, which not only revolted the feelings of the Greeks, but drew down the indignant reproof of the pope. Pictures of the Redeemer and of the saints were torn from the walls of churches, and were scattered on the ground or used as seats and benches; sacred relics were thrown into filthy places,

<sup>s</sup> Villeh. 111-2.

<sup>t</sup> Nicet. 735-6; Hurter, i. 608.

<sup>u</sup> Nicet. 744, seqq.

<sup>x</sup> Μούρτζουφλος, Nicet. 742. Villehardouin calls him *Morchuflex* (116); Pseudo-Gunther styles him *Murtiflo*, and interprets this by *flos cordis*. c. 8.

<sup>y</sup> Baldw. ap. Innoc., Epp. vii. 152.

<sup>z</sup> Nicet. 746-7; Villeh. 116-7; R.

Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 271; Baldw. in Patrol. ccxv. 450; Wilken, v. 277-8.

<sup>a</sup> Villeh. 117.

<sup>b</sup> Villeh. 121-130; Baldw. in Patrol. ccxv. 450; Nicet. 755; Alberic. Tr. Font. in Bouq. xviii. 768.

<sup>c</sup> See Nicetas, 775-6.

<sup>d</sup> Gunther, 14, 15; Gibbon, vi. 37.



and the consecrated host was trodden under foot; hallowed vessels were used as plates and drinking-cups; the imperial tombs—among them that of the great Justinian—were violated and rifled; the splendid ornaments of St. Sophia's and other churches were stripped off and sold to pedlars; a prostitute was seated in the patriarchal throne, and indecent songs and dances were performed around her.<sup>e</sup> No wonder that the historian Nicetas, who himself was a sufferer by the capture of Constantinople, apostrophises the Crusaders as to the inconsistency of such things with their profession, or that he holds up by way of contrast the humane and decent conduct of the Saracens on getting possession of Jerusalem.<sup>f</sup>

The spoil of Constantinople was of immense value,<sup>g</sup> but much that was precious perished. Bronze statues, the masterpieces of ancient art, were melted down for coinage.<sup>h</sup> The Venetians alone among the conquerors had an eye for art; and thus, while others carried home with delight such treasures as Jacob's stone pillow, fragments of the true cross, one of the heads of St. John the Baptist, which forms the glory of Amiens Cathedral,<sup>i</sup> and other relics of holy personages, from those of Scripture down to the martyrs and confessors of the iconoclastic controversy,<sup>k</sup> the Venetians secured the famous bronze horses, which, after having within the present century served as trophies of a later conquest, have been restored to their place on St. Mark's.<sup>m</sup>

It had been resolved before the attack on Constantinople, that, in case of success, the imperial crown should be awarded by six representatives of the French and six of the Venetians, who should swear to choose the fittest man.<sup>n</sup> The claims of Dandolo might have seemed pre-eminent before all others; but his own countrymen dreaded such an elevation of one Venetian family above the rest, and perhaps apprehended that under a

<sup>e</sup> Nicet. 757-762, 785-7, 855, seqq.; Georg. Acropol. 3, ed. Paris.

<sup>f</sup> Nicet. 761-2.

<sup>g</sup> Baldw., col. 451; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiv. 47; Gunther, 18. Villehardouin says that there was dishonesty as to secreting spoil, and that from this time God loved the army less. 132.

<sup>h</sup> See Nicetas de Signis Opol. 855-68, for a list; Gibbon, vi. 41-2.

<sup>i</sup> Trivet, A.D. 1206.

<sup>k</sup> See Wilken, v. 307. Martin, abbot of Pairis, in Alsace, distinguished himself by his skill and success in getting possession of relics. Gunther styles him

"prædo sanctus... sacrilegio sinus suos implens" (19, 22-4). Cf. O. Sanblas. 49. Rigord gives a list of relics sent by the emperor Baldwin to Philip Augustus, and deposited at St. Denys. Bouq. xv. 59-60. See too, Innoc., Epp. Suppl. 91.

<sup>m</sup> Hurter, i. 689; Wilken, v. 363-5. For the earlier history of these horses, see Handbook of N. Italy, 337, ed. 1860; Gally Knight, 'Archit. of Italy,' pt. I., p. 31.

<sup>n</sup> Baldw. col. 451; Villeh. 123; R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 271; Innoc., Ep. vii. 205-6.

Venetian emperor of the east, Venice itself might sink into an inferior position.<sup>o</sup> To them, too, Boniface of Montferrat was objectionable, as a near neighbour, whose interests might possibly clash with their own. The electors, therefore, on the 9th of May, made choice of Count Baldwin of Flanders, a man of Carolingian descent, of high character, and in the full vigour of manhood. The Marquis of Montferrat was the first to do homage; and a week later Baldwin received the crown from the bishop of Bethlehem, a papal legate who had lately arrived from Palestine.<sup>p</sup>

It had been agreed that the patriarchate should be given up to that division of the allies which should not obtain the empire;<sup>q</sup> and agreeably to this, the Venetians chose Thomas Morosini, a man of noble Venetian birth, a subdeacon of the Roman church, and one whose personal acquaintance with Innocent might be expected to bespeak the pope's approval of the choice.<sup>r</sup> Innocent had received from Baldwin a letter announcing the conquest, asking for the assistance of clergy from the west, and proposing a general council with a view to a reconciliation of the churches.<sup>s</sup> It seems as if the brilliancy of the exploit, and the prospects which it opened for the Latin church, in some measure overpowered his objections to the diversion of the crusade from its proper object. He therefore replied favourably;<sup>t</sup> he reproved the Crusaders severely for their excesses in the capture of Constantinople, especially for their sacrilegious plunder of holy things, which, he said, would make the Greeks hate the Latins worse than dogs, and so must hinder their return to the unity of the church;<sup>u</sup> he disallowed the absolution which had been pronounced by the bishop of Bethlehem,<sup>x</sup> as having been given without proper authority; he declared the compact between the French and the Venetians as to the disposal of the ecclesiastical property to be null,<sup>y</sup> and the election of a patriarch to be informal, while, in consideration of Morosini's merits, he appointed him to the patriarchate as if by his own authority.<sup>z</sup> Morosini had been compelled by the Venetians to swear that he would bestow the dignities of St. Sophia's and the chief offices of the hierarchy exclusively on

<sup>o</sup> Gibbon, vi. 45; Hurter, i. 704. See Finlay, Gr. and Treb. 103, 107-8.

<sup>p</sup> Nicet. 789-790; Villeh. 136-7; Gibbon, vi. 45; Hurter, i. 704-6.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. vii. 205.

<sup>r</sup> Wilken, v. 332.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. vii. 152.

<sup>t</sup> Epp. vii. 153-4, 164.

<sup>u</sup> Ep. viii. 133.

<sup>x</sup> See Gesta, 95.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. vii. 208. He afterwards abated from this, viii. 135.

<sup>z</sup> Epp. viii. 20-1 (Jan. 1205); Hurter, i. 745.



Venetians or on persons who should have resided ten years at Venice. But on his appearance at Rome, the pope pronounced this oath to be void, and made him swear not to observe it.<sup>a</sup> Morosini was then ordained deacon, priest, and bishop, and took the usual oath of metropolitans to the pope, who affected to bestow on the church of Constantinople precedence next to that of Rome, declaring that the precedence of "new Rome" in former times had been granted through the favour of the elder Rome.<sup>b</sup> But the patriarch, in returning by Venice to Constantinople, found his fellow-citizens bent on exacting from him a renewal of his former oath as the only condition on which they would agree to show him due honour; and the pope, on being informed of the new oath, again declared it invalid.<sup>c</sup> Innocent furnished the patriarch with instructions for the administration of his church: in places where the population was Greek, he was to place Greek bishops whose fidelity to Rome might be relied on; where it was mixed, the bishops were to be Latins.<sup>d</sup> But it was soon found that, instead of forwarding the conversion of the Greeks, this and other measures conceived in a like spirit tended only to increase their alienation from the Latin church.<sup>e</sup> Even among the Latins, the patriarch was unable to obtain submission to his authority. The French clergy charged him with having gained his office by trickery and by imposing on the pope;<sup>f</sup> he was brought into conflict on questions of jurisdiction and patronage with the secular power and with the patriarch of Grado;<sup>g</sup> and the pope, although he endeavoured to support him as far as possible, had to reprove him for his exclusive patronage of Venetians in appointments to ecclesiastical dignities, and for other acts inconsistent with Innocent's view of his duty.<sup>h</sup>

The new empire was from the beginning sickly, and instead of

<sup>a</sup> Epp. ix. 130; Hurter, ii. 31-2. There is some uncertainty as to the oath taken by Morosini before going to Rome. See Ep. xii. 105, coll. 120, 122.

<sup>b</sup> Gesta, 98. "Licet Constantinopolitana ecclesia sit ultima tempore, ipsa tamen inter eas [patriarchales ecclesias] est præcipua dignitate, ut, sicut Cpolis dicta est nova Roma, sic Cpolitana ecclesia secunda sit a Romana, prælata per matris gratiam cæteris sororibus suis privilegio dignitatis, ut, secundum evangelicam veritatem, fierent primi novissimi et novissimi primi." Ep. viii. 153; Cf. 19, 21.

<sup>c</sup> Gesta, 99; Ep. xii. 140.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. ix. 140.

<sup>e</sup> Nicetas describes Morosini as τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν μέσος, τὴν δὲ σωματικὴν πλάσιν λακκευτοῦ σουδς εὐτραφέστερος, and says that his clergy were like him. The Latin patriarch's close shaving, tight garments, and gloves astonish the chronicler (p. 855). Wilken derives the epithet of the pig from *λάκκος*, *lucus*, (v. Append. p. 16). But is it not the Latin word *lactatus*?

<sup>f</sup> Gesta, 100. <sup>g</sup> Epp. x. 16, seqq.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. x. 101; xi. 76-9; xiii. 18. As to the contest on the appointment of Morosini's successor in 1211, see Epp. xiv. 98; xv. 156; Cf. viii. 23-5.

strengthening the Latin power in the east, was a burden on it. Baldwin invited Christians from all countries of the west to join the settlement,<sup>i</sup> and the pope exhorted both laity and clergy to reinforce the Crusaders;<sup>k</sup> but those who acted on these invitations were for the most part grievously disappointed.<sup>m</sup> An attempt was made, as in the kingdom of Jerusalem, to establish the feudal system, which was here the more unsuitable on account of its unlikeness both to the republican institutions of the Venetians, and to the old traditions of the empire.<sup>n</sup> The partition of the conquests produced much disagreement among the Franks.<sup>o</sup> Baldwin soon quarrelled with Boniface of Montferrat, and in 1205, on a disastrous expedition, he fell into the hands of Joannicius, a perfidious savage to whom the pope had confirmed the title of king over Bulgaria and Wallachia, and whom the Crusaders had provoked by scornfully refusing his offers of alliance. It is believed that Baldwin was put to death in prison, with circumstances of great cruelty, and to the pope's intercessions for him Joannicius answered that they were too late.<sup>p</sup> Two years later, Boniface was killed in action against the same enemy, whom the pope in vain solicited to be at peace with the Latins of Constantinople;<sup>q</sup> but in the same year they were delivered from the fear of Joannicius, who died by some unknown means.<sup>r</sup> Henry, the brother of Baldwin, who had acted as regent since the emperor's capture, was crowned as his successor in August, 1206,<sup>s</sup> and for ten years administered the empire with vigour and skill, contending on the one hand against the Bulgarians, and on the other against the Byzantine princes who furnished

<sup>i</sup> Reiner. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 28; Coggesh. in Bouq. xviii. 103.

<sup>k</sup> Epp. vi. 69-71. <sup>m</sup> Hurter, i. 717.

<sup>n</sup> Hurter, i. 675; Finlay, 107-8.

<sup>o</sup> Villehard. 161.

<sup>p</sup> Gesta, 108; Epp. viii. 129, 131; Villehard. 147, seqq., 190, 230; Henr. ad Innoc., Patol. ccxvii. 292-5; Nicet. 814, 847-8; Raynald. 1205. 24; Gibbon, vi. 54-5. The obscurity of Baldwin's fate gave rise to legends—as that he perished through the malice of the Bulgarian queen, who, having found him proof against her love, exasperated her husband against him (Alberic. Tr.-Font. ap. Bouq. xviii. 770). Joannicius is said to have used his head as a drinking-cup (G. Acrop. 13). About twenty years later, a man professing to be the emperor Baldwin, appeared in Flanders, and found many to believe in him—among others, Henry

III. of England (Rymer, i. 177). After a trial, he was put to death as an impostor by Baldwin's daughter Joanna. He is said to have at length owned that his real name was Bertrand de Raiz (Reiner. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 64; Chron. S. Medard. Suession. in Dacher. Spicil. ii. 490). Yet popular belief still held him to be the real Baldwin, and charged Joanna with parricide. It was even said that many miracles were done at the place of his "passion." Annal. Dustapl. 95, ed. Luard; Albert. Stad. in Pertz, xvi. 358; Matth. Paris, ap. Wendov. v. 234; Chron. Turon. ap. Bouq. xviii. 307; Chron. Aquicinet., A.D. 1224 (Patol. clx.).

<sup>q</sup> Ep. x. 65.

<sup>r</sup> Gibbon, vi. 56-8.

<sup>s</sup> Villeh. 231. See Mansi's note in Raynald. i. 233-4; Mart. Coll. Ampl. i. 1073.



rallying points for their countrymen by founding little principalities in Asia and Epirus.<sup>t</sup> Murzuflus, who had for a time combined with the dethroned usurper Alexius, might perhaps have been a dangerous enemy; but having been blinded by Alexius, he fell into the hands of the Latins, and, after a trial, was thrown from the top of the pillar of Theodosius at Constantinople.<sup>u</sup> Alexius was also caught, and was shut up in a monastery.<sup>x</sup> Henry wisely endeavoured to conciliate the Greeks, both by checking religious persecution and by relaxing that rule of exclusion from all public employments which had branded them as a servile race.<sup>y</sup> The pope also after a time mitigated the rules which he had laid down as to the preference of Latin over Greek clergy; but such concessions, even if they had been greater, would have come too late.<sup>z</sup>

The people who most substantially and lastingly profited by the Latin conquest of Constantinople were the Venetians. To them it brought a vast increase of the trade by which they flourished;<sup>a</sup> and, while they declined to set up one of their own citizens as a candidate for the empire, they allowed them to make private conquests, so that the islands of the Levant became filled with petty Venetian princes.<sup>b</sup> Henry Dandolo had become lord of Romania, and the dignity continued in his family for more than a century and a half.<sup>c</sup> The aged doge himself died in June 1205, and was buried with great splendour in the church of St. Sophia.<sup>d</sup>

While the main body of the Crusaders had turned aside for the expedition against Constantinople, a part of them had gone on to the Holy Land, where other adventurers arrived by way of Marseilles and from northern ports; but these were not enough to engage in any great attempts against the infidels, and many of them, on hearing of the successes of their companions, had rejoined them in the new Latin empire.<sup>e</sup> Innocent, however, although deeply grieved by the result of the expedition which had been undertaken for the deliverance of the Holy Land,

<sup>t</sup> Villeh. 167; Nicetas, 827-8, 837-8; Gibbon, vi. 50-1; G. Acropol. 6, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Villeh. 141-4, 163; Nicet. 804-5; G. Acropol. 5; Wilken, v. 388.

<sup>x</sup> Gibbon, vi. 50.

<sup>y</sup> Gibbon, vi. 58; Raumer, iii. 60. As to the religious persecution, see Neander, vii. 259, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> See Milm. iv. 79.

<sup>a</sup> Hurter, i. 707-8.

<sup>b</sup> Sismondi, R. I., ii. 119-120.

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, vi. 46, who says that they bore the title of "Dominus quartæ partis et dimidii imperii Romani." But Lord Broughton points out that this is a mistake for "Romanizæ." Italy, i. 116.

<sup>d</sup> Villeh. 204; Daru, i. 315.

<sup>e</sup> Villehardouin thinks that the will of God in favour of the Constantinople expedition was proved by the disasters which befel those who took the other course, 120-1.

abated nothing of his zeal for the cause, and throughout the remainder of his pontificate we find him repeatedly pressing on the sovereigns and people of the west the duty of a new crusade.<sup>f</sup> For some years, indeed, the state of southern France was such that he thought it well to extend the privileges of Crusaders to the men who there were warring for the extirpation of heresy; and during this time it was obviously inexpedient that those who were disposed to fight in behalf of the faith should be distracted between rival objects. But in 1213, when the Albigenses appeared to be effectually defeated, he recalled the indulgences for southern France, and sent Robert Curzon—an Englishman who had been his fellow-student, afterwards a preacher under Fulk of Neuilly, and was now cardinal of St. Stephen's on the Coelian hill—to preach in France an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land.<sup>g</sup> Orders were issued that solemn monthly services should be instituted for the success of the crusade; and all who should take part in it were encouraged by the declaration that the religion of the false prophet must be near its fall, since of the 666 years allotted to it more than 600 were already completed.<sup>h</sup> But Curzon showed himself indiscreet in the fulfilment of his commission. In order to win the popular ear, he inveighed bitterly and unscrupulously against the ordinary clergy; and by giving the cross to multitudes of inefficient persons—old, blind, deaf, lame, lepers, women and children—he rendered those who were fit for war unwilling to undertake an enterprise in which they were to be encumbered by such associates. The king and the clergy of France appealed to the pope against the legate; but Innocent approved of his proceedings, on the ground that those who were personally incapable of fulfilling their vow might help the crusade by paying a commutation.<sup>i</sup>

About the same time many were enlisted for the holy war in England and in Germany;<sup>k</sup> and a strange independent movement was set on foot by one Stephen, a shepherd boy at the village of Cloies, near Vendôme, who professed to have been charged by the Saviour in a vision to preach the cross. By this tale he gathered some children about him, and they went on

<sup>f</sup> *E.g.* Epp. viii. 125; xi. 185; Suppl. 164, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Hurter, ii. 508-9. For Curzon, see Ciacon. ii. 37.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. xvi. 28, 31-2.

<sup>i</sup> W. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvi. 108-9; Anon. Laodun. ib. xviii. 718; Chron.

Andrens. in Dach. Spicil. ii. 857; Hurter, ii. 510. The Tours chronicler says that Innocent at the Lateran council had to apologise for the legate's "multiplices excessus." 1053.

<sup>k</sup> Annal. Waverl., A.D. 1214; Innoc. Ep. xvi. 111; Hurter, ii. 511.



through towns and villages chanting, "O Lord, help us to recover thy true and holy cross!" Their numbers swelled as they advanced, so that when they reached Paris, they are said to have amounted to 15,000; they displayed banners, crosses and censers. We are told that all the efforts of parents to restrain their children from joining the party were unavailing; nay, it is said that when some of them were privately shut up, bars and locks gave way for their escape.<sup>m</sup> Philip Augustus, after having consulted the university of Paris, endeavoured to check the movement, but without success. Stephen had acquired the reputation of miraculous power; threads of his dress were treasured up as precious relics; and the number of his followers continually increased, so that it is said to have amounted to 30,000 when they arrived at Marseilles, which Stephen entered in a triumphal car, surrounded by a body-guard.<sup>n</sup> Some shipmasters undertook to convey them gratuitously to Egypt and Africa; but these wretches were kidnappers, and their unfortunate victims were either wrecked on a rock of the Mediterranean, or, on reaching the African coast, were sold into slavery.<sup>o</sup> In Germany a similar movement was set on foot by a boy named Nicolas, who, after having lost many of his companions through hunger and fatigue, arrived at Genoa with 7000 of them, among whom were many grown-up persons, and not a few women of bad reputation.<sup>p</sup> Thence they struggled onwards to Brindisi, where the bishop of the place discovered that the father of Nicolas had a design of selling them into slavery. By this discovery the crusade was broken up; the unfortunate children tried to return home, but the greater part of them fell victims to the hardships of the way. The father of Nicolas was executed at Cologne.<sup>q</sup>

Innocent, although he had taken no share in these insane and calamitous expeditions, declared that the zeal manifested by the children put to shame the listlessness of their elders;<sup>r</sup> and

<sup>m</sup> Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 167; Matt. Paris, ap. Wendov. v. 165-6; Chron. Mortui Maris, Patrol. clx. 398; Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thes. iii. 693; Chron. Lanercost. 14; Annal. Stad., A.D. 1212, in Pertz, xvi.

<sup>n</sup> Anon. Laudun. ap. Bouq. xviii. 715; M. Paris, ap. Wendov. v. 166.

<sup>o</sup> Alberic. Tr.-Font. ap. Bouq. xviii. 778. Vincent of Beauvais says that two clerks, who had become captives to the Old Man of the Mountain, had been released on condition of giving him

French boys as a ransom. xxx. 5.

<sup>p</sup> Perhaps this may be connected with the statement of the Stade annalist, that about the same time women in the neighbourhood of the Rhine began to go about naked, "nihil loquentes." l. c.

<sup>q</sup> Jac. de Vorag. ap. Murat. ix. 3; Oger. Panis, ap. Pertz, xviii. 130; Annales Placent. Guelf. ch. 426; Annal. Marbac. 1212 (ib. xvii.); Hurter, ii. 457; Chron. Senon. iv. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Annal. Stad. l. c.; Hurter, ii. 455.

the question of a new crusade was one of the subjects proposed for the great council which he assembled in 1215.

VIII. Innocent was zealous and indefatigable in his exertions against the heresies of his time. Among the most remarkable of these (although from its nature it was not likely to win much popular acceptance, even if free course had been allowed it) was the doctrine taught by a clerk named Amalric, a native of Bène, in the diocese of Chartres, who is described as a man of very subtle, but perverse and paradoxical mind.<sup>s</sup> Amalric had been eminent as a teacher of logic and the liberal sciences at Paris before he betook himself to the study of theology.<sup>t</sup> He is accused by his contemporaries of paying greater regard to Aristotle than to Holy Scripture; but later inquirers suppose that his errors are rather to be traced to the Arabian commentators than to Aristotle himself, and yet more to the influence of Plato and of Scotus Erigena's book "On the Division of Nature."<sup>u</sup> His doctrine was pantheistic—that God is all, and that all is God; that everything issues from the All and will return to it. Hence he inferred that God was as truly incarnate in Abraham as in Christ; that the Holy Spirit spoke as really through Ovid as through Augustine. He is said to have maintained that the Trinity denotes three forms of the Divine manifestation, connected with the same number of stages in the history of mankind; that the second stage, under the Son, was nearly at an end, and that the third, under the Holy Ghost, would follow;<sup>x</sup> that every Christian must believe himself to be a member of Christ, and that this was the only way of salvation.<sup>y</sup> In conse-

qu<sup>ence</sup> of a complaint from the University of Paris, A.D. 1204.

Amalric was summoned to appear before the pope, who, after having heard him, pronounced against him. The university required him to retract his errors; and, having submitted to this humiliation, he soon after died of shame and grief.<sup>z</sup>

After Amalric's death his doctrine was taught by David of Dinant, although apparently in a coarser form and with new developments.<sup>a</sup> Whereas Amalric had said that God is the source and the end of all things, David declared him to be the

<sup>s</sup> Anon. Laudun. ap. Bouq. xvii. 715.

<sup>t</sup> Will. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 83.

<sup>u</sup> Hurter, ii. 237; Neand. viii. 128; Christlieb, 'Joh. Scotus Erig.' 442; Ritter, vii. 631; Hauréau, i. 402-9.

<sup>x</sup> Comp. above, p. 209. "C'est sous quelque rapport l'idée de Lessing sur

l'éducation du genre humain." Michelet, ii. 840.

<sup>y</sup> Anon. Laudun. ap. Bouq. xviii. 715; W. Armor. 83; Mart. Thes. iv. 165; Hurter, ii. 237; Ritter, vii. 624-7.

<sup>z</sup> W. Armor. 83; Hurter, ii. 238.

<sup>a</sup> W. Armor. 83; Giesel, II., ii. 410,



material principle of all things.<sup>b</sup> He asserted that the reign of the Holy Ghost was already come; that outward rites were needless; that acts done in the body were no sins, forasmuch as nothing could be sinful if it were done in love. Every one, he said, carries hell within him, "like a bad tooth in the mouth." And he held that the soul could by contemplation exchange its separate existence for that which it has in the Divine soul.<sup>c</sup>

In 1209, an inquiry into the tenets of this sect was held by the Bishop of Paris, in the presence of some lay magistrates. Fourteen of the sectaries were made over to the secular arm, as guilty, and of these ten were burnt, and the others were committed to close confinement.<sup>d</sup> It was ordered that Amalric's bones should be disinterred and burnt; and his books were also condemned to the flames, with some of Aristotle's writings, which had lately been brought from Constantinople and translated into Latin.<sup>e</sup> The doctrines of Amalric were again condemned at the Lateran council of 1215;<sup>f</sup> and in 1225 the work of Scotus, to which Amalric and his followers had directed attention, was proscribed by Honorius III.<sup>g</sup> The last teacher of the party is said to have been one Godin, who was burnt at Amiens.<sup>h</sup>

Notices are occasionally found of sectaries professing the Waldensian opinions. Thus, in 1199, Innocent wrote to the bishop and the faithful of Metz, in denunciation of a party of laymen and women who used French translations of the Scriptures, and on the strength of their acquaintance with these despised the clergy and their ministrations. The pope admits that a desire to know the Scriptures is not only innocent but praiseworthy; but he censures the party at Metz for their sectarian spirit, for imagining that the mysteries of the faith are open to the unlearned, and for their behaviour towards the clergy—as to which he is careful to deprive them of such

413; Neand. viii. 132. The 'Anonymus' of Laon reverses the relation of Amalric and David. Bouq. xviii. 715.

<sup>b</sup> D'Argentré, i. 132; Ritter, vii. 630; Hauréau, i. 413.

<sup>c</sup> W. Armor. 83; Trivet (ed. Engl. Hist. Soc.), 194; Hurter, ii. 238; Gies. II., ii. 410-1; Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 22; Vincent. Bellov. xxix. 107. See D'Argentré, i. 126-132.

<sup>d</sup> "Immurati." Anon. Laudun. in Bouq. xviii. 714; Chron. Turon. in Mart. Coll. Ampl., A.D. 1046.

<sup>e</sup> D'Argentré, i. 128, seqq.; Rigord. &c., ap. Hard. vi. 1991, or Mansi, xxii.

801; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 279; Anon. Laudun., ib. 714-5; Vincent. Bellov. xxix. 107; Mart. Thes. iv. 165; W. Armor. 83-4; Trivet. 194; Bulæus, iii. 47-52. There is a question whether the condemnation of Aristotle related to all his works, or to some only. Mansi (n. in Raynald. i. 289) thinks that the sentence against reading them applied to all, but was meant to last only three years. See Cossart in the Concilia, II. cc.

<sup>f</sup> Can. 2.

<sup>g</sup> See vol. ii., p. 314; Christlieb, 442.

<sup>h</sup> Anon. Laudun., l. c. (No date is given.)

warrant as they might allege from the parallel of Balaam's ass rebuking the prophet. He desires the bishop to inquire into the authorship and character of the vernacular translations;<sup>i</sup> and in the following year he commissioned some Cistercian abbots to labour in conjunction with the bishop for the suppression of the heresy at Metz.<sup>k</sup> In consequence of this appointment, it is said, the vernacular bibles were burnt, and the Waldensian opinions were extinguished.<sup>m</sup>

There is mention of heretical, and seemingly Waldensian, teaching at Auxerre, and in the neighbouring dioceses;<sup>n</sup> and in 1210, Innocent records the form in which some Waldenses abjured their errors, among which that of regarding ordination as unnecessary for the ministers of Christ is especially dwelt on.<sup>o</sup> The presumption of preaching without a regular mission is also denounced by the Lateran Council of 1215, in which those who should be guilty of it "under the appearance of piety," are threatened with excommunication, and, in case of obstinacy, with yet heavier punishments.<sup>p</sup>

Of all sectarian parties in this time the Cathari were by far the most numerous and the most widely spread. Even within the papal territory they abounded. At Orvieto they were so strong that they threatened to expel their orthodox fellow-citizens. On this the orthodox applied to the Romans for a leader, and, with the pope's consent, a young man of high courage and ardent zeal, named Peter Parenzio, was sent to them in the beginning of 1199.<sup>q</sup> Peter at once proceeded to take strong measures for the repression of the opposite party, and, after having proceeded in this course until the approach of Easter, returned to Rome for the festival. The pope, at an interview in a street near the Lateran, told him that he must now take an oath of fidelity as governor of Orvieto; to which Peter replied that he was willing to do so, but added that the heretics were so much exasperated as to threaten his life. He received full absolution from the pope, as if in prospect of death; settled his worldly affairs; and, notwithstanding the entreaties of his mother and wife, returned to his government, ready and eager for martyrdom. Three weeks later he met with the fate which he had expected—being dragged out of the town and murdered by some sectaries, who had gained admission

<sup>i</sup> Epp. ii. 141-2.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. 235.

<sup>m</sup> Alberic. Tr.-Font., ap. Bouq. xviii.  
763.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. vi. 239; x. 206; Rob. Altissiod.

ap. Bouq. xviii. 264.

<sup>o</sup> Ep. xiii. 94.

<sup>p</sup> Can. 3.

<sup>q</sup> Raynald. 1198. 22; Hurter, ii. 249.



to his house through the treachery of a servant. His death is said to have been followed by judgments on the murderers, by miracles at his tomb, and eventually by the suppression of heresy in Orvieto.<sup>r</sup>

At Viterbo the heretics were so strong that an attempt was made to elect two of the "believers" as consuls, and the chief of the sect as chamberlain of the city, although he had been formally excommunicated.<sup>s</sup> Innocent desired the Bishops of Viterbo and Orvieto to eject these magistrates; and in 1207 he himself proceeded to Viterbo for the purpose of rooting out the heresy. The Patarnes took flight; but this did not prevent the pope from inquiring into the matter, and he ordered that their property should be confiscated, that their houses should be demolished, and that all heretics, especially the members of this sect, should be "delivered to the secular arm"—a phrase which now occurs for the first time<sup>t</sup>—in order to punishment.<sup>u</sup> In the same spirit, Innocent wrote to the authorities at Faenza,<sup>x</sup> Bologna,<sup>y</sup> Florence,<sup>z</sup> Verona,<sup>a</sup> Trevisa,<sup>b</sup> and other places. He severely censures the Milanese for their encouragement of the sectaries; that they not only did not "take the little foxes,"<sup>c</sup> but cherished them until the foxes grew into lions, and the locusts into horses ready to battle; and he tells them that he had been urged to send a crusade to Milan as well as into Provence.<sup>d</sup> Beyond the bounds of Italy we read of heretics in Dalmatia,<sup>e</sup> Bosnia,<sup>f</sup> and the Tyrol;<sup>g</sup> at Strasburg, where about eighty were put to the trial of hot iron, and most of them were convicted and burnt;<sup>h</sup> and of similar executions at Paris, Troyes, Rouen,<sup>i</sup> Langres,<sup>k</sup> and in various parts of Northern France and Belgium, where a Dominican friar named Robert earned by his severities the glorious name (as the annalist Raynaldus considers it) of "the hammer of heretics."<sup>m</sup>

But it was in the south of France that the Catharist doctrines

<sup>r</sup> Raynald. 1199. 24-5. It is said that a voice was heard saying to him, "Vis resurgere, Petre?" to which he replied from his grave that he was unwilling to go through again the dangers of earthly life (Ib. 26). There is an altar to his honour in Orvieto Cathedral. Gregorov. v. 26.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. viii. 85; Cf. i. 298; ii. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Sism. R. I., ii. 72.

<sup>u</sup> Ep. x. 105, 209; Gesta, 123.

<sup>x</sup> Ep. ix. 18, 24, 213.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 19.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 7.

<sup>a</sup> ii. 228. In this letter he censures

the archpriest for confounding the orthodox (see p. 242) with the heretical Humiliati.

<sup>b</sup> ix. 54.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 185.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. xv. 189.

<sup>e</sup> v. 110.

<sup>f</sup> vi. 141; Hurter, ii. 241.

<sup>g</sup> Hurter, ii. 257.

<sup>h</sup> Annal. Marbac., A.D. 1215 (Pertz, xvii.).

<sup>i</sup> Chron. Rothomag. ap. Bouq. xviii. 360; Alberic. Tr.-Font., ib. 763.

<sup>k</sup> Hurter, ii. 536.

<sup>m</sup> "Malleus hæreticorum." Rayn. 1207. 3.

chiefly prevailed.<sup>n</sup> In this region they had become so general that the Church and the clergy had fallen into the greatest contempt.<sup>o</sup> The nobles and knights no longer allowed their younger sons to be trained for the ministry of the Church, but put sons of their serfs into benefices, of which they themselves appropriated the tithes, while the priests were obliged to be content with a miserable pittance.<sup>p</sup> As an instance of the contempt into which the clergy had fallen, we are told that instead of the expression "I would rather be a Jew than do such a thing," it was now customary to say "I would rather be a chaplain." They themselves were so sensible of their ignominy, that they were fain to hide their tonsure by drawing the hair from the back of the head over it.<sup>q</sup> The heretics were so audacious that in the sight of the bishops and clergy they defiled the chalices and other sacred vessels, and threw the holy Gospels into the dirt.<sup>r</sup> The princes of southern France were for the most part ill-affected to the hierarchy. Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, the most powerful of them next to the King of Aragon, had in early life associated much with heretics, and was suspected of inclining to their opinions, although rather on account of his roughness towards the clergy than of any expression of his belief.<sup>s</sup> He had been excommunicated by Celestine for his aggressions on the abbey of St. Gilles; but he was able to obtain absolution from Innocent.<sup>t</sup> The laxity of his life was notorious; of his five wives, three were living at the same time;<sup>u</sup> he is even charged with incest by the unscrupulous writers of the orthodox party.<sup>x</sup> The Count of Foix was married to a Waldensian; of his two sisters one was said to be a Waldensian and the other a Catharist;<sup>y</sup> and, in common with the Counts of Béarn and Comminges, the Viscount of Béziers, and other

<sup>n</sup> The chief authorities are (1) Peter of Vaux-Cernay, a fierce bigot, who was chaplain to Simon de Montfort (Bouq. xix. or Patrol. cccxiii.); (2) an anonymous "Troubadour," whose poem was first published by Fauriel (Docum. Inéd. sur l'Hist. de France, Paris, 1837). A prose version of this poem, published in the 'Hist. de Languedoc,' iii., and in Bouquet, xix., is sometimes cited as 'Anon. Langued.' The Troubadour is at first strongly against heretics, but, when the question becomes national, turns round on the invaders of his country (Fauriel, Introd. xlv. 1; Cf. Fauriel, Hist. de la Poésie Provençale, iii., c. 36, Paris, 1846); (3) William of Puy-Laurens (de Podio Laurentii), in

Bouquet, xix.

<sup>o</sup> Innocent is very severe on the clergy, Ep. iii. 24.

<sup>p</sup> Will. de Podio Laurentii, Prolog.; Schröckh, xxix. 588.

<sup>q</sup> W. Pod. Laur., Prol.

<sup>r</sup> Wendov. iii. 267.

<sup>s</sup> See Pet. Sarn. 4; Will. Armor., Philipp. viii. 489, seqq.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. Langued. iii. 101, 110. See Innoc., Ep. i. 397. <sup>u</sup> P. Sarn. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. See Martin, iv. 20.

<sup>y</sup> P. Sarn. To one of these ladies, whose zeal prompted her to interpose at a conference, a missionary said, "Ite, domina, filate colum vestram; non interest vestra loqui in hujusmodi contentione." W. Pod. Laur. 8.



princes of the neighbourhood, he is described as an oppressor of the bishops and clergy.<sup>z</sup>

Innocent, in the first year of his pontificate, addressed a letter to the prelates and nobles of southern France, exhorting them to take vigorous measures for the suppression of heresy. Patarenes, Waldensians, and others were to be anathematized and banished; but there is no distinct mention of death as a penalty, although it may perhaps be implied in the declaration that heresy is murder of the soul.<sup>a</sup> But this letter met with little attention. To Raymond of Toulouse and his subjects, the requisition to persecute those whom they respected as peaceable neighbours was unwelcome. "We have been brought up with them," they said; "we have relations among them, and we know that their life is honest."<sup>b</sup>

The pope in his letter had announced that two Cistercians, Rainier and Guy, were sent as legates into the country affected with heresy. Rainier soon after fell sick, and was succeeded by Peter of Castelnau, Archdeacon of Maguelone, who, after having been a teacher of theology at Paris,<sup>c</sup> had become a member of the Cistercian order. In 1204, the power of these envoys was extended; the cognizance of questions of heresy was transferred to them from the bishops, and they were authorised to suspend such bishops as should be found lukewarm in the cause; and on this they acted in some cases,<sup>d</sup> although they found among the members of the episcopal order a general disinclination to submit to two monks, however specially empowered by the pope.<sup>e</sup> At Peter of Castelnau's request, the Cardinal of St. Prisca was fixed as legate at Montpellier; and in 1204, Arnold Amalric, abbot of Cîteaux, a bitter and unsparing enemy of heresy, with twelve members of his order, was added to the mission.<sup>f</sup> Yet the work made little progress. The envoys held conferences with the heretics, but found themselves continually baffled by objections drawn from the evil lives of the clergy.<sup>g</sup> In May, 1205, they were strengthened by the appointment of a new bishop to Toulouse—Fulk or Folquet of Marseilles—a man who, as a famous troubadour, had formerly been among the ornaments of gay and licentious courts, but had

<sup>z</sup> Pet. Sarn. 44.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. i. 94; Cf. i. 81.

<sup>b</sup> W. Pod. Laur. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. ii. 298; Hist. Langued. iii. 130; Schröckh, xxix. 578-9.

<sup>d</sup> See as to the archbishop of Narbonne, who was charged with gross

neglect of duty, Innoc. Epp. vi. 243; vii. 75; viii. 106; x. 68.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Lang. iii. 135-7.

<sup>f</sup> Pet. Sarn. 3; Jordan., Vita Dominic. i. 15; Hist. Lang. iii. 136; Ep. iii. 24; vii. 76. See Hist. Litt. xvii.

<sup>g</sup> See Innoc. Ep. iii. 24; P. Sarn. 3.

lately been turned to a different career, had entered the Cistercian order, while his wife became a nun, and had taken up with a fervour natural to such converts an extreme zeal for the orthodox faith, and a fierce hostility against heresy.<sup>h</sup> Still, the efforts of the missionaries were attended with little success;<sup>i</sup> and they were almost in despair when they fell in at Montpellier with Diego (Didacus) Bishop of Osma, and Dominic, the sub-prior of his cathedral, who were returning from Rome with a commission to labour against heresy.<sup>k</sup>

The legates, in conversation with the Spaniards, lamented their want of success; whereupon Diego told them that mere words would not be of any avail; that the only hopeful course for them was to counteract the professed simplicity of the heretics by putting aside their gold and silver, their pomp and splendour, and going forth like the Apostles, barefooted and in poverty. The legates professed their willingness to follow this advice, if they might have the example of any sufficient authority; and the bishop told them that he would himself show them the way. Sending away his servants, horses, and baggage, and retaining with him only a few clerks, of whom Dominic was the chief, he remained in Languedoc, and provided by a large outlay of money for the support of those with whom he had associated himself. The Cistercians, according to their promise, sent away everything but their books of devotion and study, and followed the course which Diego had pointed out. The missionaries went barefooted, in companies of two or three, from place to place, and engaged the heretics in conferences, one of which lasted fifteen days; and in no long time the effects of the new system began to show themselves.<sup>m</sup>

Another Spaniard, Durand of Huesca, who had been converted from Waldensianism, wishing to carry on the ascetic life to which he had been accustomed, proposed to found a society of "Catholic poor," who should be bound by a strict rule, as a

<sup>h</sup> W. Pod. Laur. 6; Hist. Lang. iii. 139, 142; Hurter, ii. 279-280. Fulk is placed by Dante in Paradise (ix. 94). See Benvenuto of Imola on the passage, Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1250. There is an article on him in Hist. Litt. xviii. 588, seqq. His predecessor, Raymond of Rabastens, had got his see simoniacally, and had impoverished it by a war with one of his vassals. The pope, on his resignation, allowed him to officiate in episcopal robes, and assigned him a pension out of the see. Ep. viii. 115;

W. Pod. Laur. c. 6; Milm. iv. 112.

<sup>i</sup> R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 274.

<sup>k</sup> Jordan., Vita S. Domin. 16 (Acta Sanctorum, Aug. 4); Hist. Lang. iii. 135, 141. The time was probably 1205. See Acta SS., p. 373; Mansi, in Raynald. 243.

<sup>m</sup> P. Sarn. 3; Vine. Bellov. ap. Hard. vi. 1973; W. Pod. Laur. 8; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 274; Jordan. i. 16-8; Acta SS. 399; Usser. de Christ. Eccl. Successione et Statu, in Works, ed. Elrington, ii. 340-2.



means of counteracting the profession of poverty which gave a strength to heresy; and, having obtained the pope's approval, he laboured for a time with good effect, although his society soon disappears from view, having probably been superseded by the rise of the two great mendicant orders.<sup>n</sup> In the end of 1207, the Bishop of Osma returned to his diocese, where he died within a few months; and by the temporary withdrawal of the Cistercians about the same time, Dominic was left to carry on his work almost alone; but he persevered, and it is said that miracles were wrought by him in support of his teaching.<sup>o</sup>

Peter of Castelnau had distinguished himself by his zeal, and had made himself especially obnoxious to the sectaries and those who favoured them. In 1206, he excommunicated Raymond of Toulouse for refusing to turn his arms against the heretics. His companions, fearing for his safety in consequence of threats which had been uttered, sent him away for a time; but he soon returned, declaring that the cause of orthodoxy would never prosper until one of the preachers should be killed, and expressing a wish that he might himself be the first martyr.<sup>p</sup> Count Raymond submitted and was absolved, on condition that he should take part in the persecution; and when Peter charged him with breach of this promise, he was violently enraged, so as to utter threats against the legate's life. The magistrates and people of St. Gilles, dreading some fatal consequences, escorted Peter as far as the ford by which he was to cross the Rhone; but next day, as he was about to embark, a man who had lodged at the same inn entered into conversation with him, sought a quarrel, and mortally wounded him. Peter's last words were, Jan. 15, "God forgive thee, as I forgive thee!"<sup>r</sup> Suspicion of 1208. having instigated the murder fell on Count Raymond, to whose household the murderer belonged.<sup>s</sup> The pope denounced him, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and urgently and repeatedly exhorted the king and the nobles of France to take arms for the punishment of his crime, and for the extirpation of heresy.<sup>t</sup> Raymond (who seems to have been really innocent of any share in the murder)<sup>u</sup> feeling himself hardly pressed, en-

<sup>n</sup> See Innoc. Epp. ix. 185; xi. 196-8; xii. 17, 66; xiii. 63, 77-8; xv. 82, 90-6; Hurter, ii. 283-7; Hélyot, iii. 22, seqq.; Herzog, xvii. 500. Hélyot supposes the "Pauperes Catholici" to have joined the Augustinian Eremites, 28.

<sup>o</sup> Pet. Sarn. 3, 7; Acta SS., Aug. 4, 374; Jordan. 20-3; Vincent. Bellov.,

xxix. 96.

<sup>p</sup> P. Sarn. 64.

<sup>r</sup> Innoc. Ep. xi. 26; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 275.

<sup>s</sup> See Milman, iv. 117. Peter of Vaux-Cernay says that he ostentatiously took the murderer in his train, 64.

<sup>t</sup> Epp. xi. 26-7.

<sup>u</sup> See Milman, iv. 117.

treated the pope to send some other representative than the abbot of Cîteaux, whom he dreaded as his personal enemy; and Innocent affected to comply with this request by joining in commission with Arnold his own secretary Milo, while he strictly charged him to be guided in all things by the abbot.<sup>x</sup> Cardinal Gualo was sent into France to proclaim a crusade for the extirpation of heresy, with all the privileges which had been bestowed on the warriors of the Holy Land, and the scheme (which had indeed been announced even before the murder of Peter) was proposed at a great national assembly at Villeneuve on the Yonne. Philip Augustus excused himself and his son, on the ground that while they were threatened on each side by "two great lions"—the King of England and the Emperor—they could not leave their own territory undefended; but he granted leave for his subjects to take part in the enterprise, and at his own expense maintained 15,000 soldiers.<sup>y</sup> The clergy were to pay a subsidy of a tenth for the support of the crusade; and multitudes enlisted, not only from religious enthusiasm, but partly from a wish to obtain the benefits of the crusading indulgences more cheaply than by an expedition to Palestine; partly from the northern hatred of the southern people, and in the hope of gaining settlements in the lands which were to be conquered.<sup>z</sup> Among the leaders of the host were the archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Autun, Clermont, and Nevers, the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, and Simon de Montfort, a younger son of the Earl of Leicester and Evreux, who became the hero of the crusade.<sup>a</sup> Simon was now about sixty years of age, and was regarded as a model of the chivalry of the time. In person he was tall, strong, and active; as a leader, he was at once daring and skilful; and his affable and popular manners contributed to secure for him the enthusiastic love and confidence of his followers.<sup>b</sup> The sincerity of his devotion to the church had been shown in the late crusade, when he resolutely opposed the diversion of the armament from its proper object, and, refusing to share in the attacks on Zara and Constantinople, held on his course for the Holy Land.<sup>c</sup> He was remarkable for his regularity in the exercises of religion, daily hearing mass and the offices of the canonical hours;<sup>d</sup> and he was upheld by a lofty confidence in

<sup>x</sup> Pet. Sarn. 9.

<sup>y</sup> Pet. Sarn. 10; Wendover, iii. 267; Innoc. Epp. x. 149 (Nov. 1207); xi. 156, seqq., 229-231; Hurter, ii. 292-302.

<sup>z</sup> Hurter, ii. 300.

<sup>a</sup> Pet. Sarn. 14; Hurter, ii. 301.

<sup>b</sup> Pet. Sarn. 18; Hurter, ii. 304-5.

<sup>c</sup> P. 330.

<sup>d</sup> W. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 92.



the protection of heaven. "Think you that I am afraid?" he said to one who attempted to encourage him while weakened by the withdrawal of a great part of his force—"it is Christ's cause that is at stake; the whole Church is praying for me, and I know that I cannot be beaten." And it is told that a Cistercian, who prayed for him at the consecration of the Eucharist, was interrupted by a voice from heaven—"Why pray for *him*? there are so many praying for him that thy prayer is not needed."<sup>e</sup> But with Simon's better qualities were combined some of the vices which not uncommonly seek their sanctification from high religious professions—a vast ambition, a daring unscrupulousness as to the means of pursuing his objects, a ruthless indifference to human suffering, and an excessive and undisguised rapacity.<sup>f</sup>

Raymond, through the exertions of his envoys at the papal court, had got a promise of absolution, if he could purge himself of the murder of Peter of Castelnau, and would submit to certain conditions. Although he complained of the terms imposed on him, he made his submission to the legates at Valence; and on the 18th of June, 1209, he did penance, and received absolution at St. Gilles, in the presence of three archbishops and nineteen bishops. The legate Milo met him in the porch of the church where Peter of Castelnau was buried, and, throwing a stole over his neck, led him by it into the building. There the count was stripped to the waist, knelt down, submitted to flagellation, and swore obedience to the pope and the legate as to all the matters for which he had incurred ecclesiastical censure; to repair the wrongs which he had done to some bishops, to give up all interference in the appointment of bishops, to dismiss his mercenary soldiers, to expel all Jews from his dominions, to receive the Crusaders, and to help them in their war against heresy. By way of security, he was to give up seven fortresses, with the county of Melgueil; and in case of his failing to fulfil his oath he was to fall under excommunication, and these pledges were to become forfeit to the Roman church.<sup>g</sup> As the crowd blocked up the way by which he had entered, the count had to leave the church by a side-door, and in order to reach this, he was obliged to pass close to the tomb of the man whose murder he was accused of having contrived.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>e</sup> P. Sarn. 56, init.; 57, fin.

ccxvi. 89, seqq.; Pet. Sarn. 11-2.

<sup>f</sup> See Hurter, ii. 306.<sup>h</sup> Pet. Sarn. 12. A council in 1209<sup>g</sup> Mansi, xxii. 769, seqq.; Patrol. enacted that no kinsman to the third

Raymond Roger, viscount of Béziers, a gallant young man of twenty-four, and nephew of the count of Toulouse, waited on the legates at Montpellier, and endeavoured to clear himself from suspicion of favouring the heretics, by throwing the blame on some of his officers, who had acted without his orders.<sup>1</sup> But his excuses were received with derision, and the viscount indignantly withdrew, to put his territories into a state of defence. The army of the Crusaders speedily followed—a force which is very variously reckoned as to numbers,<sup>k</sup> and composed of men from all parts of France, Normandy, and Flanders.<sup>m</sup> At their head was Simon de Montfort, who had been chosen as general after solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost; with him was the legate Arnold of Cîteaux, and Raymond of Toulouse had unwillingly joined the army with a few followers.<sup>n</sup> When the Crusaders appeared before Béziers, the viscount had gone onwards to Carcassonne. The bishop, who was in the army, was allowed by Arnold to offer his advice to his people, and recommended a surrender; but they relied on the strength of their city, and believed that the besiegers would speedily be driven by want of provisions to withdraw. Catholics joined with heretics in declaring that, rather than surrender, they would be drowned in the sea—they would eat their wives and children.<sup>o</sup> “Then,” said abbot Arnold, on hearing this answer, “there shall not be left one stone upon another; fire and sword shall devour men, women and children.” On St. Mary Magdalene’s day, a sally was made by the besieged and was repulsed. The besiegers found their way in, mixed up with the retreating inhabitants, and a butchery began, which was carried on to a literal fulfilment of the abbot’s words. It was in vain that the canons of St. Mary Magdalene, habited in the vestments of the altar, attempted to stay the bloodshed; men, women, children, clergy,

generation of any person concerned in the murder should be allowed to enjoy a benefice. Conc. Aven. 20.

<sup>1</sup> The Troubadour praises the viscount very highly, and says that he could bring many clerks and canons to attest his orthodoxy. 26.

<sup>k</sup> Peter of Vaux-Cernay estimates it at 50,000 (16). The Troubadour says 20,000 men at arms, and more than 200,000 villeins, besides clergy and citizens. “God never made clerk or grammarian so learned that he could recount to you the third or the half, nor could write the names of the priests and the

abbots” (14). Afterwards he says that God never made the clerk who could have written their names in two months or in three (22). See Martin, iv. 32; Milm. iv. 124.

<sup>m</sup> R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 276.

<sup>n</sup> Troub. 22, 26; Hurter, ii. 303.

<sup>o</sup> Troub. 28-30; Hurter, ii. 308-310. Wendover says that the defenders threw the Gospels over the walls, saying, “Ecce lex vestra; non curamus de ea; vestra sit.” iii. 268. Cæsarius of Heisterbach adds “super volumen sacri evangelii mingentes.” v. 21, p. 350.



were indiscriminately slaughtered, while the bells of the cathedral were rung till the massacre was completed.<sup>p</sup> It is said, that when abbot Arnold was asked how the soldiers might distinguish Catholics from heretics, he answered, "Kill them all! the Lord knoweth them that are His."<sup>q</sup> The ordinary population of Béziers had been greatly increased by fugitives; but the number of victims is very variously estimated. Arnold himself reckons it at 20,000, while others make it as much as 60,000 or even 100,000.<sup>r</sup> The city was given up to plunder, and was then set on fire.<sup>s</sup>

The Crusaders proceeded onwards to Carcassonne, where the viscount of Béziers commanded in person. The late terrible example had struck fear into all hearts; and as they advanced, they found the country desolate—villages, and even strong castles, abandoned by their inhabitants, who had fled for refuge to the towns.<sup>t</sup> Carcassonne stands on a steep and lofty hill, and was surrounded by a double line of outworks, each with its own wall and fosse; and the fortifications had lately been strengthened, partly with materials from ecclesiastical buildings which were pulled down.<sup>u</sup> The Crusaders speedily penetrated through the outermost walls, but the second enclosure was obstinately defended. Simon de Montfort was foremost in the assault; he was the first to plunge into the moat, and afterwards, at the risk of his own life, rescued a wounded soldier who was struggling in it. On the other side, the viscount Raymond-Roger was no less conspicuous, exposing himself everywhere at the head of the defenders, and animating their courage by words and example. The besiegers were repulsed with great loss, and retired after having set fire to the outer suburb.<sup>x</sup> A second assault, eight days later, was also repulsed; and Peter, king of Aragon, then appeared to offer his mediation—a work for which it might have seemed that he was well fitted, by his connection with the princes of Languedoc on the one hand, and on the other, by his friendly relations with the pope, whose favour

<sup>p</sup> Troub. 36-40; Pet. Sarn. 15; R. ii. 309. Altissiod. 276.

<sup>q</sup> This rests on the authority of Cæsar of Heisterbach (v. 21, p. 351), whose evidence is recommended by the circumstances that he was a contemporary, and himself a Cistercian (Martin, iv. 33). And Arnold's own letter on the occasion shows a man quite capable of such a speech (See Patrol. ccxvi. 137, seqq.). Hurter endeavours to discredit the story.

<sup>r</sup> William the Breton says, "Millia bis triplicata decem" (i.e. 60,000), Philipp. viii. 539; Bernard. Iterius. 38,000; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 100,000.

<sup>s</sup> Troub. 38.

<sup>t</sup> Anon. Langued. 12; Arnold in Patrol. ccxvi. 139; Wendov. iii. 269.

<sup>u</sup> Pet. Sarn. 16.

<sup>x</sup> P. Sarn. 16; Hurter, i. 310.

he had earned by expelling all heretics from his dominions.<sup>y</sup> But the abbot of Cîteaux would only allow that the viscount and eleven others might withdraw in safety; all the rest must surrender at discretion. On hearing this, the viscount declared that he would rather be flayed alive than desert his companions, and the king withdrew in disgust at the fruitlessness of his endeavours.<sup>z</sup> The siege was closely pressed, and the inhabitants, crowded within the walls from a wide surrounding country, soon found themselves reduced to distress by excessive heat, by the scantiness of water, and by the stench which arose from the bodies of dead men and beasts.<sup>a</sup> The viscount, having been decoyed into a conference by the assurance of a safe conduct, was committed to prison, under the plea, advanced by abbot Arnold, that no faith was to be kept with one who had been faithless to his God.<sup>b</sup> The people, dismayed by the loss of their chief, were no longer in a condition to resist, and submitted to the terms imposed by the besiegers—that they should leave the city half-naked, “carrying with them nothing but their sins.”<sup>c</sup> But for this extraordinary clemency the crusaders in some measure consoled themselves, by hanging or burning more than four hundred victims for the common offence of heresy.<sup>d</sup>

The viscounty of Béziérs was offered successively to the duke of Burgundy, to the count of Nevers, and to the count of St. Pol; but all refused to accept it in such circumstances; and the election of a viscount was committed to two bishops, four knights, and the abbot of Cîteaux, who agreed in choosing Simon de Montfort. Simon, although free from any scruples as to the mode of acquisition, thought it necessary to make a show of refusal; but this was easily overcome, and he was hailed as viscount of Béziérs and Carcassonne, promising to hold his dignities and territory on condition of a yearly payment to St. Peter.<sup>e</sup> Within a few weeks, the deprived viscount, Raymond-Roger, died in his prison, and, although dysentery was alleged as the cause of his death, the guilt of it was popularly charged on Simon.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>y</sup> Innoc., Ep. ix. 102; Troub. 46, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> Troub. 48; Hurter, ii. 311-2.

<sup>a</sup> Troub. 51.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 52-4; Sism. vi. 293-4.

<sup>c</sup> Pet. Sarn. 16; Guil. Pod. Laur. 14; Troub. 54; R. Altissiod. xviii. 276; Guil. Armor., Philipp. viii. 543, seqq. Some writers say nothing of a surrender, but represent the inhabitants as having escaped through a subterranean passage.

See Martin, iv. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Martin, iv. 36.

<sup>e</sup> Troub. 56-8; G. Pod. Laur. 14 Pet. Sarn. 17.

<sup>f</sup> Pet. Sarn. 26; Troub. 62, 66. Innocent says “ad ultimum miserabiliter interfectus”—a strange phrase, if he knew and believed the story of the viscount’s having died from natural causes. Ep. xv. 212.



Simon soon found that his conquest was incomplete. On requesting the king of Aragon, as suzerain, to invest him in his new territories, he was met at first with delays, and afterwards with a refusal.<sup>g</sup> Peter had taken up the cause of the late viscount's infant child, Raymond Trencavel, and was endeavouring to organise means for the expulsion of the invaders.<sup>h</sup> The count of Nevers and the duke of Burgundy withdrew from the crusade, in disgust at the late proceedings of the dominant party; and the great mass of the troops, having served the forty days which were all that was required by feudal duty, and were sufficient to earn the crusading privileges, likewise withdrew, leaving Simon with a very small force to maintain his conquests through the winter.<sup>i</sup> It was with difficulty that he was able to hold his ground at all; many fortresses and other places fell away from him, and an incessant war was carried on, marked by the fierce exasperation of the contending parties, and by relentless cruelty on both sides.<sup>k</sup> The pope, while he confirmed the election of Simon, and wrote letters in his favour to the emperor Otho and other sovereigns, expressed regret that the claims of the eastern crusade prevented any more effectual aid to that against the heretics of the West.<sup>m</sup> In the spring of 1210, however, Simon received large reinforcements, under the command of his countess; and, notwithstanding the resistance of the count of Foix and others, his arms made considerable progress.<sup>n</sup>

Raymond of Toulouse, although he had given the required securities, and had taken part in the crusade, had received such treatment from Simon and his party, that he resolved to carry his complaints to Rome; and he was recommended to the pope by letters from the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Nevers. He found the pope disinclined to listen to him, yet eventually succeeded in making a favourable impression; he received a provisional absolution, and it was settled that he should be put to canonical purgation before the legates in his own country; that, if he went through this successfully, he should be acknowledged as orthodox, and as guiltless of the death of Peter of Castelnau; and the pope dismissed him with valuable presents.<sup>o</sup> But on returning home, he found that the

<sup>g</sup> Pet. Sarn. 26.<sup>h</sup> Sism. vi. 373.

Turon. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1043.

<sup>i</sup> Pet. Sarn. 20-3; Troub. 60, 64;<sup>m</sup> Epp. xii. 109, 122-4.

Hurter, ii. 314.

<sup>n</sup> Pet. Sarn. 34; Hurter, ii. 357.<sup>k</sup> Troub. 70; Pet. Sarn. 26, 32; R.<sup>o</sup> Innoc. Ep. xii. 152, 154-5; Troub.

Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 277-8; Chron.

74; Pet. Sarn. 33-4.

legates were determined to deal harshly with him. Milo had lately died, and had been succeeded in the commission by Theodisius, a canonist, who was deeply prejudiced against the count of Toulouse, and was resolved, if possible, to deprive him of the benefit of the pope's concession.<sup>p</sup> When, therefore, Raymond appeared at St. Gilles, before the bishop of Riez and Theodisius, in order to the proposed purgation, Theodisius told him that, since he had forsworn himself by omitting to fulfil his former oaths as to lesser things, he could not be admitted to clear himself by oath from such crimes as heresy and murder. On this, Raymond began to weep, when Theodisius insultingly quoted the text—"In the great water-floods they shall not come nigh Him;" and, instead of absolving the count, he pronounced his excommunication afresh.<sup>q</sup> Raymond was soon after cited to another council at Arles, where his cause was pleaded by a famous lawyer, Guy Cap de Pore.<sup>r</sup> But the terms proposed—which it is said that the legates communicated in writing, out of fear lest the public reading of them should produce a tumult—were such as the count declared that all his territory could not satisfy. He laughed aloud on the announcement of them, and immediately, in defiance of the council's order, rode away, in company with the king of Aragon. At Toulouse he caused the document to be publicly read aloud, and it was received with shouts of indignant derision.<sup>s</sup> From Toulouse, he went on to other towns, everywhere proclaiming the intolerable terms which had been offered to him, and everywhere exciting a determination to resist the invaders. His allies, the counts of Foix and Comminges, with others, joined their forces, and much of the conquered territory was wrested from the Crusaders. On the other hand, a force of Germans, Auvergnats, Lombards, and others arrived to reinforce the crusading army, and the war was actively carried on.<sup>t</sup> The legates declared Raymond to be an apostate, and his lands to be free for any one who could seize them; and the pope confirmed their proceedings.<sup>u</sup> The capital, Toulouse, itself was divided between embittered factions—the "white band," formed by bishop Fulk for the extirpation of Jews, usurers, and heretics, and the "black band," composed of members of the more tolerant party.<sup>x</sup> At one time, the bishop excommunicated the citizens, and in obedience to his orders the whole body of the

<sup>p</sup> Innoc. Ep. xii. 156; Pet. Sarn. 39.

<sup>q</sup> (Psalm xxxii. 7.) Pet. Sarn. 39.

<sup>r</sup> See Troub. 96.

<sup>s</sup> Troub. 96-8; Mansi, xxii. 815.

<sup>t</sup> Anon. Lang. 26; Hurter, ii. 390-2.

<sup>u</sup> Hurter, ii. 389.

<sup>x</sup> G. Pod. Laur. 15.



clergy, barefooted and carrying the consecrated host, went forth to the camp of the besiegers.<sup>y</sup> Year by year Simon de Montfort made progress. The crusade was actively preached in Germany and northern France, and was joined by adventurers trained in the wars of Germany and of the East. William, archdeacon of Paris, was the chief engineer of the army, and by his mechanical skill contributed greatly to the success of sieges and other operations.<sup>z</sup> Yet the fluctuating nature of Simon's force prevented him from improving his advantages to the full, and his successes were chequered by much of hardship, and by occasional reverses.<sup>a</sup>

In 1210, Peter of Aragon consented to invest Simon in the viscounty of Béziers and Carcassonne, and even connected himself with him by marriage—perhaps in the hope of sheltering the count of Toulouse and his son, who were married to two of the king's sisters.<sup>b</sup> But in this he was disappointed; and he endeavoured to obtain from the pope redress for his kinsmen against the rapacity of Simon—who, he complained, took advantage of the king's being engaged in fighting the Saracens, to oppress his vassals. In consequence of this appeal, the pope wrote to his legates and to Simon;<sup>c</sup> but the local influence was, as usual, too strongly against Raymond, and the intercessions of king Peter with a council at Pamiers, in 1212, were unavailing.<sup>d</sup> In the following year, Peter found himself set at liberty by the great victory of Navas de Tolosa,<sup>e</sup> to take more active measures for the assistance of his kinsmen and allies on the other side of the Pyrenees.<sup>f</sup> His force was so much superior that Simon might well have endeavoured to decline a combat. But the viscount, with that confidence in his mission which never deserted him, was not to be daunted either by unfavourable circumstances or by omens: "You have spoken like one of the foolish women," he said to his wife, on her telling him of an alarming dream; "for you fancy that we follow dreams and auguries, like the Spaniards."<sup>g</sup> And when a priest expressed some apprehensions, Simon replied by drawing from his pocket a copy of a letter from king Peter to a married lady—most probably one of his sisters, although De Montfort assumed that

<sup>y</sup> Pet. Sarn. 54; Sism. vi. 400.

<sup>z</sup> Pet. Sarn. 41, 58, 62; Sism. vi. 394.

<sup>a</sup> Fauriel, liii.-liv. Thus, at the siege of Termes, in 1210, he was often without bread to eat. Pet. Sarn. 41-2.

<sup>b</sup> Pet. Sarn. 47; Sism. vi. 387.

<sup>c</sup> Epp. xv. 212-4.

<sup>d</sup> Mansi, xxii. 855, seqq.; Pet. Sarn. 66.

<sup>e</sup> See p. 323.

<sup>f</sup> Pet. Sarn. 67.

<sup>g</sup> Pet. Sarn. 71.

it was a paramour<sup>h</sup>—telling her that for the love of her he was coming to drive the French out of the country. “What do you say to this?” he asked; “So God help me, I do not fear a king who comes against God’s cause for the sake of a strumpet.”<sup>i</sup> On his way to the relief of Muret, which the king and his allies were besieging, he entered the chapel of a Cistercian monastery, and, laying his sword on the altar, declared that he took it back as from God, to fight His battles. Next morning, at daybreak, he confessed his sins, and made his will. He then attended a solemn mass, at which all the bishops who were with him excommunicated the count of Toulouse and his son, the counts of Foix and Comminges, and all their partisans—among whom the king of Aragon was supposed to be included, although, out of regard for a privilege by which he had been exempted from excommunication by any one but the pope himself,<sup>k</sup> he was not named. Negotiations were attempted, but in vain; and on the following day the battle of Muret was fought. When it was proposed to Simon that his force should be numbered—“There is no need,” he replied; “we are enough, by God’s help, to beat the enemy.”<sup>m</sup> During the fight, seven bishops, with other ecclesiastics, among whom was the preacher Dominic, were earnestly praying in a neighbouring church.<sup>n</sup> Peter of Aragon, after having done prodigies of valour, was slain, with many of his nobles, and the greater part of his army perished on the field, or was driven into the Garonne. The gallant and chivalrous character of Peter excited a general lamentation over his untimely end; even De Montfort himself is said to have wept over him, “like another David over another Saul.”<sup>o</sup>

But of such generous feeling towards an enemy the instances were very few in this war, which was shamefully remarkable for the savage ferocity with which it was waged on both sides. The Crusaders, wherever they went, spread desolation over the country; they destroyed vineyards and growing crops, burnt villages and farmhouses, slaughtered unarmed peasants, women, and children.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Peter is described as “*pellicum amore flagrans*.” Hurter, i. 642.

<sup>i</sup> G. Pod. Laur. 21. See the note on the passage; also Hurter, ii. 526; *Gesta Comitum Barcinon.* in Bouq. xix. 233.

<sup>k</sup> Pet. Sarn. 71; Alberic. Tr.-Font. ap. Bouq. xviii. 782.

<sup>m</sup> Pet. Sarn. 72.

<sup>n</sup> Acta SS., Aug. 4, p. 407. The story of Dominic’s having carried a crucifix into the battle is generally rejected.

<sup>o</sup> So says the furious bigot Peter of Vaux-Cernay (72), who makes the forces of the Catholics and of their opponents 800 and 100,000 respectively! Cf. Chron. Mortui Maris, A.D. 1213 (*Patrol.* clx.); W. Armor. Philipp. viii. 735, seqq. (who uses a poet’s license in making Simon overthrow Peter in single combat); Anon. Waverl. 1213; Troub. 200, 218; Anon. Laudun. ap. Bouq. xviii. 717.

<sup>p</sup> Hurter, ii. 396.



Their cruelty towards prisoners was sanctified and exasperated by the pretence of zeal for religion. Thus, when La Minerve, near Narbonne, yielded after an obstinate defence, and it was proposed that the besieged should be allowed to retire, if they would recant their heresy, one of the Crusaders pro-<sup>July 22,</sup> tested that the terms were too easy. "We came to <sup>1210.</sup> extirpate heretics," he said, "not to show them favour." "Be not afraid," replied Arnold of Cîteaux, "there will not be many converts." And about a hundred and forty of the "perfect" of both sexes were burnt—some of them rushing into the flames with an appearance of exultation.<sup>a</sup> At a castle called Bran, De Montfort cut off the noses and plucked out the eyes of more than a hundred of the defenders, leaving one of them a single eye that he might lead the rest—not, says Peter of Vaux-Cernay, that the count took pleasure in such things, "for of all men he was the mildest," but because he wished to retaliate on the enemy.<sup>r</sup> At Lavaur, where the commander Almeric and eighty nobles were led before Simon, he<sup>A.D. 1211.</sup> ordered that they should all be hanged. But as the highest gibbet, which had been erected for Almeric, fell down, the count ordered that the rest of the party should be put to the sword, and the Crusaders, "with the greatest eagerness,"<sup>s</sup> despatched them. Almeric's sister, who, as being an obstinate heretic, was charged with complicated incest,<sup>t</sup> was thrown into a deep well, and overwhelmed with stones.<sup>u</sup> By the intervention of "a Frenchman, courteous and gay," the other ladies of the castle were saved,<sup>x</sup> but four hundred of the "perfect" were burnt "with immense joy," says the chaplain of the crusading army.<sup>y</sup> The same phrase is used by the same writer in relating the burning of some Waldenses who were taken at Marcillac.<sup>z</sup> Nor

<sup>a</sup> Pet. Sarn. 37; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 276; Troub. 76.

<sup>r</sup> Pet. Sarn. 34.

<sup>s</sup> "Avidissime." Pet. Sarn. 52.

<sup>t</sup> "Quæ de fratre et filio se concepisse dicebat." Chron. Turon. ap. Mart., Coll. Ampl. v. 1047.

<sup>u</sup> R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 277; Troub. 112; Pet. Sarn. 52; Hurter, ii. 300.

<sup>x</sup> Troub. 116.

<sup>y</sup> Pet. Sarn. 52; Cf. G. Pod. Laur. 17; Troub. 112, 116. In order to enjoy such scenes, it was not necessary that they should have been preceded by fighting. Thus we are told that in 1234, a great lady of Toulouse, when on

her deathbed, was discovered to be a heretic. She was summarily condemned, and was made over to the secular power; whereupon the officials carried her on her bed to the stake, and "burnt her merrily" (hilariter combusserunt). Steph. de Salhan. ap. Bouq. xxi. 736.

<sup>z</sup> C. 79. In c. 22, Peter relates that at Castres a heretic of the perfect class and another who had been his disciple were carried before De Montfort, who condemned them both to the flames. The younger of the two offered to recant; but, although some were for letting him off, others questioned the sincerity of his conversion. "Quid plura? Acquievit comes quod combureretur, hac

were such cruelties confined to one party. The heretics retaliated severely on such of the invaders as fell into their hands after a victory. They wounded and mutilated the fallen;<sup>a</sup> they hanged prisoners, and afterwards mutilated their bodies;<sup>b</sup> it is said that on one occasion, after having promised some soldiers safety for life and limb, they dragged them through the streets of Toulouse at the tails of horses, and at last hanged them.<sup>c</sup> As a proof of the unnatural exasperation produced by such a war, it may be mentioned that Baldwin, brother of Raymond of Toulouse, having forsaken the count's party and afterwards fallen into his hands, was hanged by his brother's orders or with his consent—the count of Foix and his son acting as executioners, and denying him the consolation of the last sacraments.<sup>d</sup>

The clergy who took part in the crusade, — especially the Cistercians, who were deeply concerned in it, — excited general indignation by their bitterness, their cupidity, and sometimes by their treachery. Arnold of Cîteaux was especially conspicuous for his frequent displays of all these forms of wickedness. Bishop Fulk of Toulouse is charged with having urged Simon de Montfort to extremities, in opposition to the advice of his lay allies.<sup>e</sup> Cardinal Peter, of Benevento, in 1214, affected to receive the Counts of Foix and Comminges, with other dispossessed nobles, into the favour of the Church, that he might gain time for De Montfort's movements; and this draws from the admiring historian who relates it an exclamation of "Oh the pious fraud of the legate! oh his fraudulent piety!"<sup>f</sup> The preachers of the crusade had provoked the ordinary clergy by inveighing against them as supine and indifferent;<sup>g</sup> and they now caused great scandal by the eagerness which they showed to profit by the conquests of their associates. Thus, Arnold in 1212 became archbishop of Narbonne, and forthwith required De Montfort to do homage for the viscounty. On Simon's refusal, he excommunicated him, and interdicted the churches of Narbonne. Simon treated this sentence with contempt, took away some castles from the archbishop, and set his soldiers to annoy him in various ways; and the quarrel was carried on into the ponti-

intentione, quod, si nunc convertatur, ignis esset ei pro expiatione peccatorum, si vero fiete loqueretur, reciperet pro perfidia talionem." The two were then bound to the stake; but, while the master was burnt, the pupil was miraculously delivered, with no other injury than the singeing of the tips of his fingers.

<sup>a</sup> Pet. Sarn. 63.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 83, 85.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 70.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 75; G. Pod. Laur. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Hurter, ii. 392.

<sup>f</sup> Pet. Sarn. 77-9. Arnold has been wrongly named by some writers as the legate in question.

<sup>g</sup> Hurter, ii. 626.



ificate of Honorius III.<sup>h</sup> Innocent, when representations of the real state of things reached him, showed himself desirous to do right;<sup>i</sup> but those who acted in his name were generally able to sway him by their representations, in which he acquiesced without attempting to ascertain the truth.<sup>k</sup> The king of Aragon had induced him, in 1213, to reprove De Montfort and the legates for their ambition and rapacity, to order restitution of lands which they had unjustly seized, and to recall the crusading indulgences;<sup>m</sup> but in the following year, under the influence of Theodisius and some bishops whom Simon had sent to the papal court, he again reversed his policy.<sup>n</sup> In the same year, the legate Robert Curzon consented that the crusade against the heretics should take precedence of that against the infidels; he preached it with zeal, and himself joined the army, which was now raised to the formidable number of 100,000 men.<sup>o</sup> Toulouse, where the surviving heretics from other parts had found a refuge, was taken in 1215. The bishop, Fulk, was eager that it should be destroyed; but De Montfort was unwilling to lose so valuable a spoil, and contented himself with demolishing the fortifications.<sup>p</sup> In this campaign Prince Louis of France took a part, but only for the forty days' service which was required for the performance of a vow. The apprehensions of the older Crusaders, that he might interfere with their conquests, proved to have been needless;<sup>q</sup> but he and others carried back with them a feeling of disgust at the conduct of the warriors of the cross.

Raymond and his son had submitted in 1214, and were compelled to live privately at Toulouse, while bishop Fulk took possession of their palace.<sup>r</sup> A council at Montpellier, in January 1215, ordered a strict inquisition after heretics,<sup>s</sup> and chose Simon de Montfort as prince of the whole subjugated territory; but as the legate, Peter of Benevento, had no authority to invest him, a deputation was sent to the pope, who committed the lands to Simon's custody until the council of Lateran, which was about to meet, should decide as to the disposal of them.<sup>t</sup> At that council the two Raymonds and the count of Foix appeared.

<sup>h</sup> See Bouquet, xix. 620, 622, 628; Alb. Tr.-Font., ib. xviii. 785; Hurter, ii. 683; Sism. vi. 403.

<sup>i</sup> Very many of his letters relate to these affairs—*e.g.* Epp. xii. 106, seqq.; xiv. 36-8, 163; xv. 102.

<sup>k</sup> See Hurter's attempt to excuse him, ii. 401; and Dean Milman's remarks, iv. 138.

<sup>m</sup> Pet. Sarn. 66, 70.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. 70; Innoc. Ep. xvi. 48.

<sup>o</sup> Pet. Sarn. 75, 78.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 64, 82; Troub. 225; Martin, iv. 54.

<sup>q</sup> W. Armor. 107; Pet. Sarn. 82; Sism. vi. 440.

<sup>r</sup> Hurter, ii. 627.

<sup>s</sup> C. 46.

<sup>t</sup> Pet. Sarn. 81-2; Conc. Monsp., A.D. 1215, in Mansi, xxii.

The younger Raymond was recommended to the pope by John of England; the favour which the dispossessed princes met with at the hands of many members of the council was such as to raise the indignation of Simon's partisans;<sup>u</sup> and the pope himself showed a disposition to favour them. The bishop of Toulouse urged their punishment with great bitterness; to which the count of Foix replied in a vehement tone, telling Fulk that he was more like an antichrist than a Roman legate, and charging him with having caused the death of ten thousand men. The precentor of Lyons spoke strongly in behalf of the counts, and in reprobation of the acts by which the Crusaders had disgraced themselves; but the opposite party were too strong, and De Montfort was confirmed in all his conquests, with the exception of Provence and the Venaissin, which were reserved for the younger Raymond, if his conduct should appear to deserve them.<sup>x</sup> The council enacted that heretics of all sorts should be made over to the secular power, which was bound, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to do its part for the extermination of heresy; that the bishops should visit twice or thrice a year those parts of their dioceses which were suspected of heretical infection; and that certain persons in each neighbourhood should be sworn to give information against heretics and their congregations.<sup>y</sup>

In 1216 Simon de Montfort returned to northern France. In every town, as he went along, the champion of the faith was received with the greatest honour—the clergy and the people meeting him in procession, and welcoming him with shouts of “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!” and he was invested by Philip Augustus as suzerain in the territories of Toulouse and Narbonne, with his other recent conquests.<sup>z</sup> Yet while he was thus triumphant, a wide and deep feeling of dissatisfaction had been produced by the misconduct of the Crusaders of Languedoc, even among those who favoured their cause. Thus, William of Puy-Laurens, one of the historians of the war, remarks that, so long as the Catholic army aimed at the suppression of heresy, all went well with them; but that when Simon introduced new and selfish objects, and when those who

<sup>u</sup> Pet. Sarn. 83.

Michelet, ii. 501, 509.

<sup>x</sup> Troub. 226-264; Guil. Armor. ap. Bouq. xvii. 109; Pet. Sarn. 83. See Hurter, ii. 662-3; Milman, iv. 142; Fauriel, *Introd. to Troub.* lxxxiv.-xci;

<sup>y</sup> C. 3; Cf. Conc. Avenion. A.D. 1209 c. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Pet. Sarn. 83; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 283.



shared his conquests fell into evil living, God made them to drink of the dregs of the cup of His anger.<sup>a</sup>

IX. The pontificate of Innocent is remarkable in monastic history for the rise of the great mendicant orders founded by Dominic and Francis. The especial object of these societies was to counterwork the influence which the heretics acquired over the poorer classes of people by familiarly mixing with them and by preaching.<sup>b</sup> For preaching suitable for the humbler classes had been almost disused in the church. Sometimes, indeed, a preacher was found to devote himself to the work of religious and moral reformation, like Eustace of Flai and Fulk of Neuilly; but more commonly the crusades were the only subject in behalf of which the clergy attempted to rouse the multitude by the power of eloquence, while almost the only means of religious instruction was the ritual, which, in so far as language was concerned, had long ceased to be intelligible.<sup>c</sup> The heretics, on the other hand, had sedulously laboured to spread their doctrines among the people. Their teachers had professed an apostolical poverty, while they, and such reformers as Arnold of Brescia, had denounced the wealth of the clergy and monks as an intolerable corruption. The new orders, therefore, brought to the support of the church a severity of life which had as yet been employed against it.<sup>d</sup> They professed not only poverty, but beggary, forbidding the reception of endowments; and their object was not, as with older orders, to cultivate a contemplative piety apart from the world and its engagements, but to converse among men, and by teaching and example of life to draw them to salvation.<sup>e</sup> Each of these orders had at the outset its distinctive character—the Dominicans, severely intellectual, rigidly orthodox, and tinged by the sternness and the gloom which had been impressed on the religion of the founder's native land; the Franciscans milder and more genial, addressing themselves less to the intellect than to the sentiments and the affections.<sup>f</sup>

Dominic was born about 1170, at Calaruega, a village in the diocese of Osma.<sup>g</sup> According to some writers (whose opinion,

<sup>a</sup> C. 27.

<sup>b</sup> See Chron. Ursperg. 243; Wadding, i. 3, seqq.

<sup>c</sup> Milm. iv. 154-8.

<sup>d</sup> Lacordaire, 'Vie de S. Dominique,' 51.

<sup>e</sup> R. de Monte, contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 348.

<sup>f</sup> See Hase, Franz v. Assisi. 70.

<sup>g</sup> For the life of Dominic, see Quétif and Echard, vol. i.; Acta Sanctorum, Aug. 4 (Lives by Jordan, second general of the Order, by Bartholomew of Trent, Theodoric of Appolda, Constantine, bishop of Orvieto, and many documents); Lacordaire, Œuvres, t. 1, ed. 12<sup>mo.</sup>, Paris, 1860.

however, is gravely questioned),<sup>h</sup> he was descended from the illustrious family of Guzman; and it is said that the effect of his eloquence was foreshown by his mother's dreaming that she gave birth to a whelp carrying a blazing torch in his mouth, with which he set the world on fire.<sup>1</sup> At the university of Palencia, he distinguished himself by his ardour in study;<sup>k</sup> and in consequence of his reputation he was invited by Diego de Azevedo, bishop of Osma, to become a canon of his cathedral, where he rose to the dignity of sub-prior.<sup>m</sup> His nature was tender and gentle;<sup>n</sup> at the university, during a famine, he sold his books, with his own comments, which made them more precious to him, in order to relieve the distressed—saying that he would not study on dead skins while the poor were dying of hunger.<sup>o</sup> And at a later time he would have sold himself to obtain the means of support for a man who hesitated to avow his conversion from heresy lest he should forfeit the charity on which he lived.<sup>p</sup> But religious zeal steeled Dominic against the impulses of his nature; and while, as we are told, he was amiable towards Jews and infidels, he was unrelenting towards heretics.<sup>q</sup> His life was rigidly ascetic; he gave more of his time to prayer than to sleep,<sup>r</sup> and, although during the day-time he was cheerful in his conversation, his nights were for the most part spent in severe penitential exercises; he flogged himself nightly with an iron chain, once for his own sins, once for the sinners in this world, and once for those in purgatory.<sup>s</sup>

Something has already been said of Dominic's labours in the Albigenian territory,<sup>t</sup> where he spent ten years in endeavouring to root out heresy.<sup>u</sup> The power of his preaching is described as extraordinary;<sup>x</sup> he was indefatigable in conferences and in private conversations; and a number of miracles are related as having been wrought by him in attestation of his doctrine. The amount of the part which he took in the Albigenian war, and in the establishment of the Inquisition, has been the subject of controversy, not so much between opposite parties, as between his earlier and his later admirers. For whereas in some

<sup>h</sup> See Acta SS. 384-7.

<sup>1</sup> Jord. 1; Theod. Appold. 12. "Canis siquidem fuit, latrando contra hæreticos; et facem portavit, id est lucem scientiæ ..... vel intellige ardentem caritatem quam habuit, &c." Benven. Imol., in Murat. Antiq. i. 1260.

<sup>k</sup> Jord. 5. The university was afterwards removed to Salamanca.

<sup>m</sup> Jord. 8-9.

<sup>n</sup> Acta SS., 633, 635-6.

<sup>o</sup> Jord. 7; Acta SS. 641.

<sup>p</sup> Jord. 27.

<sup>q</sup> Theod. Appold. 49.

<sup>r</sup> Acta SS. 635; Constant. Urbev. 44; Ep. Tolos. ap. Quétif, i. 57.

<sup>s</sup> Jordan. 45-6; Vita Altera, 44 (ap. Quétif, i.).

<sup>t</sup> Pp. 348-9, 358.

<sup>u</sup> Humbert. de Romanis ap. Quét. i. 69.

<sup>x</sup> Acta SS. 641.



ages it was supposed to be for his honour that the largest possible share in the persecution of heretics by the sword and by torture should be claimed for him—whereas Cistercians and Dominicans have quarrelled for the honour of having furnished the first inquisitors,<sup>y</sup> and a pope has thought to do Dominic honour by ascribing to him the origin of the Inquisition,<sup>z</sup>—Dominic's eulogists of later days have been no less eager to clear him from the imputation of acts which are no longer regarded as a title to the admiration of mankind.<sup>a</sup> It would seem in truth that during the Albigensian crusade Dominic confined himself to the office of preaching.<sup>b</sup> But if he is not chargeable with any such atrocities as those which have made Arnold of Cîteaux infamous, there is, on the other hand, no reason for supposing that he ever attempted to check the worst deeds of Simon de Montfort and his followers. And, although it is certain that he did not found the Inquisition, it is yet possible that that institution may in some degree have originated in his preaching, as it certainly found among his brotherhood the most numerous and the most merciless of its officials.

The first foundation of the Spanish missionaries in Languedoc was a school at Prouille, intended for the daughters of the poorer nobles, who were often obliged by their necessities to commit their children to the free schools of the heretics for education.<sup>c</sup> From this, Dominic went on to the formation of a brotherhood devoted to preaching and to the confutation of heresy. The new institution was patronised by bishop Fulk of Toulouse, who, on going to the Lateran council in 1215, took Dominic with him, and endeavoured to recommend it to the pope. Innocent was at first disinclined to entertain the scheme; but it is said that he was warned by a vision in the night, and he then professed his willingness to give his sanction to it,<sup>d</sup> if Dominic would comply with a canon by which the council, with a view to check the too great multiplication of religious orders, had enacted that persons who might wish to found a monastic society should place it under some one of the rules which had already been approved.<sup>e</sup> Dominic, therefore,

<sup>y</sup> See Acta SS. 411-8.

<sup>z</sup> Sixtus V., Bulla de festo S. Pet. Martyris, A.D. 1586, Bullar. Rom. ii. 573, ed. Luxemb. 1727.

<sup>a</sup> See, e.g. Lacordaire, 95, seqq., 221, seqq.

<sup>b</sup> Acta SS. 374.

<sup>c</sup> Jordan. 21; Theod. Appold. 32; Acta SS. 374.

<sup>d</sup> Theod. Appold. 61-2; Acta SS. 374.

<sup>e</sup> C. 13. In Canon 10, the council directs that there should be more preaching in churches, but without reference to friars as the preachers.

chose for his preaching fraternity the rule of the great preacher St. Augustine, to which some additional severities were annexed.<sup>f</sup> On returning to Toulouse, Dominic received from the bishop a church in the city, with other churches in other places, and a proportion of the tithes of the diocese by way of endowment; he founded a convent, and began to send out his disciples into various countries.<sup>g</sup> But in the beginning of the next pontificate Dominic again went to Rome, where he eventually fixed the head-quarters of his order in the church of St. Sabina, on the Aventine, which was bestowed on him by Honorius III.<sup>h</sup> From this pope the order received many charters, in one of which he speaks of them by the title of "Friars Preachers," which afterwards became distinctive of them.<sup>i</sup> On Dominic himself was conferred the Mastership of the Sacred Palace—an office to which is annexed the censorship of books, and which has always been retained by the order.<sup>k</sup>

The new brotherhood made rapid progress. In England, they were patronised by Archbishop Langton;<sup>m</sup> at Paris (where they were known by the name of Jacobins, from a hospital of St. James, which was bestowed on them),<sup>n</sup> they soon acquired an important influence in the university. In 1220, and again in the following year, Dominic held general chapters of his order at Bologna.<sup>o</sup> At the first of these, he expressed a wish to resign the mastership; and, as the brethren would not consent to this, he insisted on the appointment of "diffinitors," whose power should be supreme, even over the master himself.<sup>p</sup> In Languedoc he had been willing to accept endowments; but he now adopted from the order lately established by Francis the principle of absolute poverty or mendicancy—whether from a belief in its soundness, or from perceiving that in it the Franciscans had a power against which his own order could not otherwise hope to make head.<sup>q</sup> At the second chapter, the

<sup>f</sup> Trivet, 195; Acta SS. 438; Jord. 32.

<sup>g</sup> Jord. 31-3, 36; Const. Urbev. 21.

<sup>h</sup> Theod. Appold. 93. It was in 1220 that Dominic removed from the church of St. Sixtus, which he gave up to nuns, and fixed himself at St. Sabina. Acta SS. 375.

<sup>i</sup> Acta SS. 374, 443-5; Schröckh, xxvii, 388.

<sup>k</sup> Hélyot, iii. 212-4; Herzog, iii. 475, and art. *Magister Sacri Palatii*.

<sup>m</sup> Trivet. 220.

<sup>n</sup> A.D. 1218. See Jord. 40; Acta SS.

455; Wendov. iii. 124; M. Paris, in Wendov. v. 142; Bul. iii. 90, 92.

<sup>o</sup> Jord. 64, seqq.; Acta SS. 493.

<sup>p</sup> Acta SS. 633, B; Theod. Appold. 183.

<sup>q</sup> Jordan. 64; Humb. de Rom. ap. Quétif, i. 56; Trivet. 207; Wadding, i. 292-3; Milin. iv. 167; Holst. ed. Broekie, iv., Præf. 3-4. Dominic had known Francis at Rome in 1216 (Acta SS., Aug. 4, p. 442; Oct. 4, p. 605). There is a great question whether he attended the general chapter of the Franciscans, which is known as the "Capitulum



order was divided into eight provinces, each under a prior; and to these four others were added at a later time.<sup>r</sup>

In addition to the friars (whose dress of white, with a black scapulary, was believed to have been shown to the founder by the Blessed Virgin),<sup>s</sup> the order included nuns, and also a grade of Tertiaries—persons who continued to be engaged in the common occupations of the world, but who, by their connection with the mendicant orders, added greatly to their popularity and influence.<sup>t</sup>

The death of Dominic, of which he had received supernatural intimations, took place at Bologna in 1221. It is said that a member of the order saw a golden ladder let down from heaven, and held at the top by the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, who drew it up until a friar who was at the bottom of it, and whose face was hidden by his cowl, had reached the bright opening above, while jubilant angels ascended and descended on either side; and it was afterwards found that the same hour in which this vision was seen, was that of Dominic's departure.<sup>u</sup> He was buried with great pomp by the cardinal-legate, Ugolino, bishop of Ostia<sup>x</sup> (afterwards Pope Gregory IX.); and after the miracles which he had done in his life had been far surpassed by those which followed his death, he was canonised by Gregory in 1233.<sup>y</sup>

The founder of the other great mendicant order, Francis, was born at Assisi, in 1182.<sup>z</sup> His father, a rich merchant, was then absent in France, and the mother gave the boy the name of John; but for this his father, on his return, substituted the name under which he has become famous.<sup>a</sup> Francis, accord-

storearum," in 1219. The Franciscans (as Wadding, i. 286-291) maintain that he was present; the Dominicans (as Echard, i. 77-81) deny it, and say that he was then in Spain. But, however this may be, it is certain that mendicancy began with the Franciscans, and almost certain that Dominic borrowed the idea. See *Acta SS.*, Aug. 4, pp. 484, seqq.; Oct. 4, pp. 865-872; Hélyot (a Franciscan), iii. 207; Schröckh, xxvii. 392; Vogel in Herzog, iii. 475. The brethren of Toulouse were ordered by the general chapter to resign their endowments; and it was not without much difficulty that they were brought to submit. *Acta SS.* 512.

<sup>r</sup> Humbert. de Romanis, ap. Quétif, i. 70; Schröckh, xxvii. 394, 399.

<sup>s</sup> There is a great controversy as to the original dress of the order. See Quétif and Echard, i. 71, seqq.

<sup>t</sup> See Schröckh, xxvii. 402; Lacordaire, 391; Milm. iv. 168-9.

<sup>u</sup> Jord. 70; Const. Urbev. 46; Theod. Appold. 233, seqq.; *Acta SS.* 518, 633-4. Some accounts say that there were two ladders.

<sup>x</sup> *Acta SS.* 493.

<sup>y</sup> Greg. Ep. 7, ap. Mansi, xxiii. 69; *Acta SS.* 526, seqq., 614, 624; Jord. 72, seqq., 88, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> Suysken, *Acta SS.*, Oct. 4, p. 555. In that volume are, among other things, the Lives of Francis, by Thomas of Celano, by his "Tres Socii," and by Bonaventura.

<sup>a</sup> III. Socii, 1. The name seems to

ing to his biographers, had been foretold by the Erythræan Sibyl, and typified in the Old Testament. St. John, in the Apocalypse, had described him as an "Angel ascending from the east;" he and Dominic were the "two staves, Beauty and Bands," of Zechariah's prophecy;<sup>b</sup> and, that the list of his conformities with the Saviour might begin with his birth, it is said that his mother, by the direction of an unknown visitor, repaired to a stable when about to bring him into the world.<sup>c</sup>

Francis in his early years followed his father's occupation, and for a time he gave himself up to habits which are rather to be despised as idle and extravagant than as profligate.<sup>d</sup> But he was sobered by a captivity of a year at Perugia, with which

Assisi had gone to war,<sup>e</sup> and, in consequence of some A.D. 1206.

visions which were afterwards vouchsafed to him, he resolved to change his course of life.<sup>f</sup> The severity of his religious exercises, the visions and raptures by which he was encouraged, the eccentric manifestations of his awakened spirit, need not be here detailed. He resolved to fulfil literally the precept "give to every one that asketh thee;" and when money failed him, he gave away his clothes. The condition of lepers struck him especially with pity. The misfortune of these sufferers, whose frightful disease was then very common, was aggravated by social disabilities which seem to have originated in the religious view of the leprosy as typical of sin. There was a solemn service for their seclusion from the world;<sup>g</sup> they were shut out from intercourse with men, and were treated as if dead.<sup>h</sup> Many houses had indeed been founded for their relief;<sup>i</sup>

have been given with a reference to the father's late expedition to France—not (as is said by Wadding, i. 21, and others) at a later time, on account of the boy's fondness for the French language (Suysken, 559). The 'Three Companions' say that the saint was more fond of that language than skilful in it. 10.

<sup>b</sup> (Revel. vii. 2; Zech. xi. 7.) *Liber Conformitatum*, 11, 13, ed. Bonon. 1590; Bonavent., Prolog.; Wadding, i. 14. "Funiculus" (Engl. *Bands*) in Zechariah was interpreted of the rope which the Franciscans used as a girdle. (The 'Liber Conformitatum,' by Bartholomew Albizzi, of Pisa, was written in 1385, and presented to the general chapter of the order in 1399. (Hase, 'Franz v. Assisi,' Leipz. 1856, p. 14.) Luther called it "Der Barfüsser Münche Eulenspiegel und Alcoran" (Werke, xxi. 424,

ed. Leipz. 1733), and translations of it in whole or in part have been published in various languages, in ridicule of the Franciscans—e. g. 'Alcoran of the Barefote Friars,' London, 1550; 'L'Alcoran des Cordeliers,' (Lat. and Fr.), 2 vols., Amsterd. 1734. The "Conformities" are forty in number, and profane history and mythology are drawn into the matter.

<sup>c</sup> Hase, 20-1.

<sup>d</sup> Thom. Celan. i. 3; III. Socii, 3; Wadding, i. 23-5; Suysken, in Act. SS. 560-1.

<sup>e</sup> III. Socii, 4.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 5, seqq.; Bonav. 7; T. Celan. 10; Suysken, 571.

<sup>g</sup> See Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, l. iil., c. 10.

<sup>h</sup> Miln. iv. 173; Trench on the *Miracles*, ed. 1, p. 214.

<sup>i</sup> See, e.g., the great number of letters relating to such houses among the epis-



but Francis resolved to show his charity in a different way. Overcoming the natural loathing which he very strongly felt, he tended and kissed the sores of the lepers, washed their feet, and consorted with them;<sup>k</sup> and early in this course it is said that he was rewarded by finding that a leper on whom he had bestowed his compassion miraculously disappeared.<sup>m</sup>

One day, as Francis was in the church of St. Damian, in devotion before a crucifix, a voice from it addressed him by name—"Repair my church, which is falling to ruin." The real meaning, as he is said to have afterwards discovered, related to the Church of Christ; but Francis supposed the old building of St. Damian's to be meant, and resolved to find the means of restoring it.<sup>n</sup> He sold a quantity of his father's cloth at Foligno, and, returning to Assisi, offered the price of it and of his horse to the priest of St. Damian's, who, however, was afraid to receive the money. Francis then began to beg in behalf of the restoration, but his "intoxication of Divine love" was taken for madness, and he was hooted and pelted by the mob.<sup>o</sup> His father cited him before the magistrates, for having stolen the price of the cloth which he had sold; but Francis refused to appear, on the ground that he was now the servant of God only; and the magistrates admitted that the case belonged to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.<sup>p</sup> The father was somewhat appeased by the recovery of his money, which Francis had thrown into a hole; but he summoned him before the bishop, that the young man might renounce his inheritance. Francis gladly obeyed; in the bishop's presence he stripped himself of all his clothing, except a shirt of hair which he was found to wear next his skin, and he declared that he owned no other father but Him who is in heaven.<sup>q</sup> Francis now put on the dress of a hermit; he continued to sing and to beg round the neighbourhood for the restoration of St. Damian's, and afterwards for that of two other churches; and his efforts were successful.<sup>r</sup> His father, whenever he saw him, loaded him with curses; but Francis, by way of antidote, took

tiles of Alexander III. Patrol. cc. Muratori says that there was hardly a city in Italy unprovided with a lazaret-house. Antiq. Ital. i. 907.

<sup>k</sup> St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, used to kiss lepers, "*quameunque deformes*." His chancellor, wishing to know whether he was pulled up on this account, said to him, "St. Martin healed a leper by his kiss, but you do not." "Martin's kiss," he replied, "healed the leper's

body, but the leper's kiss heals my soul." Wendov. iii. 158.

<sup>m</sup> Thom. Celan. 17; III. Socii, 11; Bonav. 11, 13, 22.

<sup>n</sup> III. Socii, 13; Bonav. 15-6.

<sup>o</sup> III. Socii, 17, 21; Bonav. 16-8.

<sup>p</sup> III. Socii, 14, and note; Bonav. 18. On the questions of morality involved in these proceedings, see Suysken, 567-570.

<sup>q</sup> III. Socii, 19; Bonav. 19; Suysken, 570. <sup>r</sup> T. Celan. 21; Bonav. 23.

for his companion a beggar whom he styled his father, and whose business it was at every curse to utter a blessing, and to make the sign of the cross.<sup>s</sup>

Hearing in church the Saviour's charge to His apostles, that they should go forth without staff or scrip or shoes or changes of raiment, Francis exclaimed that this was what he had been seeking for; and, throwing away his staff and shoes, and all his clothes except a single coarse frock, he girt himself with a rope, A.D. 1209, and set forth as a preacher of repentance.<sup>t</sup> By degrees or 1210. he gathered disciples, and when their number amounted to eleven, he drew up a rule for them, and resolved to seek the pope's approval.<sup>u</sup> Innocent at first hesitated, apparently from an apprehension that the proposed discipline might be found too severe after the first enthusiasm of the brotherhood should have passed away. But Cardinal John of St. Paul's strongly advocated the new institution, and the pope eventually sanctioned it, in consequence, it is said, of a dream, in which he saw the Lateran Church in danger of falling, and Francis propping it up. He conferred on Francis and his brethren the clerical tonsure, and the authority to preach;<sup>x</sup> and as they returned to Assisi their addresses were everywhere heard by enthusiastic crowds, who pressed around Francis and tore his dress to pieces in their eagerness to possess some relic of him. It is said, also, that he performed a multitude of miracles.<sup>y</sup> The church of St. Mary in Portiuncula at Assisi—one of the three churches which Francis had restored, and the original cradle of the order—was given up to them,<sup>z</sup> and the Franciscans speedily spread into all lands,<sup>a</sup> their propagation being accelerated by the principle of mendicancy, which rendered endowments needless. Francis doubted for a time whether he should devote himself to prayer and contemplation or to preaching; but the question was decided by an intimation from heaven that it was his work to labour for the

<sup>s</sup> III. Socii, 23.

<sup>t</sup> T. Celan. 22 (a note gives Feb. 24, 1209, as the probable date); Wadding, i. 47.

<sup>u</sup> III. Socii, 46; Bonav. 34. For the Rule, see Wadding, i. 67; Wendov. v. 241, seqq.

<sup>x</sup> T. Celan. 33-6; III. Socii, 49-52; Bonav. 36-8; Suysken, 590-1. There is a strange account of this affair in R. Wendover, iv. 151. Francis was afterwards ordained deacon; but the date is uncertain. Bonav. 86; Suysken, 643-5.

<sup>y</sup> T. Celan. 36, 62-3.

<sup>z</sup> III. Socii, 32, 55-6; Bonav. 45.

<sup>a</sup> There is a story that the first of them who appeared in Germany, being ignorant of the language, answered *Ja* to everything. When asked whether they were heretics, and had come to turn the Germans from the faith, they replied as usual; whereupon they were hardly used, and for a time Germany was a country into which no Franciscan would go, except such as were desirous of martyrdom. Wadding, A.D. 1216. 10. Suysken's date for this is 1219. Acta SS. 609.



good of others.<sup>b</sup> The brethren, therefore, addressed themselves especially to the work of preaching and teaching among the poorest classes; and thus they acquired an influence which made the order very powerful and important.<sup>c</sup>

In 1212 a sisterhood was founded in connexion with the order by Clara Sciffi, a noble maiden of Assisi, who left her father's house to place herself under the guidance of Francis.<sup>d</sup> The life of these sisters, who are commonly styled after the name of their foundress, was very rigid;<sup>e</sup> some of them, it is said, had become so accustomed to silence, that, when compelled to speak, they could hardly form the words.<sup>f</sup> Clara herself, although she supported her excessive mortifications with continual cheerfulness,<sup>g</sup> is said to have never raised her head so high that the colour of her eyes could be seen, except on the single occasion of receiving the papal blessing.<sup>h</sup> On her death-bed, in 1253, she was visited by Innocent IV., and in 1255 she was canonized by Alexander IV.<sup>i</sup> To the friars and the sisters was added in 1221 the class of "Tertiaries," or "Brethren of Penitence,"—persons who without forsaking secular life, or even the marriage-tie, connected themselves with the order by undertaking certain obligations, such as to dress plainly, to live soberly, to carry no weapon of offence, and to perform stated devotions.<sup>k</sup> And, as in the case of the Dominicans, this link between the order and the world was found a powerful means of strength and influence.

Francis studied humility in its extremest form, and enjoined it on his disciples. When the multitude expressed admiration of his sanctity, he used to command one of the friars to load him with abuse.<sup>m</sup> To one of his brethren it was revealed in a vision that the seat from which an angel had fallen by pride was reserved as a reward for the humility of Francis.<sup>n</sup> His followers were charged to court contempt, and to be uneasy when they met with usage of an opposite kind. They were not to be called Brethren, but Little Brethren (*fraticelli*); they were to be Minorites, as being less than all others. They were not to accept ecclesiasti-

<sup>b</sup> The circumstances of this are variously related, and the date is matter of question. See Bonav. 40-1, 170-3; Suysken, 631; Milman, iv. 174.

<sup>c</sup> Neand. vii. 383.

<sup>d</sup> Wadding, i. 123-5; Suysken, 598; III. Socii, 24; Engelhardt in Herzog, iv. 468; Acta SS. Aug. xii. 742; Vita, 6-8, ib.

<sup>e</sup> Acta SS. Aug. xii. 743-4; Vita, 17, seqq.

<sup>f</sup> T. Celan. 18-20.

<sup>g</sup> Vita, 18.

<sup>h</sup> Milman, iv. 175.

<sup>i</sup> Wadding, iii. 298-9, 373-6. See her testament in the same volume, 299.

<sup>k</sup> Bonav. 46; Wadding, ii. 7, 9, seqq. (where their rule is given); Suysken, 631. The Dominican tertiaries have been already mentioned, p. 367. There had been a similar order in connexion with the Præmonstratensians.

<sup>m</sup> Bonav. 72.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. 79.

cal dignities ; there was to be no prior among them, but their superintendents were to be styled ministers, as being the servants of all.<sup>o</sup> To the clergy they were to show profound reverence—if they met a priest riding, they were to kiss his horse's feet.<sup>p</sup> They were to be content with the poorest dress ; a coarse frock, patched and clouted again and again, if necessary, a cord round the waist, and a pair of drawers, were all that a friar ought to possess.<sup>q</sup> Their food was to be of corresponding quality ; Francis stinted himself even in his allowance of water, although, when he mixed in society, he conformed to the usages of those around him.<sup>r</sup> Yet he forbade extreme austerity. When a friar had almost starved himself to death, Francis encouraged him by his own example to take food, and, in speaking of the case to the rest of his companions, he told them to imitate not the eating but the love.<sup>s</sup> When some of his followers had injured themselves by their severities, he forbade all “ indiscreet adinventions ” by way of penance, such as the use of cuirasses, chains, or rings confining the flesh, and all endeavours of one to outstrip another in religion.<sup>t</sup> Among the forms under which pride was to be combated, Francis greatly dreaded the pride of learning. His own education had been scanty, but it was supposed that the knowledge of Divine things came to him miraculously,<sup>u</sup> and he seems to have expected his followers to learn in the same manner. When one of them expressed some difficulty as to parting with his books, he told him that his books must not be allowed to corrupt the Gospel, by which the friars were bound to have nothing of their own. From another he took away even a psalter, telling him that, if that book were allowed him, he would next wish for a breviary, and then for other books, until he would become a great doctor of the chair, and would imperiously thunder out to his humble companion orders to fetch such books as he might require. He then astonished the novice by scattering ashes on his head, rubbing them on it with his hand, and telling him that he himself had been reclaimed from the temptation of wishing for learning by opening the Gospels at the text—“ To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to others in parables ; ” that the knowledge of Christ crucified was all in all.<sup>x</sup> To the sisters of St. Clare, if they could

<sup>o</sup> T. Celan. 38 ; Bonav. 78 ; Schröckh, xxvii. 415. For details of the life of the early Franciscans, see Th. de Eccleston, in ‘ Monumenta Franciscana,’ ed. Brewer.

<sup>p</sup> III. Socii, 57.

<sup>q</sup> T. Celan. 39 ; Wadding, A.D. 1220. 34.

<sup>r</sup> Bonav. 57.

<sup>s</sup> Bonav. 65 ; Suysk. 600.

<sup>t</sup> Wadding, i. 294.

<sup>u</sup> Bonav. 151.

<sup>x</sup> Wadding, i. 346.



not read, the permission even to learn was not given without insisting on humility of mind as a condition.<sup>y</sup> Yet when asked at a general chapter whether men of learning might be admitted into the order, Francis replied that they might, because learning was not without its uses.<sup>z</sup>

Francis was remarkable for his love of animals, which he treated as reasonable creatures.<sup>a</sup> He often bought off lambs which were on their way to the slaughter, and in the church of the Portiuncula he kept a sheep which, without any training (as we are told), used to take part in the services by kneeling and bleating.<sup>b</sup> He preached to attentive audiences of birds on the benefits for which it was their duty to thank their Creator. Once, as he was about to preach, and found that some swallows were making a noise, he addressed them—"Sisters, you have spoken enough for the present, and it is my turn; be silent, and listen to the word of God."<sup>c</sup> He spoke to the fishes, to the worms, and even to the flowers.<sup>d</sup> His love of personification embraced all sorts of objects. His own body he spoke of as "Brother ass," on account of the heavy burdens which it was to bear and the hard usage which it was to experience;<sup>e</sup> when about to undergo an operation of cauterization, he addressed the fire as his brother, and begged it to deal gently with him;<sup>f</sup> and it is said that in his last moments he uttered the words, "Welcome, Sister Death!"<sup>g</sup> He saw, says an early biographer, the Creator in all His creatures;<sup>h</sup> and it has been conjectured that the pantheism with which the order was afterwards infected may perhaps be traced to the founder's love of nature, and to his fondness for personifying it.<sup>i</sup>

Francis was desirous to preach to the infidels, and, if possible,

<sup>y</sup> "Quod si juvenculæ aliquæ, vel etiam grandiores, capaces ingenii et humiles fuerint, si abbatissæ visum fuerit, faciat eas edoceri." Innoc. IV. in Wadding, A.D. 1219. 46.

<sup>z</sup> Wadding, i. 295. His 'Opuscula' are printed with the works of St. Antony of Padua, Stadt im Hof, 1739, fol.

<sup>a</sup> Hase, c. x.

<sup>b</sup> Bonav. 109-10; T. Celan. 77. Finding that the neighbourhood of Gubbio was held in terror by the ravages of a wolf, he went out fearlessly to meet the beast, addressed him as "Brother Wolf," brought him to a sense of his wickedness in slaying not only brute animals, but human creatures, and promised that, if he would desist from such practices, the citizens of Gubbio would maintain him. The wolf, in token of agreement,

put his paw into the saint's right hand, and accompanied him to the town, where the people gladly ratified the compact. The wolf then spent the rest of his days in innocence and competence, and died of old age, universally lamented. Liber Conformitatum, 140; Fioretti di S. Franc., translated by Ozanam, 'Poètes Franciscains,' 354.

<sup>c</sup> T. Celan. 58-9; Bonav. 115; Wadding, iv. 152.

<sup>d</sup> T. Celan. 80-1.

<sup>e</sup> III. Socii, 14; Bonav. 64. So the hermit St. Hilarion addressed his body—"Ego, aselle, faciam ut non calcitres." Hieron., Vita S. Hilar. 5 (Patrol. xxiii.).

<sup>f</sup> Bonav. 67.

<sup>g</sup> Milman, iv. 179 (from a life printed at Foligno).

<sup>h</sup> Vita II., quoted by Suysken, 629.

<sup>i</sup> Neand. vii. 382.

to finish his life by martyrdom. With this view he embarked for Syria in 1212, but was driven back by storms.<sup>k</sup> In 1213 or the following year, he set out with a like design for Morocco; but when he had gone as far as Spain, a serious illness compelled him to give up the attempt.<sup>m</sup> In 1219 he and twelve companions sailed for Egypt, and joined the crusading force, which had just taken Damietta.<sup>n</sup> The Sultan of Egypt treated him with much respect, but declined to let the question between Christianity and Islam be decided by an ordeal, in which Francis offered to go into a fire with some Mahometan teachers, or even alone; and Francis returned to Italy after having foretold to the Crusaders the reverses which soon after came on them.<sup>o</sup> About the same time when Francis went into the east, five of his followers were sent into Morocco, where they were cruelly tortured and put to death in the following year, and thus reflected on the new brotherhood the glory of their martyrdom.<sup>p</sup>

In the mean time the order was growing rapidly. In 1216, the first general chapter was held; and in 1219, before the founder's departure for the east, another general chapter was assembled, at which as many as five thousand friars were present.<sup>q</sup> The devils, it is said, alarmed at the progress of the new enemy, held equally numerous chapters in opposition; but their machinations were revealed in visions, and were foiled by the devotion of Francis and his brethren.<sup>r</sup> At the Lateran Council, in 1215, Innocent declared his full approbation of the order;<sup>s</sup> but the first formal charter bestowed on it was given by Honorius III., who, in 1223, at the request of the founder, confirmed a stricter rule which Francis had then drawn up, and appointed Cardinal Ugolino (afterwards Pope Gregory IX.) to be protector of the Minorites.<sup>t</sup>

In 1224 Francis is said to have received the "stigmata" (or marks of the crucifixion), by which his conformity to the Saviour was supposed to be completed. He had retired to a mountain called Alvernia, among the Apennines, near Bibbiena, to keep a fast of forty days in honour of the archangel Michael, when in an

<sup>k</sup> T. Celan. 55; Bonav. 129-131; cal Works, vi. 166, ed. 1838).  
Suysken, 601; Wadding, i. 197.

<sup>m</sup> T. Celan. 56; Bonav. 132; Wadding, i. 198; Suysk. 602-3.

<sup>n</sup> See below, p. 383.

<sup>o</sup> T. Celan. 57; Bonav. 136-7, 154-5; Suysk. 613; Wilken, vi. 312-3; Dante, Parad. xi. 100-4.

<sup>p</sup> Wadding, A.D. 1219. 48, seqq.; 1220. 38, seqq. Dean Milman refers to Southey's ballad of "Queen Orraca" (Poeti-

<sup>q</sup> Bonaventura mentions the number, but not the occasion (52). See Wadding, i. 246, 257, 284-291.

<sup>r</sup> Wadding, i. 294-6.

<sup>s</sup> Id., A.D. 1215. 33; Dante, Parad. xi. 91-3.

<sup>t</sup> T. Celan. 100; III. Socii, 61-5; Dante, l. c. 97-9; Wadding, i. 263, seqq.; ii. 64; Suysken, 604, 635, seqq.



ecstasy of devotion he saw a seraph with six wings, either crucified, or bearing between two of his wings a figure of the crucified Saviour.<sup>u</sup> The vision deeply affected him; and forthwith he began to feel in his own body the likeness of the wounds which he had seen. It is stated that in his hands and in his feet the flesh grew out into the likeness of the nails by which the Saviour was fixed to the cross—the heads appearing on one side, and the points, sharp and somewhat turned back, on the other; while his side seemed as if pierced by a lance, and blood issued from the wounds.<sup>x</sup> We are told that, although he tried to conceal these marks, they were seen by many persons while he was yet alive,<sup>y</sup> and that the miracles wrought by them after his death converted many who until then had doubted.<sup>z</sup> Francis survived the reception of the stigmata two years,<sup>a</sup> during which he suffered greatly from illness of various kinds. Finding his end approaching, he desired that he might be carried into the church of the Portiuncula, where he solemnly blessed his weeping brethren, and breathed his last lying on a shirt of hair, and sprinkled with penitential ashes.<sup>b</sup> His soul was seen in the

Oct. 4,  
1226.

<sup>u</sup> Both accounts of the vision are given. See T. Celan. 94-5; III. Socii, 69; Bonav. 191; Suysken, 648. In 1287, a lay brother had a vision of St. Francis, who told him that the seraph was the Saviour Himself. This revelation was adopted by the order. Acta SS., Octob. t. ii. 860.

<sup>x</sup> Pope Nicolas IV. says that the nails were not on the outside only, "sed in interiora per carnem et nervos et ossa impressa" (Wadding, v. 267); and the author of the '*Liber Conformitatum*' tells us that "Clavi ipsi erant a carne divisi; inter ipsos autem et carnem erat apertura, unde semper sanguis exibat, ad cuius repressionem (excepto a vespere diei Jovis usque ad sero diei Veneris sequentis) semper peciæ interponebantur.....Clavi movebantur; et tamen nec a manibus nec a pedibus removeri poterunt, cum beata Clara et alii hoc facere attentassent" (298).

<sup>y</sup> Bonav. 194-5, 200; T. Celan. 94-5; Wadding, ii. 89-90. Hase, however, argues that no one but Elias (afterwards general of the order), pretended to have seen the wounds during the life of Francis, and that the legend was invented immediately after his death (143, seqq.). The early accounts vary greatly. Thus, Wendover says that Francis received the stigmata only a fortnight before his death; that he foretold that when he died the wounds would close, and that they disappeared accordingly (iv. 154).

James de Voragine (a Dominican), at the end of the same century, supposes that in Francis the imagination acted so powerfully as to produce the stigmata (Sermo iii. de S. Franc., quoted by Gieseler II., ii. 349). Perhaps a more probable explanation may be that Francis, having wrought himself up to a state of high excitement, inflicted the wounds on himself, as other persons are known to have done in the same age. Thus it is related that a marquis of Montferrand (of whom the account is remarkable in other respects), "stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore suo portaverat.....cum quibusdam clavis carnem suam singulis sextis feriis usque ad sanguinis effusionem configebat" (Steph. de Borbone, in D'Argentré, i. 85). And at a council held by Abp. Langton, at Oxford, in 1222 (two years before the stigmata are said to have been received by Francis), a rustic, "qui se fecerat Christum, et perforaverat sibimet manus et latus et pedes" was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Annal. Dunstapl. p. 76; Trivet, 210-1.

<sup>z</sup> III. Socii, 70; Bonav. 218, 225, seqq. As to the stigmata, see Schröckh, xxvii. 436; Neand. vii. 382.

<sup>a</sup> "Nel crudo sasso, intra Tevere ed Arno,  
Da Cristo prese l'ultimo sigillo,  
Che le sue membre due anni portarno."  
Dante, *Parad.* xi. 106-8.

<sup>b</sup> T. Celan. 98-108. He desired to be buried in the place of criminals, without

form of a star more dazzling than the sun, which was conveyed on a luminous cloud over many waters to the "abyss of brightness."<sup>c</sup> In 1228, he was canonized by Gregory IX.;<sup>d</sup> and both by that pope and by some of his successors, the story of the stigmata was affirmed as true.<sup>e</sup> Alexander IV. decreed that any one who should speak against it was to be excommunicated, and that the power of absolving from the offence was reserved to the pope alone.<sup>f</sup>

The later history of the Franciscans will come before us hereafter. A temperate historian has pronounced that at the time of the Reformation these were "perhaps the most profoundly corrupted of all the orders."<sup>g</sup>

X. The fourth general council of the Lateran, to which Innocent had long looked forward, met in November 1215.<sup>h</sup> There were present at it two claimants of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, the titular patriarch of Jerusalem, seventy-seven primates and metropolitans, four hundred and twelve bishops, and more than eight hundred abbots, with ambassadors from Christian powers, and a vast number of deputies for bishops, chapters, and monasteries: the whole number of persons entitled to attend the sittings is reckoned at 2283.<sup>i</sup> The busi-

Nov. 11.      ness began on St. Martin's day, when the pope preached on the text "With desire I have desired to eat this

passover with you before I suffer."<sup>k</sup> But the work of this great assemblage was hardly equal to the expectations which had been raised by the laborious preparations for it, and by its unequalled numbers and splendour. The part which it took in the affairs of England and of southern France has been already mentioned. Arrangements were made for a crusade to the east, which was to be carried out in the following year; but, although Innocent himself declared his intention of taking part in the enterprise, and wrote many letters in pursuance of this resolution, the execution of it was frustrated by his death.<sup>m</sup>

the city, and his wish was fulfilled; but the great church was built over the spot, and it was enclosed within the walls of Assisi. Benven. *Imol. in Murat. Antiq.* i. 1257.

<sup>c</sup> T. Celan. 110; III. Socii, 68; Bonav. 213.

<sup>d</sup> T. Celan. 122-6; Wadding, ii. 177; iv. 201-3.

<sup>e</sup> Raynald. 1237.60; 1291.44; Suysken, 653; Wadding, ii. 426; iii. 377; v. 88.

<sup>f</sup> Wadding, iv. 105-6.

<sup>g</sup> Ranke, *Hist. of Popes*, transl. by Mrs. Austin, ed. 2, i. 172.

<sup>h</sup> It had been announced two years and a half before. Epp. xvi. 30, seqq.

<sup>i</sup> Wendov. iii. 341; Hurter, ii. 633. The claimants of Constantinople were both set aside, and another was appointed. Hefele, v. 778.

<sup>k</sup> St. Luke, xxii. 15. The Sermon is in Patrol. ccxvii. 673, seqq.

<sup>m</sup> Hard. vii. 71-8; Patrol. ccxvii. 233; Wendov. iii. 342, seqq.



But the fourth Lateran Council is chiefly memorable for two canons relating to matters of doctrine and discipline respectively—the 1st, which for the first time laid down by the authority of the whole western Church the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Eucharist;<sup>n</sup> and the 21st, which prescribed for every Catholic Christian the duty of confessing once a year at least to his own priest, and of yearly receiving the holy Eucharist at Easter.<sup>o</sup>

The words which Innocent had chosen as the theme of his sermon before the council were speedily found to have had an undesigned prophetic meaning. In the following summer, he fell sick at Perugia, when on his way to reconcile the enmities of the Genoese and the Pisans.<sup>p</sup> The seriousness of his ailment was not suspected, so that he indulged freely in eating fruit; and in consequence, as is supposed, of this imprudence, he died on the 16th of July, 1216, at the age of fifty-five.

In this great pope the power of the Roman see had been carried to its utmost height; those who came after him, by endeavouring to advance it yet higher, provoked a reaction which proved disastrous to it. Innocent's pontificate began at the early age of thirty-seven, and to the end of it he enjoyed the full vigour of his powers. He was exempted from the rough personal collisions, from the necessity of fleeing to the compassion of foreign princes, and from the other humiliations which had befallen many of his predecessors; in every quarter he appeared to be successful and triumphant; and his character, in which much that was generous and amiable mingled in an unusual degree with the qualities which tended to secure an ecclesiastical despotism, was fitted to take off from the invidiousness of his success. "He was dreaded by all," says an English chronicler, "above all the popes who for many years had gone before him."<sup>q</sup> Other writers express thankfulness to God that under Innocent the Catholic Church triumphed over three kinds of enemies—the schismatics of the east, the heretics of the west, and the Saracens of the south.<sup>r</sup> And he had carried out with a high hand in every country of western Europe his policy of establishing

<sup>n</sup> "Cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate Domini."

<sup>o</sup> If one wished to confess to some other priest, it was necessary to get the leave of his own pastor, as otherwise the

other would not be entitled to loose or to bind.

<sup>p</sup> Trivet, 195.

<sup>q</sup> Hoved. contin. ap. Bouq. xviii. 170.

<sup>r</sup> Arnold. Cisterc. ap. Bouq. xix. 253 (letter to Innocent on the victory of Navas de Tolosa); Annal. Waverl., A.D. 1212.

the papal authority as paramount over that of secular princes. Yet his success was more apparent than real; it was chequered by important failures, and in some cases temporary success bore within it the seeds of future reverses.<sup>s</sup> As to Germany and the empire of the west, his policy would have utterly failed but for the assassination of Philip of Swabia; the emperor of his own choice turned against him, so that Innocent was obliged to set up in rivalry to Otho the natural heir, whom he had before thrust aside, and to consent to that union of Sicily with Germany under the rule of the Hohenstaufen, which the papal policy had long laboured to render impossible.<sup>t</sup> And, although his guardianship of Frederick may not have been unfaithful, yet, as being in the interest of the papacy only, it left impressions on the young prince's mind which were amply shown in his later history, to the detriment of Innocent's successors. The Eastern Crusade, which Innocent had laboured to set on foot, was diverted from its proper object to one which he found himself bound to denounce; and, although the splendour of the immediate result prevailed over his feelings of indignation, the power which the Latins thus founded in the east was sickly from the first; it tended to increase, instead of healing, the division between the Greek and the Latin churches; and after a few years of wretched decay, it came to an end. The crusade against the Albigenses, although successful, was attended with so much of cruelty and injustice that Innocent's connexion with it has left a deep stain on his reputation; and his eulogists find themselves driven to plead in his excuse that he whose eye watched over all Christendom knew no better than continually to choose unfit and untrustworthy agents; to be guided by their interested and untrue reports, and, when warned of their misdeeds, and stirred to some ineffectual attempts at redress, still to continue his reliance on them.<sup>u</sup> His sanction of the mendicant orders was contrary to his own first judgment, and, notwithstanding the powerful help and support which the papacy derived from those orders, there was more than enough in their later history to justify his original distrust of them. And in England, where the pope's immediate

<sup>s</sup> Hase, *Kircheng.* 239.

<sup>t</sup> Leibnitz has printed (ii. 525-532) a very curious metrical dialogue in Latin, between Rome and Innocent—Rome pleading for Otho, and at last, with vehement invective against the inexorable pope, appealing to a council,

which disclaims the right to depose popes but pronounces for the deposition of Frederick, and the restoration of Otho. See Milman, iv. 187.

<sup>u</sup> There is some very injudicious advocacy of Innocent as to this in Hurter, ii. 693, seqq.



triumph was most signal, it proved in the end disastrous to the papacy. He himself lived to find that the primate whom he had imposed against the will of the king and in contempt of the right of election, took the lead in asserting the claims of the national church against the papal usurpations. And from the surrender of the crown by the wretched John, the English spirit took a more strongly anti-papal impulse, which, after continual provocation from the assumptions, the corruptions, and the outrageous exactions of Rome, prepared men's minds for revolt against the dominion of the papacy.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>x</sup> See Milman, iv. 186. There is a seen in torments. See a discussion as to story that Innocent after his death was the truth of this in Raynaldus, 1216. 11-2.

## CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE HONORIUS III. TO THE DEATH OF INNOCENT IV.

A.D. 1216—1254.

THE successor of Innocent, Cencio Savelli, who took the name of Honorius III., was a man of mild and gentle character. He was bent on carrying out the project of a crusade,<sup>a</sup> and within a few days after his election he issued a letter inciting the Christians of the west to take arms in the holy cause. No one who had bound himself by the crusading vow was allowed to excuse himself; but those who, being unable to undertake the expedition in person, should aid it by furnishing substitutes or money, were to share in the privileges of Crusaders.<sup>b</sup> The pope earnestly exhorted that all feuds and discords should be laid aside; and he strongly insisted on the necessity of concerted action as being more effective than isolated efforts. But it was found that a general apathy had succeeded to the enthusiasm with which such enterprises had once been hailed. The collection of money went on slowly, and not without suspicion as to the truth of the professed object; while the enlistment of men was yet slower.<sup>c</sup> Many of the clergy refused to pay their contribution of a twentieth; the pope found it necessary to arm the collectors with additional powers, to repeat his exhortations again and again, to rebuke the supineness of his flock, and to threaten them with the censures of the church.<sup>d</sup> In one of his letters he quotes by way of incitement an assurance from the Grand-master of the Templars that Mahometanism was in a state of unexampled weakness, that it was daily declining, and that now was the time to strike.<sup>e</sup> The war against the heretics of southern France was still allowed to

<sup>a</sup> The Auersperg chronicler says that Honorius expected the recovery of Jerusalem to take place in his time, in consequence of a prediction made to him in early life by a venerable personage, who was supposed to be St. Peter. 244.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. ad Ducem Burgund. ap. Bouq. xix. 620; other letters in Raynald. 1217. 27, seqq. Such dispensations as were granted were costly. The bishop of Durham, although he could plead advanced age, had to pay 1000 marks; and a still larger sum was exacted from

the Duke of Poland, who said that he could not go because it had become a second nature with him to drink beer and mead. Raumer, iii. 138.

<sup>c</sup> See, e.g., Gerv. Præmonstr. ap. Bouq. xix. 619. This abbot tells the pope that the poorer people who are zealous for the crusade can find no one to direct them; the nobles are indifferent, the clergy are insufficient. Cf. Chron. Ursperg. 244.

<sup>d</sup> Raumer, ii. 143.

<sup>e</sup> Bouq. xix. 640.



count in some degree as an equivalent for the war of the Holy Land; but Honorius refused to extend a like privilege to a war against the heathens of Prussia.<sup>f</sup>

From the greater sovereigns of Europe, no personal service was to be obtained for the projected holy war. Philip of France was not to be drawn into a second expedition to the east.<sup>g</sup> Henry of England was a child; and the elect emperor Frederick, although he had taken the cross at Aix-la-Chapelle with an enthusiasm which at the time was probably sincere, was unable to leave Europe so long as his rival Otho yet lived, and as the state of his dominions on both sides of the Alps was in other respects unsettled. It was, therefore, in vain that Honorius urged him by repeated applications to the fulfilment of his crusading vow.<sup>h</sup> The Latin empire of Constantinople was miserably weak. On the death of the second emperor, Henry, in 1216, Peter of Courtenay, Count of Auxerre,<sup>i</sup> was chosen as his successor, and on the 9th of April in the following year he was crowned by the pope in the basilica of St. Laurence, near Rome, as the Romans would not allow the ceremony to be performed within the walls, lest it should be construed as bestowing any sovereignty over their city.<sup>k</sup> But, having been treacherously invited to take his way to Constantinople through Epirus, he was seized by the lord of that country, Theodore, and committed to prison, in which he died.<sup>m</sup> The elder of his sons declined the Byzantine crown; the younger, Robert, who accepted it, degraded the empire by his stupidity and indolence, his cowardice and his dissolute life.<sup>n</sup> The Greek and the Latin clergy continued to quarrel with unabated vehemence. The Frank laity refused to pay dues to their clergy, and resisted all attempts to enforce ecclesiastical discipline; the monastic communities boldly defied their bishops; while the patriarch, although unable to control his own flock, provoked the pope by claiming not only independence of the Roman see but equality with it,<sup>o</sup> and the territory of the empire was con-

<sup>f</sup> Raumer, ii. 138.

<sup>g</sup> See Bouq. xix. 731.

<sup>h</sup> Rayn. 1219. 5, 9, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Peter had been compelled some years before to disinter with his own hands the body of one of his followers, which he had buried in defiance of an interdiction, and to carry it on his shoulders to the public burial-ground, walking barefooted and in his shirt. Rob. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 269; ib. 728; Art. de Verif. xi. 223.

<sup>k</sup> Rob. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 284;

Reiner. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 58; Rayn. 1217. 4-12; Gibbon, vi. 60. The church of St. Laurence was restored and greatly enlarged by Honorius. Bern. Guid. in Murat. iii. 568; Gregorov. v. 619. See Handbook of Rome.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Foss. Nov. in Murat. vii. 895; R. Sangerm. ib. 990; R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 285; Honor. ib. xix. 638; G. Acropol. 14.

<sup>n</sup> Gibbon, vi. 61; Raumer, iii. 162.

<sup>o</sup> G. Aerop. 17; Raumer, iii. 162; Hurter, ii. 687.

tinually diminishing through the successes of the Greek princes who had established themselves on its borders, both in Asia and in Europe.<sup>p</sup> From Constantinople, therefore, it was certain that no help was to be obtained for the recovery of the Holy Land.

In 1217, Andrew, king of Hungary, made his way by Cyprus to Acre, where a large force, including many German princes and prelates, was already assembled. But there was much discord and disorder among the host; and King Andrew, alarmed by the sickness and death of many around him, hastened to return home, in defiance of the ecclesiastical censures which were threatened, and after his departure were pronounced, by the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>q</sup> From Cologne and the Lower Rhine an expedition set out in three hundred vessels—in consequence, it is said, of the appearance of fiery crosses and other portentous signs in the sky.<sup>r</sup> Some of these Crusaders, on landing at Lisbon, yielded to the request of Alfonso II. of Portugal, that they would assist him against the Saracens; and, after having gained a victory for their ally, a part of them entreated the pope that they might be allowed to remain a year for further service of the same kind. But Honorius replied that they had done enough for Spain, and at his command they proceeded to Acre.<sup>s</sup>

Agreeably to the design of the Lateran council,<sup>t</sup> the chief force of the Crusaders sailed for Egypt, under the command of John, a brother of Walter of Brienne, and, like him, a brave and skilful warrior.<sup>u</sup> John had married, in 1210, Iolanthe, the daughter of Sibylla, by Conrad of Montferrat, and by her had become the father of a daughter of the same name. The elder Iolanthe had died in 1212; and in right of her and of her daughter John of Brienne claimed the kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>x</sup> Among the other chiefs were the Duke of Austria, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Cardinal Robert Curzon, and a Portuguese ecclesiastic named Pelagius, who bore the commission of

<sup>p</sup> Raumer, ii. 162. In 1124 Honorius wrote to Louis of France, entreating him to help the empire. Bouq. xix. 754.

<sup>q</sup> Bern. Thesaur. 187 (Murat. vii.); Annal. Claustronenburg. in Pertz, ix. 622; Hist. Capt. Damietæ, 3, in Gale, ii.

<sup>r</sup> Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1115; Hist. Capt. Dam. 6. See Wilken, vi. 166.

<sup>s</sup> Bern. Thesaur. 189; Raynald. 1217. 35-8; Wilken, vi. 175-6.

<sup>t</sup> See Wilken, vi. 180.

<sup>u</sup> Salimbene thus describes him—  
"Erat enim magnus et grossus et longus

statura, robustus et fortis et doctus ad prælium, et quando in bello cum clava ferrea percutiebat, ita fugiebant Saraceni a facie ejus sicut si vidissent diabolum. Revera non fuit tempore suo, uti dicebatur, miles in mundo melior eo." When being armed for battle, he used to tremble "sicut juncus in aqua," and, on being asked the reason, he said that he feared, not for his body, but lest his soul should not be right with God. 16.

<sup>x</sup> Innoc. Ep. vii. 27; Hurter, ii. 353; Raumer, iii. 64.



papal legate.<sup>y</sup> The first object of attack was Damietta, which, after a siege which detained them sixteen months, fell into the hands of the Crusaders. The inhabitants had been so much reduced by famine, pestilence, and the sword, that out of 80,000 only 3000 wretches are said to have remained alive; the air was tainted by the smell of corpses—some of them partly eaten by the miserable survivors; yet even in the midst of these horrors the captors could not restrain their cruelty and rapacity.<sup>z</sup> The report of this conquest was received in Europe with exultation, and afforded the pope a fresh ground for exhorting to the crusade;<sup>a</sup> but it was not followed by any further successes. The army became enervated and demoralized.<sup>b</sup> King John and the legate quarrelled, and John for a time withdrew from the expedition to prosecute a claim in right of his second wife to the kingdom of Armenia.<sup>c</sup> After his return, the Crusaders, who had been reinforced by fresh arrivals,<sup>d</sup> advanced towards Cario, but found their way barred by an overwhelming force of infidels, and began to fall back towards Damietta. The legate by his obstinacy prevented the acceptance of favourable terms offered by the sultan, Malek al Kameel; and the Crusaders were soon reduced to great distress.<sup>e</sup> Many of them perished by pestilence, many by the sword, many were carried away by the opening of a sluice which let loose on them the waters of the Nile; their vessels were in great part destroyed by the enemy;<sup>f</sup> and at length they were fain to accept a truce for eight years, by which Damietta was to be relinquished, unless in the meantime some sovereign of the west should take up the crusade.<sup>g</sup> The prisoners on both sides were to be surrendered, and the sultan promised to give up the true cross, “not, however, that

Nov. 5,  
1219.July 17,  
1220.

Aug. 26.

Aug. 30.

<sup>y</sup> Bern. Thes. 190, 193, 205; Hist. Capt. Dam. 10. See Ciacon. ii. 26.

<sup>z</sup> “De Saracenis vero tot ceciderant in ore gladii quod etiam nobis displicuit admirari.” (Letter of the legate and others to the pope. Patrol. ccvii. 195.) Cf. Hist. Capt. Dam. 18; Bern. Thes. 200; Ric. Sangerm. in Murat. vii. 990; R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 289. Cardinal Curzon died during the siege (Jac. Vitriac. in Mart. Thes. iii. 296). James of Vitry's letters during this crusade are interesting.

<sup>a</sup> Bouq. xix. 663, 668.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Capt. Dam. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Bern. Thes. 204; Honor. ap. Raynald. 1220. 55; ap. Bouq. xix. 690-1.

Bernard says that John beat his Armenian wife to death for having attempted to poison her stepdaughter, and that the Armenians would not receive him because she was not with him (205). This wife is not acknowledged in the ‘Art de Vérifier les Dates,’ v. 70.

<sup>d</sup> Wilken, vi. 304.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Capt. Dam. 16; Bern. Thes. 199, 200, 206; R. Altissiod. 288; Chron. Ursip. 246.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Capt. Dam. 11; Wilken, vi. 337.

<sup>g</sup> R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 286; Chron. Turon., ib. 302; Bern. Thes. 206; Raumer, iii. 153-4; Wilken, vi. 346.

which had been lost at Tiberias.”<sup>h</sup> The sultan behaved with great humanity to the Crusaders, supplying provisions to those of them who were in want.<sup>1</sup>

The pope was greatly distressed by the failure of this expedition, in which it is supposed that 35,000 Christians, and perhaps twice that number of Mussulmans, had perished.<sup>k</sup> He endeavoured to stir up Frederick, who had contributed to it by sending some ships, which arrived too late, and were unable to ascend the Nile;<sup>m</sup> he attributed to him the disastrous result, and told him that all men blamed him for having caused it by his delay in the fulfilment of his vow.<sup>n</sup>

Frederick had now been delivered from the fear of Otho, who died in May, 1218, having, on his deathbed, expressed great contrition, and according to some writers having even submitted to flagellation, as a condition of absolution and of reconciliation with the church.<sup>o</sup> But Frederick still had other causes to detain him from the crusade. He was bent on procuring the election of his son Henry as king of Germany, and for this purpose he endeavoured to conciliate the princes, both lay and spiritual, by concessions which in the event rendered them independent of the imperial authority.<sup>p</sup> He relinquished the *jus exuviarum*, with all claim to the income of vacant sees, pledged himself to allow freedom of canonical election, and promised that sentences of excommunication, if not relaxed within six weeks, should be enforced by secular outlawry.<sup>q</sup> Under the influence of these grants, the election of Henry was carried at Frankfort;<sup>r</sup> but Honorius April 26, 1220. objected to it as a step towards that union of the German with the Sicilian crown which Frederick had promised that he would never attempt. In answer to his remonstrances, Frederick declared that the election had been the spontaneous

<sup>h</sup> Bern. Thes. 206.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. Chron. Urspr. says that they had to pay a ransom of one “sterling” each, 247.

<sup>k</sup> Raumer, iii. 117.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. 354. In connexion with this the old agitator of Sicily, Walter of Pagliara, appears again. He collected money for the crusade, and sent it by Count Henry of Malta. But Damietta was already lost, and Walter, in fear of Frederick’s anger at his backwardness, ran off to Venice, where he died. R. Sangerm. 993.

<sup>n</sup> See Bouq. xix. 77, 705; Huill.-Bréh. i. 691, 746; ii. 220 (Nov. 19, 1221); Raumer, iii. 154.

<sup>o</sup> Narratio de Morte Ottonis, in Mart. Thes. iii. 1373; Böhm, 65. See Raumer, iii. 115-6; Milman, iv. 195. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines says only that he asked for absolution contritely (Bouq. xviii. 788); but Albert of Stade tells us that he was “ineffabili contritione compunctus, ita ut coquinariis suis præcepit ut in collum suum conculcarent” (A.D. 1218, Pertz, xvi.). Trivet has a strange tale of his being miraculously enabled to receive the viaticum (192). His will is in Pertz, Leges, ii. 221.

<sup>p</sup> See Raumer, iii. 123-4; Kington, i. 185.

<sup>q</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 226-7, 236.

<sup>r</sup> See Pertz, Leges, ii. 252.



act of the Germans; that the object of it was not to unite the crowns, but to provide for good administration during his own intended absence; and that, if he were to die, he would rather bequeath the kingdom of Sicily to the papacy than to the empire.<sup>s</sup> The value of these professions has been variously estimated by writers in later times, but it seems hardly possible to believe that the emperor was sincere.<sup>t</sup>

In September, 1220, Frederick again crossed the Alps into Italy. Eight years had elapsed since the last appearance of a German force in that country; and in the mean time the feuds of Lombardy had been carried on with their usual bitterness. The Milanese, in consequence of neglecting the pope's exhortations to peace, had been laid under an interdict, and had retaliated by measures which resembled the ecclesiastical censures as nearly as possible. The podestà had placed the archbishop under ban. At Parma and elsewhere the clergy were shut out from the benefits of the law; it was forbidden to do them any service, such as shaving them or baking for them; and it was decreed that any person who on his death-bed should be reconciled to the church should be buried in a dunghill.<sup>u</sup> At length, a sort of peace was negotiated by Cardinal Ugolino (afterwards Gregory IX.), but discords still continued, and the authority both of the pope and of the emperor was unheeded.<sup>x</sup>

Frederick wished to receive the iron crown of Italy at Monza; but the Milanese, in whose hands it was, refused to allow the use of it, and were therefore placed under the ban of the empire.<sup>y</sup> Frederick, as he advanced towards Rome, held communications with Honorius, whom he endeavoured to propitiate; and on St. Cecilia's Day he received the imperial crown from the pope's hands in St. Peter's. The splendid ceremony was attended with great demonstrations of joy, and even the Romans appeared for the time to be content.<sup>z</sup> Frederick again took the cross from Honorius or from the bishop of Ostia;<sup>a</sup> and in all respects he appeared desirous to gratify the pontiff. The territories of the Countess Matilda were made over to the holy see, under pain of outlawry for all who should detain any part

<sup>s</sup> Raynald. 1220. 12-4; Huill.-Bréh. i. 802-5; Raumer, iii. 118-9.

<sup>t</sup> See Böhm. 106, 109; Milman, iv. 197; Huillard-Bréholles, i., Introd. 213; ii. 470; Kingston, i. 183-4.

<sup>u</sup> Raumer, iii. 130 (from the MS. Register of Honorius).

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 131.

<sup>y</sup> Galv. Flamma, Manip. Florum, ii. 253, in Murat. xi.; Giannone, iii. 112.

<sup>z</sup> Raynald. 1220. 21; Ric. Sangerm. 992; Gregorov. v. 123. The Auersperg chronicler says that Ugolino officiated as the pope's representative. 245.

<sup>a</sup> R. Sangerm. 992; Chron. Ursp. 245.

of them. Laws were enacted for the liberty of the church and of ecclesiastical persons; for the exemption of the clergy from taxes and from secular jurisdiction; for the enforcement of ecclesiastical censures by civil penalties; for the severe punishment of heretics, and of any who should show them favour or indulgence.<sup>b</sup> From Rome the emperor proceeded into southern Italy. The guardianship of Innocent had not been favourable to the crown,<sup>c</sup> and during the civil distractions of Frederick's minority, and in the years which had passed since he left his native kingdom at eighteen, pretensions had been set up which, if admitted, must have reduced the sovereign to utter impotence. Frederick set to work with vigour for the recovery and assertion of his rights. He compelled many persons who had got into their hands castles and lands belonging to the crown—among them, some relations of the late pope—to surrender these possessions. He claimed a share in the appointment of bishops; and he taxed all orders of the hierarchy for the maintenance of his armies. In consequence of these measures a correspondence with Rome began, and soon assumed an angry tone on both sides.<sup>d</sup>

Again and again the pope urged the emperor to fulfil his crusading vow;<sup>e</sup> but Frederick, although he sent forth letters in behalf of the enterprise, continually advanced excuses grounded on the difficulties with which he had to contend at home.<sup>f</sup> The two met at Veroli in April, 1222,<sup>g</sup> and at Ferentino in the following March. At Ferentino, where John of Brienne, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the grand-master of the Templars, were also present, it was resolved that Frederick, who had lately become a widower, should marry Iolanthe, the beautiful daughter of John and heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>h</sup>—a match which was intended to bind the emperor more closely to the cause of the crusade. All agreed that it would be useless and mischievous to attempt the holy war without sufficient means, and it was resolved that the expedition should be deferred for

<sup>b</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 243-5; Raumer, iii. 133-4. As to heretics, see Pet. de Vineis, i. 25-7. The emperor says that those whom he denounces are not content, like Arians and Nestorians, to take the names of their leaders, "sed ad exemplum martyrum, qui pro fide catholica martyrium subierunt, *Patarenos* se nominant, quasi expositos passioni." A severe law against heretics, dated

at Catania, March, 1224, in Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 252.

<sup>c</sup> See Frederick's complaints, Pet. de Vin., Ep. i. 20.

<sup>d</sup> Schröckh, xxvi. 334-5; Planck, IV., i. 514; Raumer, iii. 140-5.

<sup>e</sup> Rayn. 1222. 6, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 245-7; Raumer, iii. 145.

<sup>g</sup> Rayn. 1222. 3.

<sup>h</sup> See Giannone, iii. 91-3.



two years, during which Frederick was to employ himself in the settlement of his dominions, while King John, with the grand-masters of the Temple and of the Teutonic order, was to visit the chief kingdoms of the west for the purpose of exciting them to the crusade.<sup>i</sup> But although the titular king was received with honour, he and his associates found that in France, in England,<sup>k</sup> and in Germany their cause was regarded with coolness; and John was obliged to report to the pope that the publication of the crusade was unsuccessful—a result which he mainly ascribed to the faults of the friars and others who preached it.<sup>m</sup> Philip Augustus, who died in 1223, bequeathed 100,000 livres for the holy war;<sup>n</sup> but it appears that this sum was never fully paid,<sup>o</sup> and his successor, Louis VIII., instead of prolonging his truce with England, plunged afresh into war, which called forth remonstrances from the pope.<sup>p</sup> In no long time differences arose between John of Brienne and his imperial son-in-law. Frederick, immediately after his marriage, which was celebrated in November, 1225,<sup>q</sup> assumed the title of king of Jerusalem, declaring that it no longer belonged to John, who had held it only as husband of the elder Iolanthe, and afterwards as guardian of her daughter; to which John replied by calling Frederick the son of a butcher,<sup>r</sup> and by charges of infidelity and neglect towards his bride.<sup>s</sup>

The pope and the emperor met again at San Germano in July 1225, and a new compact was concluded. Frederick was released from the vow which he had made at Veroli, and he now bound himself to go on the crusade within two years from the following August, to furnish a certain number of ships and of soldiers, and to advance certain sums of money, which were to be repaid on his setting out for the east. He con-

<sup>i</sup> R. Sangerm. 994-6; Raynald. 1223. 7; Raumer, iii. 125-7. Cf. Honor. ap. Bouq. xix. 733-5, 746-7, 758, 761; Rayn. 1223. 1.

<sup>k</sup> See letter of Honorius to Henry III., 5 Kal. Maii, 1224, in Rymer, i. 172.

<sup>m</sup> Frideric. ap. Raynald. 1224. 7; Raumer, iii. 159-160.

<sup>n</sup> Chron. Turon. ap. Bouq. xviii. 304; Bern. Thes. 207; Mart. Coll. Ampl. i. 1177.

<sup>o</sup> Raumer, iii. 159.

<sup>p</sup> Rayn. 1224. 14-6.

<sup>q</sup> R. Sangerm. 999; Fr. Pipin., c. 27, in Murat. ix.

<sup>r</sup> "Fi di becer diabele" (Salimbene, 16). This referred to a scandal which no one seems to suppose well founded.

(See p. 109, n. <sup>2</sup>; Huillard-Bréh. Introd. 178.) There is a letter from Honorius to the emperor (Jan. 27, 1227), urging him to a reconciliation with John. The pope tells him that people wonder at his having degraded John—"An pulchrius sibi est militis generum esse quam regis? An pulchrius erit filiis quos ex filia dicti regis suscipiet, avum militem habere quam regem?" Huill.-Bréh. ii. 709.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Turon. in Bouq. xviii. 311; F. Pipin, c. 27, in Murat. ix. Although Frederick was notoriously dissolute, the charges as to his treatment of Iolanthe are probably exaggerated. See Milman, iv. 205, 224.

sented that, if he should fail in any respect, the Roman church should have full leave to pronounce its censures on him; but it was stipulated that he should be absolved immediately on redressing any wrong which he might have done.<sup>t</sup> But, although there is no reason for supposing that Frederick wished to evade his engagements, the circumstances of his dominions continued to prevent the fulfilment of them. Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, whom he had left as regent of Germany and guardian of his son Henry, was assassinated in June, 1225, by one of his own kinsmen, whom he had deprived of the advocateship of a monastery on account of misconduct in the exercise of it.<sup>u</sup> In 1226, when the emperor was expected in northern Italy, the Lombards at a great meeting renewed their league.<sup>w</sup> His summons to a council at Cremona was unheeded, and, while he claimed the rights which had been secured for the empire by the treaty of Constance, the Lombards refused to supply him with provisions, and guarded the Alpine passes so as to prevent his son Henry from joining him in Italy. For these offences they were placed under the ban of the empire, and a numerous assembly of prelates at Parma, headed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, urged the bishop of Hildesheim, as the pope's representative, to excommunicate them.<sup>x</sup> The matter was referred by both parties to the pope's arbitration;<sup>y</sup> but, although Frederick had attempted to conciliate Honorius by yielding to him in a question as to some Apulian bishops, whom the pope had taken it on himself to nominate on the ground that the emperor had forfeited his patronage by delay,<sup>z</sup> Frederick had just reason to

Jan. 5, 1227. complain that the decision in his controversy with the Lombards<sup>a</sup> was substantially unfair to him.<sup>b</sup> An angry correspondence, which had already taken place, was renewed with greater bitterness;<sup>c</sup> and an open breach appeared to be at hand, when Honorius died on the 18th of March, 1227.

<sup>t</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 255-6; R. Sangerm. 998-9; Raumer, iii. 161.

<sup>u</sup> Alb. III. *Font. ap. Bouq.* xviii. 795. The Auersperg chronicle says that the murder of Engelbert was an effect of the preaching of the crusade—"Dicebant enim quidam pessimi, 'Faciam scelera, quoniam per susceptionem crucis innoxius ero.'" One John of Strasburg, a Dominican, was especially noted for his extravagances in preaching the crusade. 245.

<sup>w</sup> Huill.-Bréh. ii. 924, seqq.

<sup>x</sup> Huill.-Bréh. ii. 609; Chron. Turon. ap. Bouq. xviii. 313; Mut. *Modoct.* 475; R. Sangerm. 1031; M. Paris, ed. Wats. 497; Raumer, iii. 165, 173-6.

<sup>y</sup> Huill.-Bréh. ii. 676, 691.

<sup>z</sup> See R. Sangerm. 998-1000; Raynald. 1225. 45; Huill.-Bréh. ii. 932.

<sup>a</sup> Huill.-Bréh. ii. 703.

<sup>b</sup> Raumer, iii. 177-8.

<sup>c</sup> Rayn. 1226. 31, &c.; Huill.-Bréh. ii. 553, 589. See Raumer, iii. 170.



The anti-imperialist party wished to raise to the papacy Count Conrad of Urach, cardinal of Porto, a hereditary enemy of the Swabian house; but Conrad declined the dignity, and Ugolino Conti, a near relation of Innocent III.,<sup>d</sup> became pope under the name of Gregory IX. Ugolino had been made a cardinal by Innocent, and had been employed in many weighty affairs, in which he had shown great ability. Frederick himself had characterised him as a man of spotless reputation, eminent for religion and purity of life, for eloquence and learning.<sup>e</sup> He was especially skilled in the canon law, to which (as will be noticed hereafter<sup>f</sup>) he made important additions. His temper was warm and vehement; although he is said to have been already more than eighty years of age, his mental faculties were unimpaired, and he retained even his bodily vigour to an extraordinary degree.<sup>g</sup> Both the papacy and the empire were now represented by able and resolute champions of their respective claims—each inclined to assert to the full the prerogatives which he supposed to belong to his office; and the struggle between the two powers was no longer limited to one or two points, but extended over the whole of their mutual relations.<sup>h</sup>

Frederick's character had now had time to develope itself, and displayed a remarkable mixture of good and evil qualities, which historians have amused themselves by tracing respectively to his ancestors on both sides. He was at once selfish and generous, placable and cruel,<sup>i</sup> courageous and faithless. While growing up under the tutelage of the Roman see, he had learnt to dislike and to distrust it; he thought that Innocent, as his guardian, had allowed his rights to be invaded, not only by the church, but, for the church's sake, by others,<sup>k</sup> and in his dealings with Rome he employed a craft which he had learnt from Rome itself. His justice is celebrated for the fact that in matters of law the sovereign had no advantage over the subject.<sup>m</sup> Of his religious opinions, it will be enough to say here, that, having grown up in an island where a mixture of creeds existed side by side, under a system of toleration, he had imbibed a spirit of latitude, which tended to render him indifferent to

<sup>d</sup> He is said in the 'Liber Censuum' to have been related to him in the third degree. Vita, in Murat. iii. 575 (Rayn. 1227. 13). He is generally called nephew of Innocent, but was his senior by fourteen years. See Raumer, iii. 179.

<sup>e</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 246 (Feb. 1221).

<sup>f</sup> Chap. viii., sect. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Raumer, iii. 180.

<sup>h</sup> Milman, iv. 217-8.

<sup>i</sup> For his cruelty, see Huillard-Bréholles, Introd. 196.

<sup>k</sup> Huill.-Bréh. ii. 933.

<sup>m</sup> Jamsilla, in Murat. viii. 496.

threats of papal censure; indeed it was always a charge against him that he showed undue favour to his Mussulman subjects,<sup>n</sup> and was addicted to Oriental habits of life. His personal accomplishments were remarkable; he could speak fluently the languages of all the nations which were reckoned among his subjects—Greek, Latin, Italian, German, French, and Arabic. He was curious in natural history, and delighted in using his friendly relations with eastern princes to form a collection of animals rarely seen in Europe—among them, the elephant, the camel, and the camelopard.<sup>o</sup> A Latin treatise on falconry composed by him, or under his superintendence, is still extant.<sup>p</sup> He cultivated the science of the Arabs,<sup>q</sup> and among the learned men whom his patronage drew to his court was the famous Michael Scott, whom he employed in translating some of Aristotle's works.<sup>r</sup> He patronised astrology, and it is said that he at once mocked at the predictions of his astrologers and felt a superstitious belief in them.<sup>s</sup> He was distinguished for his love and encouragement of literature; his court was the earliest home of Italian poetry, in which Frederick himself and his chancellor, Peter delle Vigne, were eminent.<sup>t</sup> By birth and early training, the emperor was inclined to prefer the south to the ruder north; his court was the most brilliant in Europe, and its moral tone was probably determined by the notorious and excessive laxity of morals in which Frederick himself indulged.<sup>u</sup> It is not to be wondered at that Gregory, soon after his election, addressed to the emperor a letter in which, after endeavouring to conciliate him by compliments, he remonstrates with him on the luxury and dissoluteness which prevailed around him, and adds serious warnings, such as a pope might without undue assumption have held himself entitled to address to the lay chief of Christendom,

<sup>n</sup> Böhm. *Introd.* 36. See as to his settlement of Saracens at Luceria and Nocera, Ric. Sangerm. 996; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 138-9; Kington, i. 435-6.

<sup>o</sup> Huillard-Bréh. *Introd.* 193. He gave a camel to Henry III., who formed a menagerie in the Tower of London. Pauli, iii. 853.

<sup>p</sup> It was published (though incompletely) by Schneider, Leipz. 1788. Böhm., *Introd.* 36. See Huill.-Bréh. v. 527, 531. <sup>q</sup> Kington, i. 436-8.

<sup>r</sup> Salimbene, 169; Hauréau, i. 468; Huillard-Bréh., *Introd.* 523. It is said that Michael Scott,

foretold that his patron was to die at Florence, and that Frederick consequently avoided the Tuscan capital, whereas the real place of his death was to be Florentiola (Castel Fiorentino), in Apulia. Benven. *Imol. in Murat. Antiq.* i. 1083.

<sup>s</sup> S. Malaspina, 2, in Murat. viii.

<sup>t</sup> Dante de Vulg. *Eloq.* i. 12; Tira-boschi, iv. 341.

<sup>u</sup> Huillard-Bréh., *Introd.* 111. As to Frederick's character, see Fuller, 'Holy War,' 160; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 137; Raumer, iii. 283-9; Milman, iv. 219-223, 267; Kington, i. 459-475; and especially Böhm., *Introd.* 35, seqq., where many passages are collected.

"che veramente  
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco,"  
(*Dante, Inf.* xx. 116-7.)



who had grown up under the guardianship of the apostolic see.<sup>x</sup>

With Honorius, the advancement of the crusade had really been his chief purpose; but with Gregory it was subordinate to the exaltation of the papacy, so that the likelihood of a serious collision with the emperor was greatly increased.<sup>y</sup> The pope sent forth a summons to Christendom;<sup>z</sup> but the backwardness and apathy with which his predecessor's exhortations had been received were still manifested on all sides. Frederick, although for political reasons he was unwilling to leave his dominions, collected men and ships, and on the 8th of September embarked from Brindisi. But a pestilence broke out which carried off many of his soldiers; many in alarm forsook the expedition; and the emperor himself, after having been three days at sea, withdrew at Otranto, under the plea of sickness, and repaired to the baths of Puzzuoli.<sup>a</sup> On hearing of this, the pope was violently indignant. On St. Michael's Day, at Anagni, he solemnly denounced Frederick excommunicate, in terms of the treaty of San Germano; he recounted the emperor's dealings with the Roman court—charging him with ingratitude, with having endeavoured by a long series of delays to evade his crusading vows, with having by his negligence caused the failure of the Damietta expedition, with having protracted the later expedition until the heat of the season brought on the pestilence which had wasted the army, with having withdrawn from the holy enterprise under a nugatory pretence of sickness, to return to his habitual indulgence in luxury.<sup>b</sup> It was in vain that Frederick sent some bishops to plead his cause; the pope renewed the excommunication again and again, and required all bishops to publish it.<sup>c</sup> Frederick, by way of reply, sent forth a letter addressed to all who had engaged themselves to the crusade. In this he appealed to God as a witness to his sincerity in desiring to carry out his vow, and to the reality of the sickness which had prevented the fulfilment of his design. The pope, he said, had hindered him by stirring up his

Sept. 29.

Dec. 6.

<sup>x</sup> Raynald. 1227. 21; Huill.-Bréh. iii. 7.

<sup>y</sup> Neand. vii. 245-6.

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 1, in Mansi, xxii.

<sup>a</sup> Annal. Placent. Guelf. in Pertz, xviii. 443; Wilken, vi. 426-8.

<sup>b</sup> Greg. ap. Rayn. 1227. 30, seqq.; Ric. Sangerm. 1003; Greg., Ep. 2, in Mansi, xxii.; Vita Greg., in Murat. iii. 576, where it is said that Frederick

made away with the landgrave of Thuringia (husband of St. Elizabeth) at Brindisi, "procurata morte." Another slander is preserved in the Waverley annalist's words—"corruptus, ut fertur, muneribus et exeniis paganorum." (A.D. 1227.) Höfler argues that the excommunication was inevitable. 'Friedrich II.,' Münch. 1844, p. 34.

<sup>c</sup> R. Sangerm. 1003.

enemies, and had spent in maintaining troops against him the money which ought to have been employed in the crusade; he repels the charges of ingratitude—if Innocent had taken up his cause, it was as a means of opposing Otho. He declared himself to be still resolved on going to the east, and desired his subjects to help him with men and money for the expedition.<sup>d</sup> The emperor's justification was publicly read in the Capitol at Rome by a famous jurist, Roffrid of Benevento.<sup>e</sup>

On Maunday Thursday the pope again pronounced Frederick excommunicate, declared him to have forfeited the A.D. 1228. Apulian kingdom, and added an interdict on all places where he might be;<sup>f</sup> but on Easter Monday, as Gregory was engaged in the celebration of mass, the Romans, among whom Frederick had formed a strong party, broke into the church, and, almost with personal violence, drove him from the city to seek a refuge at Perugia.<sup>g</sup> But Gregory, by the help of the Mendicant friars, who penetrated into every class of society, had means of spreading his charges and denunciations far more widely than the emperor's vindication could reach.<sup>h</sup>

Frederick, however, was resolved to prove that he was sincere in his professions as to the crusade.<sup>i</sup> In the end of June, 1228,<sup>k</sup> he again sailed from Brindisi, and, after having visited Cyprus, he landed, on the 7th of September, at Acre, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, although the clergy significantly refrained from offering the kiss of peace.<sup>m</sup> To Gregory this expedition, undertaken by an excommunicated prince, in defiance of ecclesiastical censures and prohibitions, was more offensive than anything that Frederick had yet done; and, instead of aiding the emperor, he determined to thwart him to the utmost of his power. Frederick's ideas as to the objects which might be effected by a crusade were largely modified by the circumstances of his time from those which had been entertained by earlier Crusaders. The vast armaments by which it had formerly been attempted to overwhelm the infidel power were no longer to be raised; nor was the emperor himself, although brave and active, fitted by nature to rival the fame

<sup>d</sup> Huill.-Bréh. iii. 37-48; R. Sangerm. 1005; Hahn, Monumenta, i. 211-7. Henry III. of England attempted to mediate by writing to both parties. Rymer, i. 189.

<sup>e</sup> R. Sangerm. 1004.

<sup>f</sup> Huill.-Bréh. ii. 52-5.

<sup>g</sup> Chron. S. Rudb. Salisb. in Pertz, ix.

784; Chron. Ursperg. 247-8.

<sup>h</sup> Milman, iv. 232.

<sup>i</sup> See Huill.-Bréh. iii. 51, 71.

<sup>k</sup> See Böhm. 139.

<sup>m</sup> R. Sangerm. 1005; Chron. Sicul. (by one who was in the expedition), in Huill.-Bréh., i. 898-901; Raumer, i. 191-2.



which Richard of England had won by his personal prowess.<sup>n</sup> He felt nothing of the deadly and irreconcilable hostility against the followers of Mahomet which had animated the older Crusaders; he had already exchanged presents with the sultan;° it seemed to him enough if the main objects of the holy war could be secured by treaty, instead of insisting on the extermination of the enemy. On the other side, too, there was a disposition to treat. Kameel had been alarmed by the reports which reached him from Europe as to formidable preparations, which were, doubtless, exaggerated by fame; he was pressed by rivalries and discords among the professors of his own creed, so that at one time he had even invited Frederick's assistance; and he believed that, if the emperor could be brought to an accommodation, no fear need be entertained as to the other western powers.<sup>p</sup> Negotiations, therefore, were opened; and on the 18th of February 1229 a treaty was concluded by which Jerusalem was to be made over to the Christians, with the exception of the Temple, which although open to them, was to remain under the care of the Moslem, who professed to regard it with no less veneration. Nazareth, Bethlehem, Sidon, and other places were also to be given up; prisoners were to be surrendered on both sides; and it was stipulated that the emperor should aid in enforcing the articles in favour of the sultan, if any Frank should attempt to violate them.<sup>q</sup> By this treaty the Christians had gained more than they had for many years ventured to expect as possible. Even the compromise as to the Temple was vindicated by Herman of Salza, the universally-respected master of the Teutonic order, as expedient in the circumstances of the case.<sup>r</sup> Kameel was accused by his own people of having yielded too much,<sup>s</sup> and Frederick, in a letter to the pope, took credit for having done important service to the church.<sup>t</sup>

When, however, the emperor had entered Jerusalem in triumph, with the intention of being crowned as king in the right of his late wife (who had died in childbirth

March 17.

<sup>n</sup> Wilken, vi. 419.

<sup>o</sup> An elephant was among the sultan's gifts. R. Sangerm. 1004.

<sup>p</sup> Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thess., iii. 711; Raumer, iii. 190, 193, 195-6; Milman, iv. 225.

<sup>q</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 260-1; Huill.-Bréh. iii. 86-90; R. Sangerm. 1012.

<sup>r</sup> Herm. in Pertz, Leges, ii. 265; Annal. Gottwic. ib. Scriptores, ix. 1229. The terms of the treaty are represented by Frederick as more favourable to him

than they appear in the Mahometan accounts. (Wilken, vi. 479-481.) Gregory's party maintained that the condition of Christians was made worse by it. (Vita Greg. 576.) "The clergy artfully confounded the mosque or church of the Temple with the Holy Sepulchre, and their wilful error has deceived both Vertot and Muratori." Gibbon, v. 499.

<sup>s</sup> Wilken, vi. 492.

<sup>t</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 261-3; Huill.-Bréh. vii. 93; Raumer, iii. 260-1.

while the expedition was preparing to set out<sup>u</sup>), he found that the papal denunciations had stirred up serious difficulties against him. The claim of right, without election, was in itself obnoxious to the clergy.<sup>x</sup> The patriarch, the Templars, and the Knights of St. John, were prepared to oppose him in all ways; and, although some persons held that, by having done that for the delay of which he had been excommunicated, he had entitled himself to be regarded as absolved, his more discreet friends, such as Herman of Salza, advised him to respect the censures. Instead, therefore, of receiving the crown from Sunday, the patriarch with the usual solemnities, Frederick March 18. took it with his own hands from the altar, and wore it until he reached his throne, from which he addressed the assembled multitude, relating the course of his dealings with the pope, whom, however, he did not charge with any worse fault than that of having misunderstood him.<sup>y</sup> His speech was received with loud applause; but next day the archbishop of Cæsarea, in the name of the patriarch Gerold, interdicted the city and the holy places—even the Saviour's sepulchre—on account of the pollution which they had contracted from the emperor's presence.<sup>z</sup> An order was received from the pope, that all Christians should refuse to obey him, and in consequence of this the Genoese and the Pisans held aloof; but Frederick overcame the difficulty by issuing his orders in the name of God and of Christendom.<sup>a</sup> The patriarch industriously supplied the pope with unfavourable reports of Frederick's behaviour at Jerusalem; he had outraged the clergy and religious orders, he had held friendly intercourse with the infidels; he had received presents of singing and dancing girls from the sultan, and lived like a Mussulman rather than like a Christian; he had used language which showed a disbelief of the Christian faith, and an inclination to the falsehoods of Mahomet.<sup>b</sup> A plot was laid by some Templars for surprising Frederick on an expedition to bathe in the Jordan; but he was informed of

<sup>u</sup> April, 1228. See Chron. Sicul. in Huill-Breh. i. 898; Böhm, 140.

<sup>x</sup> Raumer, iii. 193.

<sup>y</sup> Herm. Salz. in Pertz, Leges, ii. 364; Gerold. ap. Rayn. 1229. 13; Raumer, iii. 198.

<sup>z</sup> Herm. Salz. in Pertz, Leges, ii. 265; R. Sangerm. 1013; Raumer, iii. 199.

<sup>a</sup> Wilken, vi. 466; Raumer, iii. 196.

<sup>b</sup> Gerold. ap. Rayn. 1229. 3, seqq.; Greg. ib. 2; M. Paris, in Wendov. ed.

Coxe, v. 261. Mahometans naturally interpreted all expressions which seemed to scoff at Christianity as favourable to their own religion. See Schröckh. xxvi. 245-6; Wilken, vi. 476, 494; Gieseler, II., ii. 133; Kington, i. 323-5. The Duke of Lorraine writes to Henry III. of England that Frederick was said to have married the daughter of the Sultan. Shirley, 'Letters of the Reign of Hen. III.', i. 343.



it by the sultan, and after this and other displays of hostility, he took stringent measures for controlling the religious orders.<sup>c</sup> Again and again the pope renewed his denunciations of Frederick, publishing them everywhere by the agency of the friars, together with the gravest imputations against the emperor's faith and morals.<sup>d</sup> And the papal forces, headed by John of Brienne, and Cardinal John of Colonna, invaded the Apulian kingdom.<sup>e</sup>

Frederick, recalled by the tidings of these movements, suddenly returned from the East, and surprised his enemies by landing near Brindisi. The general feeling in his favour was speedily manifested by large desertions from the hostile army; and those who remained true to the pope were reduced by want of pay to plunder churches for the means of support.<sup>f</sup> Herman of Salza and two bishops were sent to the pope, with the offer of advantageous terms of peace; but Gregory obstinately held out, renewed his anathemas,<sup>g</sup> attempted to raise all Europe, to collect money from France, England, and Spain for a crusade against the emperor, and to set up a rival king in Germany.<sup>h</sup> But these attempts met with little response. The general unwillingness to pay money for crusades was exasperated by the object of the crusade which was now proposed;<sup>i</sup> and an opinion was very generally expressed that Frederick had effected in the east as much as was in his power; that he was not deserving of anathema and deposition for having imitated Richard of England and Philip of France in treating with the infidels.<sup>k</sup> The vindications of his conduct which he himself sent forth made a strong impression on the minds of men in general,<sup>m</sup> and the progress of his arms was such as to affect even the stubborn resolution of Gregory. On the other hand, Frederick was willing to pay dearly for reconciliation with the church; and in August, 1230, an agreement was effected at Ceperano, by which he was released from ecclesiastical censures, on condition of submitting to the church

<sup>c</sup> M. Paris, ed. Coxe, v. 261; Raumer, iii. 299. This is now confirmed from oriental sources, which, however, place it before the treaty. (Wilken, vi. 474, 477.) But that the pope instigated the design is a fiction of later date. See Huillard-Bréholles, iii. 490-2.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. Placent. Guelf. in Pertz, xviii. 444; Rayn. 1229. 37, seqq.; Greg. Epp. 11, 23. (Mansi, xxiii.) Huill.-Bréh. iii. 494; Raumer, iii. 202-5. As to the oriental habits imputed to Frederick, see

Huillard-Bréh. Introd. 341.

<sup>e</sup> R. Sangerm. 1006; Annal. Dunstap. p. 114; Raumer, iii. 202.

<sup>f</sup> R. Sangerm. 1010-3.

<sup>g</sup> Huill.-Bréh. iii. 157.

<sup>h</sup> R. Sangerm. 1013; Raumer, iii. 205.

<sup>i</sup> See the remonstrance from England, Annal. Burton, 263.

<sup>k</sup> M. Paris, v. 266-7, ed. Coxe; Schröckh, xxvi. 254-6; Raumer, iii. 205.

<sup>m</sup> R. Sangerm. 1015-6.

as to all the matters for which he had incurred his excommunication and of paying a large sum to the pope by way of compensation for his expenses.<sup>n</sup> Immediately after his absolution, Frederick visited the pope at Anagni, and both parties in their letters express great satisfaction as to their intercourse on this occasion.<sup>o</sup>

An interval of peace between the papacy and the empire followed. In November, 1230, the Romans, alarmed by a great inundation of the Tiber, and by a pestilence which followed on it, entreated Gregory to return from Perugia.<sup>p</sup> In 1232, however, he found himself obliged to request the emperor's assistance against his subjects,<sup>q</sup> when Frederick excused himself on the ground that he was engrossed by the affairs of Sicily;<sup>r</sup> and in answer to the pope's repeated urgency that the crusade should be renewed, he declared that, so long as heresy was rampant among the Italians, especially among the Milanese (the pope's own allies)—it would be absurd to go in search of more distant enemies of Christ.<sup>s</sup> But, notwithstanding these and other differences,<sup>t</sup> the relations of the two powers were on the whole peaceable; and when the pope, after having been recalled in 1233,<sup>u</sup> had been again expelled by the Romans in 1234, he was restored by the arms of Frederick.<sup>x</sup>

During this time of peace both Frederick and the pope engaged in the work of legislation. The code which the emperor promulgated for Sicily was intended to harmonize and to supersede the various systems of law which had been introduced into that island by its successive masters—Greeks, Romans, Goths, Lombards, Normans, and Germans<sup>y</sup>—and the chief author of it was Peter delle Vigne (or de Vineis), a native of Capua, who had raised himself from the condition of a mendicant scholar to the chief place in Frederick's confidence and in the administration of his government.<sup>z</sup> In this code,

<sup>n</sup> R. Sangerm. 1016, 1020, 1023; Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 269, seqq.; Mut. *Modoet.* 470; *Annal. S. Rudbert. Salisburg.* in Pertz, ix. 784.

<sup>o</sup> Huill.-Bréh. iii. 229; Böhm. 146.

<sup>p</sup> R. Sangerm. 1017, 1024; Vita Greg. 570; Gregorov. v. 151.

<sup>q</sup> Huill.-Bréh. iv. 376.

<sup>r</sup> Card. Arag. 579; Rayn. 1232. 37. The Sicilian chronicler in Huillard-Bréholles, i. 904, says that in 1230 the people of Messina rebelled "pro nihilo et sine causa;" that Frederick professed to pardon them, and a few days later "non sequens mores et vestigia magnorum principum, quorum verba retrorsum

non habent," put some to death, banished others, &c.

<sup>s</sup> M. Paris, ed. Wats, 433. M. Huillard-Bréholles dates this letter in June, 1236. (iv. 880.) Raumer, iii. 399. For letters urging the crusade see Raynald. 1235. 39, seqq.; 1237. 80. In 1238. 37 Frederick alleges business as his excuse.

<sup>t</sup> R. Sangerm. 1027; Raumer, iii. 335.

<sup>u</sup> R. Sangerm. 1031.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 1034-6; *Annal. S. Rudb.* 1234; Rayn. 1234, 1 seqq.; 1235. 2; Gregorov. v. 168, 171-7.

<sup>y</sup> Prolog. in *Constitutiones*, Huill.-Bréh. iv. 4; Milm. iv. 261.

<sup>z</sup> F. Pipin, 39 (*Murat.* ix.; *Salim-*



which was published at Melfi in 1231, the temporalities of the church were secured to it, although Frederick in his later days did not always respect them;<sup>a</sup> but care was taken to control the pretensions of the hierarchy. They were subject to taxation and to the judgment of secular courts, nor had they any exclusive jurisdiction except in matrimonial causes.<sup>b</sup> Appeals to the pope were not allowed except in matters purely spiritual, and were altogether forbidden when the sovereign and the pope should be at variance.<sup>c</sup> The sale of land to the clergy was prohibited, on the ground that they declined the feudal duties attached to the possession of it; and it was enacted that, if land were bestowed on them, they should either sell it or provide for the discharge of the feudal services.<sup>d</sup> It was declared that the king might legitimize the children of a clergyman—a remarkable proof of the extent to which marriage prevailed among the clergy.<sup>e</sup> Gregory vehemently remonstrated against the principles embodied in this code as to the relations of Church and State; but the emperor replied that his power of legislation was independent of any other authority, and the difference would have been carried further, but that at that very time the pope was driven from Rome by his people.<sup>f</sup>

On his own side, and in remarkable contrast with the imperial legislation, Gregory, who had been noted for his skill in canon law, put forth a body of Decretals, in which the principles of Hildebrand and Innocent III. were carried to their greatest height.<sup>g</sup> According to this code, the clergy were to be wholly exempt from taxes and from secular judgment; all secular law was to be subordinate to the law of the church; and the secular power was bound to carry out obediently the church's judgments.<sup>h</sup> There was, however, one subject as to which the rival systems of law were in accordance with each other. While Gregory was severe in his enactments against heresy, Frederick was no less so—declaring heresy to be worse than treason, and in this and his other legislation condemning heretics to be burnt,

bene, 164. Tirab. iv. 17; Raumer, iii. 11.) The code is printed in vol. iv. of M. Huillard-Bréholles' collection. For accounts of Frederick's legislation see Gregorio, 'Introd. allo Studio del Diritto Publ. Siciliano,' Palerm. 1794, p. 125, &c.; Giannone, iii. 136-147; Raumer, iii. 213 seq.; Milman, iv.; Kingston, vol. I. c. ix.

<sup>a</sup> Const. i. 7; Raumer, 220-1.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 221-3; Milman, iv. 263.

<sup>c</sup> Raumer, iii. 222.

<sup>d</sup> Huill.-Bréh. iv. 227; Raumer, iii. 222-3.

<sup>e</sup> Huill.-Bréh. iv. 225; Milman, iv. 263. In January 1228, Frederick, finding that some of the clergy were obeying the pope's sentence against him, took away their *focariæ* and their children from them. R. Sangerm. 1004.

<sup>f</sup> Raumer, iii. 336.

<sup>g</sup> See below, c. viii. sect. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Milman, iv. 272.

or, at least, to have their tongues cut out, while he denounced heavy penalties against all who should harbour or encourage them.<sup>1</sup> In explanation of such laws, it has been supposed that the emperor wished to benefit his own reputation for orthodoxy at the expense of others; and that, as they were chiefly directed against the sectaries of Lombardy, he regarded the religious errors of these as connected with the political disaffection which prevailed in the same province.<sup>k</sup>

While Frederick, induced alike by natural preference, and by the political expediency of remaining on the scene where the contest with his chief opponent was to be waged, continued to reside in his southern kingdom, his son Henry, whom he had left in Germany, was persuaded to listen to counsellors who dwelt on his dependent and subordinate condition, and on the dishonour done to Germany by the emperor's preference of Apulia and Sicily.<sup>m</sup> In the end of 1234, Frederick was startled by intelligence that Henry had allied himself with the cities of Lombardy, and set up the standard of rebellion.<sup>n</sup> At Easter, 1235, after having restored the pope to Rome,<sup>o</sup> he set out for Germany, where he put down the rebellion without difficulty, and, on Henry's submission, admitted him to forgiveness.<sup>p</sup> It has been supposed that the pope was concerned in instigating this rebellion;<sup>q</sup> but, as Frederick, in the most unmeasured of the manifestos which he issued in their later quarrels, never taxed him with any share in it, there can be no reasonable doubt that the strong disapproval which Gregory pronounced against Henry's courses—even authorising bishops to excommunicate him if he should not surrender<sup>r</sup>—was sincere.<sup>s</sup> During this visit to Ger-

July 15, many, the emperor strengthened his family alliances  
1235. by marrying, at Worms, Isabella, the beautiful sister  
of the King of England—a match which appears to have been

May 1, suggested by the pope;<sup>t</sup> and he took part in the trans-  
1236. lation of the body of St. Elizabeth, widow of the

<sup>i</sup> Const. i. 1-3. See Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 244, 252, 287-9, 326, &c.; Pet. de Vin. Ep. i. 261, p. 176; Raumer, iii. 218; Huill.-Bréh. iv. 435.

<sup>k</sup> Miln. iv. 346-7. There is a letter from Gregory expressing apprehension that under the name of heretics the emperor may have burnt some whose offences were only political. Huill.-Bréh. iv. 445.

<sup>m</sup> R. Sangerm. 1035; Raumer, iii. 367; Huillard-Bréh. *Introd.* 223.

<sup>n</sup> Pertz, ii. 306; Hahn, *Monumenta*,

i. 225-8; Pet. de Vineis, iii. 25; Murat. *Annal.* VII. i. 288; Huill.-Bréh. iv. 524, seqq.

<sup>o</sup> Rayn. 1234. 1. 3.  
<sup>p</sup> *Annal.* Erphord. ap. Pertz, xvi. 30; Huill.-Bréh. iv. 731, 945-7.

<sup>q</sup> Mut. Modoet. ap. Pertz, 470; Aven-tinus, 531.

<sup>r</sup> Greg. ap. Rayn. 1235. 9; Huill.-Bréh. iv. 473; Vita, ap. Mur. iii. 581.

<sup>s</sup> Sism. ii. 165; Raumer, iii. 350, 371; Miln. iv. 279.

<sup>t</sup> R. Wendov. iv. 322. See Huill.-Bréh. iv. 537, 539; Böhm. 159-160.



Landgrave of Thuringia, which was performed with great solemnity at Marburg, in the presence of a vast concourse of people.<sup>u</sup>

The reconciliation with Henry did not last long; the prince, by breaking his engagements, provoked his father to severer measures, and, after having been confined successively in several fortresses of Southern Italy, threw himself from his horse, while on his way from one prison to another, and died in consequence of the fall.<sup>w</sup> A.D. 1242.

For some years the emperor's relations with the Lombards had been uneasy. On his summoning a diet to Ravenna in 1231, they repeated their conduct as to the diet of Cremona—absenting themselves from the meeting, and preventing Henry (who was yet faithful to his father) from joining him with the princes of Germany.<sup>x</sup> Gregory, like his predecessor Honorius,<sup>y</sup> had been accepted by both parties as arbiter of their differences; but, while his decision was not satisfactory to the Lombards, Frederick, not without reason, complained of it as too favourable to them.<sup>z</sup> The Lombards, although divided among themselves by furious enmities of city against city, and of faction against faction within the cities, renewed their league in 1235, advancing claims beyond those which had been conceded by the treaty of Constance;<sup>a</sup> and in the following year, Frederick resolved on war, for which he adroitly assigned as a motive the desire to put down the heresy which was rife in Milan and throughout the north of Italy.<sup>b</sup> While engaged in the siege of Mantua, he addressed to the pope a long letter in refutation of the charges which were brought against him;<sup>c</sup> but Gregory continued to insist on them, blaming him for his cruel treatment of monks and friars, for his invasions of the church's Sept. 1236.

<sup>u</sup> The multitude is reckoned at 200,000. See the extracts from the chronicles in Huill.-Bréh. iv. 839, and Böhmer, 166. For St. Elizabeth, see below, ch. vii. 1.

<sup>w</sup> The circumstances are variously related. See Chron. Sicul. in Huill.-Bréh. i. 906; Introd. ib. 229; R. Sangerm. 1036, 1048; Salimbene, 45; Mut. Modoet. 470; Raumer, iii. 373-4; Mansi ap. Raynald. t. ii. 121. Giannone quotes a romantic story from Boccaccio, 'Casi degli Uomini illustri' (iii. 170). For Frederick's letter on the occasion see Pet. de Vin. iv. 1.

<sup>x</sup> R. Sangerm. 1031; Böhm. 148.

<sup>y</sup> See p. 388.

<sup>z</sup> Murat. Antiq. iv. 325-330. See

Pertz, Leges, ii. 299, 303-4; Huill.-Bréh. iv. 461, 465; R. Sangerm. 1031; Rayn. 1234. 33, seqq.; 1235. 12, seqq.; 1236. 1, seqq.; Raumer, iii. 337, 340, 400.

<sup>a</sup> Murat. Antiq. iv. 331; Raumer, iii. 396, 398, 400.

<sup>b</sup> M. Paris, 444, ed. Wats; Huill.-Bréh. iv. 873; Böhm. 118. "Cum igitur tot hæreses non tantum pullulent, imo, silvescant," (Frid. ap. Rayn. 1236. 3.) On the other hand, Gregory thanks the Milanese for their aid against the emperor, "cujus lingua dogmatis hæretici calamus." Hahn, Monum. i. 143-4.

<sup>c</sup> Huill.-Bréh. iv. 905.

property, and his aggressions on her rights, and holding up, by way of contrast, the devout submission of Constantine, Charlemagne, and other pious emperors.<sup>d</sup>

Frederick's arms were everywhere triumphant. In the midst of his successes against the Lombards, he was recalled to Germany in the winter of 1236, by the tidings that Duke Frederick of Austria had attacked and defeated an imperial army; but the duke was speedily put down, his capital, Vienna, gladly received the conqueror, and in that city Frederick was able to procure from the assembled princes the election of Conrad, his son by the daughter of John of Brienne, as king of the Romans in the room of Henry. The choice was soon after confirmed at Spire;<sup>e</sup> and in November 1237, Frederick's prosperity was crowned at the battle of Corte Nuova, by a victory so signal that it seemed to compensate the imperial power for the loss of Legnano in a former generation. The Lombards, after having obstinately defended until nightfall the *carroccio* which bore the standard of Milan, withdrew from the field with heavy loss,<sup>f</sup> and the car itself fell into the hands of Frederick, who, after having paraded it triumphantly at Cremona, with the podestà of Milan exhibited on it as a captive, sent it to Rome for the ornament of the Capitol.<sup>g</sup> In Rome itself the emperor's interest was maintained by partisans who made the pope's position uneasy, and for a time expelled him.<sup>h</sup> But by the execution of his prisoner, the podestà of Milan, Peter Tiepolo, son of the Doge of Venice—although the act had been provoked by some attacks on the part of the Venetians—Frederick drew on himself the especial enmity of the great maritime republic, which was bitterly shown in the sequel.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Raynald. 1236. 15, seqq.; Huill.-Bréh. iv. 914.

<sup>e</sup> Böhm. 170-1. 255-6; Pertz, Leges, ii. 322; Pet. de Vin. i. 21, p. 145. See Frederick's instructions to Conrad, in Hahn, i. 226-9; Huill.-Bréh. v. 274; Raumer, iii. 403-5.

<sup>f</sup> The Milanese reckoned this at 3000; Frederick, at 10,000. Mutius of Monza says that 3000 foot and 800 horse of Milan were taken, besides a great number of the others.

<sup>g</sup> R. Sangerm. 1039; Matth. Par. 445; Pet. de Vin. ii. 1, 3, 35, 50, &c.; Böhm. 177; Huill.-Bréh. v. 132, seqq., 162. Mutius of Monza says that the pope was against admitting the *carroccio*

into Rome, as being a sign of triumph over his allies, but that the imperialist cardinals were too strong for him (478). Salimbene says that the Romans burnt it "in vituperium Friderici" (49); but Gregorovius remarks that this must have been at some later time (v. 189). The Milanese, according to M. Paris, broke out into profanity and blasphemy after their defeat—hanging up the crucifix by the feet, &c., 445.

<sup>h</sup> R. Sangerm. 1037-8; Schröckh, xxvi. 361-2.

<sup>i</sup> Mut. Mod. 477, 484; M. Paris, 445, 556; R. Sangerm. 1040; Raumer, iii. 458.



After having attempted without success to bring Frederick to submission by a mission of some bishops, who were charged to represent to him his offences against the church,<sup>k</sup> and having assured himself of the support of the Genoese and the Venetians,<sup>m</sup> the pope proceeded on Palm Sunday, 1239, to pronounce a sentence which was more publicly proclaimed on the following Thursday. In this, the emperor's misdeeds were recited—that in breach of his solemn oaths, he had plotted seditions at Rome against the pope, and had attempted to assail his power; that he had hindered the journeys of papal emissaries and the access of persons who were on their way to the papal court; that he had kept many bishopricks and abbacies vacant, to the great injury of religion; that he had seized, imprisoned, and slain members of the clerical order; that he had occupied territories belonging to the apostolic see; that he had plundered churches and had oppressed the Cistercians, the Templars, and the Hospitallers; that he had prevented the recovery of the Holy Land. For these and other offences he was declared to be excommunicated and anathematised; he was “delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord;” his subjects were released from their allegiance, a curse was laid on every place in which he should be, and all ecclesiastics who should officiate in his presence or hold intercourse with him were deposed.<sup>n</sup> And the pope issued letters by which it was ordered that this sentence should be generally published on Sundays and festivals, with ringing of bells and lighting of candles.<sup>o</sup>

Frederick was keeping Easter with great pomp at Pavia when the news of his excommunication reached him; and he resolved to publish it himself, together with his solemn protest against it. He appeared in the fullest splendour of the imperial attire before a vast multitude; the papal sentence was read aloud; the chancellor, Peter delle Vigne, made a speech in vindication of his master from all the charges contained in it; and the emperor himself then rose and addressed the assembly, declaring that, if the sentence had been pronounced on just grounds, he would have submitted; but that, as it was without any such foundation, he repelled it as a

<sup>k</sup> M. Paris, 492-6; Böhm. 346; Huill.-Bréh. v. 249. 1041; Rayn. 1239. 14; Raumer, iii. 428.

<sup>m</sup> See Huill.-Bréh. v. 390.

<sup>n</sup> M. Paris, 486, 499; R. Sangerm. 290.

<sup>o</sup> Mut. Modoet. 480; Huill.-Bréh. v.

grievance and an insult, and he addressed letters to the cardinals, to all christian princes, and to the people of Rome, recounting the whole history of his dealings with the popes, professing a deep respect for their office, but denouncing Gregory as having wronged him, and offering to justify himself before a general council.<sup>p</sup> He also issued severe orders against such of the clergy and monks as were likely to take part against him. All friars who were "of the land of the unbelievers of Lombardy" were to be expelled from the Sicilian kingdom, and security was to be taken of other friars that they would not offend the emperor. The monks and clergy were heavily taxed. Such of Frederick's clerical subjects as were in the papal court were required to return by a certain day under heavy penalties, and it was forbidden under pain of death to introduce any letters from the pope against the emperor.<sup>q</sup> In the following

A.D. 1240. year, all Dominicans and Franciscans were compelled to leave the kingdom, except that two, of native birth, were allowed to remain in each of their convents.<sup>r</sup>

The pope met Frederick's protests by a letter of extraordinary violence,<sup>s</sup> in which he spoke of the emperor as a man utterly false and untrustworthy. He reproaches him with ingratitude to the Roman Church, declares the pretext of illness in his first attempt at a crusade to have been false, and reflects severely on his administration. But the most remarkable part of this letter was that in which, after having compared Frederick to the apocalyptic beast which rose out of the sea with the name of blasphemy on his forehead,<sup>t</sup> he charged him with having said that the world had been deluded by three impostors,<sup>u</sup> of whom two had died in honour, but the other had been hanged on a tree; and with having ridiculed the idea that the Almighty Creator of the world could have been born of a virgin. The truth of these charges has been vehemently debated.<sup>x</sup> Frederick, edu-

<sup>p</sup> M. Par. 500-5; Pet. de Vineis, Epp. i. 1, 6, 7, 20-1; Huill.-Bréh. v. 295, seqq.

<sup>q</sup> R. Sangerm. 1041.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 1045.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. 12 (Mansi, xxiii.); M. Par. 506-512.

<sup>t</sup> Revel. xiii. 1.

<sup>u</sup> "A tribus baratatoribus, ut ejus verbis utamur," col. 87. (See Ducange, s. v. *Baratator*.) Matthew Paris (p. 487), substitutes "præstigiatores," while the biographer of Gregory (Murat. iii. 585) has "trufatores." According to one account, Frederick added "Si principes

imperii institutioni meæ assentirent, ego utique multo meliorem modum vivendi et credendi cunctis nationibus ordinare vellem." Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1738.

<sup>x</sup> It was formerly believed that a book 'De Tribus Impostoribus' was written by Frederick or by his chancellor. But this is a mistake. Neither Gregory nor any other contemporary speaks of such a book; and the existing book with that title is a forgery of the sixteenth century. (Raumer, iii. 442; Giesel. II. ii. 143; Tiraboschi, iv. 28; Mosh. ii. 524; Her-



cated in Sicily, had grown up in a laxity of religious opinion, which naturally resulted from the extraordinary mixture of races and creeds around him; his views as to many subjects were, no doubt, different from those which were sanctioned by the authority of Rome; and very possibly the stories as to his levity of speech on sacred or serious matters<sup>y</sup> may have at least some foundation of truth, while it is probable that his constant hostilities with popes, and his keen sense of the injustice which he supposed himself to have met with at their hands, may have affected unfavourably his belief in the doctrines which they taught. But that he had come to deny the great verities of the Christian faith is an accusation advanced by his bitter and unscrupulous enemies, hardly credible in itself, and one which he himself strongly and steadily repelled.<sup>z</sup> In answer to the pope's letter, he sent forth one in which he denies the imputations on his faith, and strongly asserts his orthodoxy. He allows the pope's power of binding and loosing, but says that it has its limits, and if wrongly exercised is null; and he distinguishes between the church and the person of Gregory, whom he attacks with unmeasured vehemence, retorting on him the imagery of the Apocalypse by styling him the great dragon, and that Antichrist of whom the pope had declared Frederick himself to be the forerunner.<sup>a</sup> He declared the real cause of the pope's enmity to be his refusal to sanction the marriage of his illegitimate son Henry or Enzo, King of Sardinia, with one of Gregory's nieces.<sup>b</sup>

The charge of infidelity, advanced by the successor of St. Peter, would perhaps in other circumstances have been fatal to his opponent. But at this time the minds of men were so violently exasperated by the rapacity of the popes, that they were not disposed to receive with implicit belief such an accusation

zog, art. *Impostoribus*.) The speech imputed by Gregory to Frederick is said by Thomas of Cantimpré to have been uttered by Simon of Tournay in 1201. (*Bonum Univers. de Apibus*, II. xlvi. 50.) See Schröckh, xxvi. 375-6, 380; *Hist. Litt.* xvi. 392; Neand. viii. 90; Giesel. II. ii. 143.

<sup>y</sup> Alberic. *Tr.-Font.* in Bouq. xxi. 623; Joh. Vitodur. 1739.

<sup>z</sup> See Raumer, iii. 435, 441; Neand. vii. 250; Giesel. II., ii. 143. Salimbene says, "*De fide Dei nihil habebat. . . . erat enim Epicureus, et ideo quicquid poterat invenire in divina Scriptura, per se aut per sapientes suos, quod faceret*

*ad ostendendum quod non esset alia vita post mortem, totum inveniebat*" (166, 169)—*i. e.*, he is said to have sought in Holy Scripture for authority against the doctrine of a future life! Böhmer believes the charges, *Introd.* 36-7.

<sup>a</sup> *Pet. de Vin.* i. 31.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* i. 22, p. 157; iv. 290. Yet Gregory's biographer asserts that Frederick had urged the marriage, and that the pope had always opposed it. (*Murat.* iii. 582.) There had been a difference between the pope and the emperor as to the lordship of Sardinia and Corsica. Raumer, iii. 423-4; Giesel. II., ii. 139; Sismondi, ii. 184-6.

from such a quarter. This rapacity had been carried far beyond all precedent. In England, the exactions for the crusades, although sanctioned by the feeble Henry III., had caused deep and general disgust, not only among the laity but among the clergy.<sup>c</sup> It was complained that the money collected for the Holy Land disappeared without any result; that the efforts which ought to have been limited to the original sacred purpose of the crusade were prostituted by being turned against the emperor; that, although the pope, after having gathered funds for his crusade against the emperor, speedily made peace with him, no part of the contributions had been repaid; that the mendicant friars, who had been the chief agents in raising this money, took state on them, in violation of their professions of evangelical poverty and humility, and spent it freely on themselves.<sup>d</sup> Italians occupied the benefices of the church in vast numbers, and sucked the wealth of the land, while they disregarded all the duties of residence, hospitality, or charity. And in the discontent produced by these grievances, men were struck by the inconsistency of the charge as to placing the three chief religions of the world on the same level of imposture, with that other charge of inclination to the religion of Mahomet which had formerly been brought against Frederick, and was still repeated.<sup>e</sup> The emperor's manifestos made a deep impression, and the accusation of infidelity was generally disbelieved.<sup>f</sup>

In France, too, even under the reign of the saintly Louis IX., the clergy had been provoked by the Roman exactions, and there was a feeling that the pope had proceeded too rashly.<sup>g</sup> It was said that the greatest prince in Christendom ought not to have been excommunicated without a general council; Frederick's services in the holy war were remembered as a ground for disbelieving the imputations against his faith; it was resolved that a mission should be sent to inquire of him directly as to the truth of the matter: and he was believed, when, with tears of anger, he thanked the envoys for having referred the question to himself, and met the charge by an indignant denial.<sup>h</sup>

It was in vain that Gregory endeavoured to stir up opposition in Germany by desiring the electors to choose another king instead of the excommunicated and deposed Frederick; they

<sup>c</sup> About every page of Matthew Paris contains details and complaints of the exorbitant imposts to which England was then subjected by the Roman church. *E. g.* Coxe, v. 297; Wats, 533, &c.

<sup>d</sup> *M. Par.* v. 303-4, ed. Coxe; 519, ed. Wats.

<sup>e</sup> *M. Par.* 512, ed. Wats.

<sup>f</sup> *Ib.* 522, 532. <sup>g</sup> Raumer, iii. 445-6.

<sup>h</sup> *M. Par.* 518; Raumer, iii. 446; Giesel, II., ii. 146.



answered that it was for them to elect, and that the pope had no other part in the matter than to crown the prince whom they had chosen.<sup>1</sup> In Germany, too, the assumption of the papal agents—among whom Albert of Beham, archdeacon of Passau, was the most conspicuous<sup>k</sup>—excited a general spirit of revolt against the authority of Rome, so that even bishops were found to declare that the Roman pontiff had no jurisdiction in Germany except by their consent; to protest loudly against the spirit of aggression and usurpation by which the policy of Rome was directed, and to proclaim their adhesion to Frederick, as the best hope of deliverance from the Roman oppression.<sup>m</sup> The Duke of Bavaria wrote to the pope in April, 1541, that the greater part of the German prelates and princes might be expected in autumn to appear in Lombardy for the assistance of Frederick;<sup>n</sup> and about the same time the pope received other letters from Germany, as well as from France and Denmark, entreating him to make peace.<sup>o</sup>

The emperor's arms made continual progress in Italy. In 1240, he had taken Viterbo, and approached the walls of Rome, when the pope, in the extremity of danger, had recourse to extraordinary measures. He held a solemn procession, in which a part of the true cross and the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were displayed; and, taking the crown from his own head, he placed it on the relics of the Apostles, to whom he addressed a prayer that they would defend the city, since the men of Rome hung back from its defence.<sup>p</sup> The people, moved by this and by the force with which Gregory dilated on Frederick's offences, took the cross against the emperor with an unanimity which had long been unknown; and Frederick thought it well to pass on into the south of Italy, without attempting to assault the city.<sup>q</sup> The success of his arms, however, was continued, and among his allies appear some whose names would not have been expected to occur in such a connexion. Thus Elias, minister-general of the Franciscan friars—the most effective agents of the papacy—joined the emperor,<sup>r</sup> although it was soon found that the

<sup>1</sup> Rayn. 1240. 2; Matth. Paris, 516; Alb. Stad. 367-9; Corn. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 73.

<sup>k</sup> Aventinus, 536, 538-40, 548, 550. See Raumer, iv. 99-100; Huill.-Bréh., Introd. 235; v. 1014, 1023, 1130; Höfler, 'Alb. v. Beham,' Stuttg. 1847 (where there are many letters of Gregory, Frederick, and others); Böhm. 187.

<sup>m</sup> Aventinus, 539; Giesel, II. ii. 145-6;

Raumer, iv. 16-7.

<sup>n</sup> Alb. de Beham, Acta, in Giesel, II., ii. 146.

<sup>o</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 334-7; Corn. Zantfl. in Mart., Coll. Ampl. v. 73.

<sup>p</sup> Mut. Modoet. 483; Annal. Dunstapl. 153-4; Raumer, iii. 452-3.

<sup>q</sup> Raumer, iii. 453-7.

<sup>r</sup> See below, c. VIII., sect. ii.; R. Sangerm. 1044; Raumer, iii. 314.

deposition and excommunication with which this step was visited destroyed all his influence in the order.<sup>s</sup> And John Colonna, the pope's ablest general, and the most important member of the college of cardinals, on being desired by Gregory to break off a truce which he had negotiated, refused. "If you will  
Jan. 1241. not obey me," said Gregory, "I no longer acknowledge you as cardinal." "Nor do I acknowledge you as pope," replied Colonna; and he carried over his troops to the emperor.<sup>t</sup>

Gregory had summoned a general council, to meet at Easter, 1241.<sup>u</sup> At an earlier time, the expedient of a general council had been much in favour with Frederick; but he saw that such a council as was now proposed—an assembly packed by his enemy with persons who had already declared themselves against him—was not likely to do him justice. He protested that popes had no right to summon general councils without the imperial sanction—especially such a pope as Gregory, who was leagued with the heretical and rebellious Milanese, and used the prelates who were at his beck to overrule the rights of princes who were subject to no earthly judgment. And he also dwelt on other objections—such as that the notice was insufficient to allow of the assembling of those who, on account of their distance from the scene of contention, were most likely to be unprejudiced in the quarrel. He endeavoured to persuade sovereigns to restrain their bishops from attending; while the bishops themselves were plied with alarming arguments from the difficulties of the journey, from the emperor's power, which rendered it unsafe to travel without his passport, and from the notorious greed of the Roman court.<sup>x</sup> On hearing, however, that a number of bishops were assembled at Genoa, Frederick offered them a safe passage by land, with the intention of meeting them on their way to Rome, and of setting before them a vindication of his conduct. But the pope's representatives prevented the acceptance of this offer, and the members of the

<sup>s</sup> Raumer, iii. 447. Frederick in 1239, after his own excommunication, complains of the treatment of Elias. Huill.-Bréh. v. 346.

<sup>t</sup> Ric. Sangerm. 1045, 1047; Matth. Par. 541. For this cardinal (whom Matthew Paris styles "*vas superbiæ et omnis contumeliæ*," p. 614), see Ciacon. ii. 57; Gregorov. v. 204. He had been in the east, from which he brought home, for his titular church of St. Praxedis, the pillar at which our Lord was said to have been scourged—thereby, as an inscription states, adding a sanctity to the

ancient name of the Colonnas. Ciacon. l. c.

<sup>u</sup> Ep. 16 (Mansi, xxiii.); W. Nang. ap. Bouq. xx. 330-2. Matthew Paris says that it was proposed by the cardinals as the only hopeful expedient, when they had been shaken in their allegiance to the pope, 532.

<sup>x</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 337; M. Par. 543-4, 552-3; Pet. de Vin., MS. quoted by Raumer, iv. 22; Ep. i. 30; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 96-8 (folio ed.). [This letter is evidently not of 1245, nor of the emperor's writing, as Baluze supposes.]



intended council embarked on board a fleet hired from the republic of Genoa.<sup>y</sup> Off Meloria, a rocky island nearly opposite Leghorn, they were unexpectedly attacked by a combined fleet from Sicily and Pisa, under the command of Frederick's son, King Enzo, which sank three galleys, and took twenty-two, with many smaller vessels. The number of prisoners amounted to about 3000, among whom were three papal legates,—one of them, Cardinal Otho, laden with the spoils of England<sup>z</sup>—many archbishops and bishops, the abbots of Cluny and Cîteaux, and the deputies of the Lombard cities.<sup>a</sup> These were all carried to Naples, and were distributed among the fortresses of Apulia, from which after a time the French bishops were released at the intercession of their sovereign.<sup>b</sup>

Gregory on hearing of this disaster was greatly exasperated, and sent forth letters in which he vehemently denounced Frederick for having captured the ecclesiastics who were on their way to a general council, after having himself often expressed a wish for such an assembly.<sup>c</sup> The emperor now advanced into the neighbourhood of Rome, and was laying waste all around him, when in his camp at Grotta Ferrata he received the tidings that Gregory had died on the 21st of August—partly, it would seem, from mental agitation, partly in consequence of being confined within the walls of his city during the excessive heats of summer.<sup>d</sup> Frederick professed to see a fitness in the circumstance that August had proved fatal to the enemy of the Augustus,<sup>e</sup> and expressed a hope that a successor of more peaceful character might be found. With some difficulty eight cardinals were brought together in the Septisolum at Rome—some of them having been allowed by Frederick to leave their prison for a time in order to choose a pope. But their votes were divided, and a second election was necessary before they could agree in choosing Gregory Castiglione, bishop of Ostia, a nephew of Urban III.<sup>f</sup> The new pope took the name of Cele-

<sup>y</sup> Huill.-Bréh. v. 1053, 1061, 1106.

<sup>z</sup> See as to his exactions, M. Paris, 524, 539, 541, &c., who says that the wealth which he left in England was, with the exception of church-plate, less than what he carried away (549). Cf. Wikes, in Gale, ii. 240.

<sup>a</sup> Pet. de Vin., Ep. i. 8-9 (pp. 105, 108); Matt. Par. 561-3; W. Nang. 332; Rayn. 1241. 54-63; Mut. Modoet. 484; Rymer, i. 241; Huill.-Bréh. v. 1146.

<sup>b</sup> Mut. Modoet. 484; Matt. Par. 563-4; R. Sangerm. 1046-7; Pet. de Vin., Ep. i.

1, 2; W. Nang. 332; Raumer, iv. 26-7.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. 17 (Mansi, xxiii.); Rayn. 1241. 64, seqq.

<sup>d</sup> R. Sangerm. 1047.  
<sup>e</sup> Pet. de Vin. i. 11, pp. 111-2. So in the end of Ep. 13, we have another play on this word—that when Louis interceded for the captured bishops, Frederick answered, “Non igitur regia celsitudo miretur, si prælatos Franciæ in angusto tenet augustus, qui ad angustias nitebantur.”

<sup>f</sup> R. Sangerm. 1047; Matt. Par. 575-7; Fred. ap. Hahn, Monum. i. 241-3.

tine IV.; but within eighteen days, the papacy was again vacant by his death,<sup>g</sup> and the vacancy was prolonged almost two years by the dissensions of the cardinals among themselves.

Frederick now felt himself at liberty to turn his attention to an enemy of a different character from the popes with whom he had been long contending. The Mongols or Tartars, after the death of Genghis, the founder of their empire, in 1227, had continued to push their conquests in all directions. In 1236 a vast horde of them, which was believed to extend twenty days' journey in length, and fifteen in breadth, had overwhelmed Russia;<sup>h</sup> and Europe was alarmed by the reports of their prodigious numbers, and of their savage character.<sup>i</sup> They overran Poland without difficulty; but in Silesia they were encountered, near Liegnitz, by a force of Germans under the duke of the country, Henry the Pious. The inequality of numbers—30,000 against 450,000—and the death of the German leader, gave the victory to the invaders; but by this resistance western Europe was saved, and the Tartars, instead of advancing further, turned their course into Hungary,<sup>k</sup> where they overcame King Bela IV., and displayed great barbarity and cruelty.<sup>m</sup> While the emperor's enemies, with the usual extravagance of party hatred, charged him with having brought this terrible scourge on Christendom, Frederick, in answer to all cries for aid against them, had alleged the danger of giving the pope an advantage against him, and the pope had been loudly blamed for detaining him in Italy.<sup>n</sup> But it would seem that the emperor now despatched Enzo, with such forces as he could spare, to the aid of Conrad in Germany, and thus contributed to the repulse of the barbarians, who, after having been defeated with great slaughter, retreated towards the Volga.<sup>o</sup>

The long vacancy of the papal see was popularly charged on Frederick, who may, indeed, be fairly supposed to have been very willing to see it protracted. The English clergy sent to

<sup>g</sup> See Mansi, n. on Rayn. ii. 276-7; Schröckh, xxvi. 390.

<sup>h</sup> See Gibbon, ch. lxiv.; Raumer, iv. 9; and below, c. VI. sect. vi.

<sup>i</sup> See Matt. Paris, 471, 546, "*Viri enim sunt inhumani et bestiales, potius monstra dicendi, &c.*;" and compare the old descriptions of the Huns and of the Hungarians cited in vol. ii. 404 (378). The Tartars were popularly deduced from the idolatrous tribes of Israel (M. Paris, 547). See, too, the letter of a Hungarian bishop to the bishop of Paris, *ib.* Add. 211.

<sup>k</sup> Annal. S. Rudb. A.D. 1241 (Pertz, ix.); Raumer, iv. 11-2 (who notices as a parallel the repulse of Napoleon I. in the same neighbourhood).

<sup>m</sup> Raumer, iv. 13.

<sup>n</sup> Pet. de Vin. i. 29, 30; Huill.-Bréh. v. 1139, 1143, &c.; R. Sangerm. 1046; Matth. Par. 558; Raynald. 1241. 38 (who is very angry); Giesel. II. ii. 147. See Böhmer, 260.

<sup>o</sup> M. Par. 564; Gibbon, vi. 151. Yet there are doubts as to Enzo's having shared in this. Raumer, iv. 29.



him a mission of remonstrance on the subject,<sup>p</sup> and the French threatened that, unless a new pope were speedily chosen by the cardinals, they themselves would set up a pope of their own, by virtue of a privilege which the apostolical Pope Clement was said to have bestowed on St. Denys the Areopagite.<sup>q</sup> Thus urged from various quarters, the emperor wrote to the cardinals, reproving them for their corruption, ambition, and other faults, complaining that he was defamed on their account, and urging them to proceed to an election.<sup>r</sup> With a view to this, they were released from prison, and were allowed to meet at Anagni; but their factious divisions still continued, and it was not until after Frederick had let his soldiery loose to ravage their estates that they agreed in choosing Sinibald Fiesco, cardinal of St. Laurence in Lucina.<sup>s</sup> Sinibald, a noble Genoese of the family of the counts of Lavagna,<sup>t</sup> and eminent for his legal and theological learning, had hitherto adhered to the imperialist politics of his family;<sup>u</sup> but Frederick, when felicitated on the result of the election, answered that, instead of having gained a friendly pope, he had lost a friendly cardinal—that no pope could be a Ghibelline.<sup>x</sup> By styling himself Innocent IV., Sinibald seemed to announce a design of following the policy of the great pope who had last borne the name of Innocent; and this design he steadily carried out. In some respects his pretensions exceeded those of any among his predecessors; he aimed at a power over the church more despotic than anything before claimed; and the vast host of the mendicant friars, who were wholly devoted to the papacy, enabled him to overawe any members of the hierarchy who might have been disposed to withstand his usurpations. Yet, although he was less violent than Gregory IX., his pride, his rapacity, and the bitterness of his animosity against those who opposed him, excited wide dissatisfaction, and many who were well affected to the papacy were forced to declare that the pope's quarrels were not necessarily the quarrels of all Christendom.<sup>y</sup>

<sup>p</sup> M. Par. 577.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. 602. See Pet. de Vin. Ep. 1. 35; Huill.-Bréh. Introd. 203. The genuineness of some letters supposed to be written at this time is doubtful. Gregorov. v. 216.

<sup>r</sup> Pet. de Vin. Epp. 1. 14, 17; Pertz, Leges, ii. 343.

<sup>s</sup> Matt. Par. 599; Mut. Modoet. 486; R. Sangerm. 1051; Böhm. 194.

<sup>t</sup> Nic. de Curbio, in Murat. iii. 592. The Genoese were greatly delighted at

his election. See Barthol. Pisan. in Pertz, xviii. 212; Hahn, Monum. i. 243.

<sup>u</sup> Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thes. iii. 722.

<sup>x</sup> Ptol. Lucensis, xxii. 1 (Murat. xi.); Benven. Imol. in Mur. Antiq. Ital. i. 1205; Schröckh, xxvi. 391-2. Böhmer says that the story is not found until the fourteenth century. Introd. 41.

<sup>y</sup> Planck, IV. i. 536; Raumer, iv. 61; Sismondi, R. I. ii. 206-7; Milin., iv. 315, 348.

Frederick, notwithstanding the misgivings which are imputed to him, congratulated the new pope on his election, and asked for absolution from the censures which, as he said, had been wrongfully pronounced by Gregory;<sup>z</sup> and in a public document he expressed a belief in Innocent's fitness for his office, and in his zeal for peace and justice.<sup>a</sup> Innocent, on the other hand, from the beginning of his pontificate, encouraged the spreading of rumours discreditable to the emperor, which were busily carried about by the mendicant friars—that he neglected the exercises of religion, that he was unsound in the faith, that he lived with Saracen mistresses who were guarded in eastern fashion by eunuchs, that he favoured Mahometanism and its professors in all possible ways.<sup>b</sup> These rumours created no small impression, and about this time events seemed to tend in favour of the pope.

Sept. 1243. Viterbo drove out its imperialist garrison, and Frederick's attempts to retake it were baffled by the desperate valour which the inhabitants of all ages and of both sexes displayed in the defence;<sup>c</sup> other defections from the imperial

Nov. 15. party followed, and Innocent was received into Rome with great demonstrations of joy.<sup>d</sup> Negotiations were opened between the emperor and the pope, and were protracted

March 31. until the Holy Week of 1244, when a treaty very disadvantageous to Frederick was agreed on.<sup>e</sup> But as to the fulfilment of this, serious difficulties arose. As sacrifices and concessions were required on both sides, which party was to begin,—the pope by absolving Frederick, or the emperor by giving up the cities which he had promised to surrender?<sup>f</sup> Each was inclined to charge the other with bad faith. With a view to a conference, the emperor had advanced to Civita Castellana, and the pope to Sutri; but on the 28th of June, Innocent suddenly disappeared. On hearing of his flight, Frederick exclaimed, "The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth," and sent 300 Tuscan cavalry after him; but the pope, who was attired in a military disguise, reached Civita Vecchia by outriding all his train, and was received on board a fleet, which he had arranged that his Genoese countrymen should despatch for his deliverance in case of need.<sup>g</sup> After some danger at sea, he reached his

<sup>z</sup> Pet. de Vin. Epp. i. 32-3.

<sup>a</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 341.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. Par. 608, 637.

<sup>c</sup> M. Par. 607-8; Raumer, iv. 45-6.

<sup>d</sup> Rayn. 1243. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 341, seqq.; Mut.

Modoet. 486; R. Sangerm. 1052; Matt. Par. 629. See Raumer, iv. 48.

<sup>f</sup> Matt. Par. 636; Mansi in Rayn. ii. 307; Planck, IV. 1. 561.

<sup>g</sup> Matt. Par. 637; Mut. Modoet. 488; Barthol. Scriba, in Pertz, xviii. 213-4.



native city, where he was received with great magnificence and with general enthusiasm. The air was filled with the chant "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" and with the response, "My soul is escaped, even as a bird from the snare of the fowler."<sup>h</sup> The fugitive was visited by the Marquis of Montferrat, by deputies from the Lombard cities, and by envoys of Frederick who urged him to return; but to these last he answered that it was useless to listen to the offers and promises of one who had been guilty of so many deceptions as their master.<sup>1</sup>

Genoa, however, was only to be a temporary resting-place, and, notwithstanding a severe illness which added to the difficulties of the way, he crossed the Alps, and continued his journey to Lyons.<sup>k</sup> At Lyons—a city nominally belonging to the imperial kingdom of Burgundy, but practically inde-

Dec. 2.

pendent under its archbishop, who was his zealous adherent—Innocent found himself safe. But when he made overtures to be invited into other kingdoms, he met with no welcome. Before leaving Genoa, he had been informed of the failure of an attempt on France—that when king Louis, who was a confrater of the Cistercian order, visited Cîteaux at the time of a general chapter, he was implored with great solemnity to allow the pope

Michaelmas,  
1244.

to settle at Reims, but that by the advice of the French estates he declined the request.<sup>m</sup> When some cardinals wrote to Henry of England that the pope was desirous to see "the delights of Westminster and the riches of London," and suggested that the king should invite him, the English cried out that they had been sufficiently pillaged by Rome without entertaining the pope in person;<sup>n</sup> and from Aragon the answer was not more encouraging.<sup>o</sup> About the same time a papal collector was driven from England by the general indignation at his rapacity—the king not daring to protect him;<sup>p</sup> and on his reporting his adventures to the pope, Innocent, smarting at the recollection of the late refusals, exclaimed, that it would be well to make peace with the emperor, "for when the great dragon is crushed or quieted, the little serpents<sup>q</sup> will soon be trodden down." But although

Innocent's biographer, Nicolas de Curbio, was one of his companions in the flight. Vita Innoc. in Murat. iii. 592.

<sup>h</sup> Nic. de Curbio, c. 14; Matt. Par. 637; Barth. Scriba, 214.

<sup>i</sup> Barth. Scriba, 215.

<sup>k</sup> Barth. Scriba, 215; N. de Curbio, c. 15.

<sup>m</sup> M. Paris, 649.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. 655, 660. At a later time,

Henry declined a proposal that the pope should live at Bordeaux. Ib. 803.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. 660.

<sup>p</sup> Trivet, 2, 30. It is said that Henry, on being asked by this man, Master Martin, for a safe conduct, replied, "Diabolus te ad inferos inducat et perducatur!" Ib. 659.

<sup>q</sup> "Serpentuli" (M. Paris, 660); "quos omnes regulos et serpentulos esse

he attempted to open negotiations with Frederick, it soon became apparent that they were hopeless.

From Lyons, in January, 1245, Innocent issued citations to a general council, to be held in that city at the Feast of St. John the Baptist ensuing, for the consideration of the discord between the emperor and the church, of the danger from the Tartars, and of the differences between the Greek and Latin Churches.<sup>r</sup> Frederick was invited to attend, or to send representatives; but in the mean time the pope—in consequence, as he asserted, of fresh offences—renewed his excommunication.<sup>s</sup> This sentence was received with very various feelings; we are told, for instance, of a priest at Paris, who, in publishing it, declared to his congregation that he did not know the right of the matter, but that one of the parties must have greatly wronged the other; and therefore that he, as far as he had power, excommunicated the guilty person, and absolved him who had suffered the wrong.<sup>t</sup>

June 26. After a preliminary meeting in the monastic church of St. Just, the council assembled in the cathedral on St. Peter's Eve. It was attended by the Latin emperor of Constantinople, by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia, and by a hundred and forty archbishops and bishops, of whom the archbishop of Palermo was almost the only prelate from the emperor's dominions.<sup>u</sup> But Frederick, although he considered the synod to be unfairly composed, felt that, as he had often expressed a desire for a general council, he ought not to be unrepresented in it, and, in addition to the archbishop, had sent some envoys, headed by Thaddeus of Sessa, a doctor of laws and judge of the sacred palace—a man of eloquence, prudence, and courage, eminent both in council and in war.<sup>x</sup> At the outset, a disturbance was caused by the attempt of the patriarch of Aquileia to seat himself as an equal with the eastern patriarchs; but at their remonstrance his seat was thrown down, although the pope afterwards allowed it to be re-erected.<sup>y</sup>

dicebat" (ib. 774); the word *regulus* meaning (like βασιλίσκος) (1) *a little king*; (2) *a cockatrice*.

<sup>r</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 608. At Rome this is reckoned as the thirteenth general council, but it is not acknowledged in France. Giesel. II. ii. 150. See Palmer on the Church, ii. 227-8.

<sup>s</sup> Rayn. 1245. 2.

<sup>t</sup> M. Paris, 654. The emperor, on

hearing of this, sent the priest gifts, while the pope censured him. Ib.

<sup>u</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 608; M. Paris, 663; Mansi, n. in Rayn. ii. 324; Hefele, v. 983. Hefele thinks that the number exceeded 140 after the preliminary meeting. l. c.

<sup>x</sup> M. Paris, 663; Raumer, iv. 65; Planck, iv. 1. 563-4.

<sup>y</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 610.



After the council had been opened with the usual solemnities, the patriarch of Constantinople brought forward the dangers and difficulties which beset his church and the Latin power in the east. The English bishops next urged the canonisation of their late primate Edmund; but the pope allowed both these subjects to pass without any satisfactory reply. Thaddeus of Sessa then rose, and, after apologizing for the emperor's absence on the ground of sickness, offered in his name peace with the church, restoration of the Latin empire in the east, aid against the Mongols, deliverance of the Holy Land, and satisfaction for all offences and aggressions against the church. The pope admitted that these promises sounded fairly, but asked who would be sureties for the performance of them. "The kings of France and England," answered Thaddeus. "Then," rejoined the pope, "if he fail, I shall have three enemies instead of one."<sup>z</sup>

The second session, four days later, was opened by the pope with a speech in which he allegorised the Saviour's five wounds as figuring the present dangers of the church—the Tartars, the schism of the Greeks, the heresies of the Patarenes and others, the state of the Holy Land, and the enmity of the emperor. The falsehood of Frederick's pretence that his quarrel was not with the papacy but with individual holders of it, was (he said) sufficiently proved by his proceedings during the vacancy of the see. He enlarged on Frederick's misdeeds—the favour which he showed to Saracens, his entertainment of Saracen mistresses with their attendant eunuchs, the bestowal of his daughter on the heretical Greek Vatatzes, and the like; yet amid all this invective it is remarkable that there was no mention of the old charge as to the "Three Impostors."<sup>a</sup> Again Thaddeus of Sessa stood forward, and defended his master at all points, meeting some of the accusations by the evidence of papal letters which he produced.<sup>b</sup> But the pope declared that for his innumerable offences Frederick deserved an ignominious deposition. The intercession of the English envoys was disregarded; but those of France were able to obtain a short delay, and Frederick was invited to appear in person within twelve days—a time hardly sufficient to allow of his compliance.<sup>c</sup> Instead of this, he despatched Herman of Salza, the grand-master of the

<sup>z</sup> Matt. Paris, 663; Mansi, xxiii. 611; Schröckh, xxvi. 403. Raumer, iv. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. Par. 664.

<sup>a</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 611; Matt. Par. 664;

<sup>c</sup> Hefele, v. 989.

Teutonic order, the bishop of Freising, and the chancellor Peter delle Vigne to reinforce his representatives who were already at Lyons; but the pope refused to wait even three days for their arrival, and on the 17th of July proceeded to hold the third and last session of the council.<sup>d</sup> At this session the appeal of Thaddeus to a future pope and to a more general and more impartial synod was unheeded. The representatives of England, who interposed by presenting a long list of grievances as to the oppression of their national church by Rome, were put aside by being told that the matter required deliberation.<sup>e</sup> Innocent again vehemently dilated on the emperor's offences—his aggressions on the church, his suspected heresy, his seizure of prelates on their way to a general council, his relapse after a relaxation of former censures, his Saracen connexions and habits; and to these charges it was added that he had caused the assassination of his own kinsman the duke of Bavaria.<sup>f</sup> For these crimes, it was declared that Frederick was deposed; his subjects were released from their allegiance, and the German princes were desired to choose another king, while the pope reserved the disposal of the Sicilian kingdom for consideration with his cardinals. Again Thaddeus implored that the sentence might be deferred, and the representatives of the English and French kings, with the patriarch of Aquileia, joined their intercessions; while on the other hand Frederick's enemies urged the pope to proceed, and the sentence was solemnly pronounced, with the extinction of candles, and the other symbolical forms provided by the ritual, while the general awe was heightened by the appearance of a meteor which, as the words were uttered, shot across the sky.<sup>g</sup> On hearing the judgment, Thaddeus of Sessa burst out into sighs and tears, "This is a day of wrath!" he exclaimed; "truly the Tartars, the Chorasmiens, and the heretics have cause to triumph and exult in what is done."<sup>h</sup> In the name of their master, he and his com-

<sup>d</sup> Pet. de Vin. Ep. i. 3, p. 89; Raumer, iv. 71.

<sup>e</sup> M. Paris, 664-8. They afterwards got an unfavourable answer. (Ib. 681.) Before leaving home, the bishops of England, Ireland, and Gascony had been obliged to swear that they would do nothing against the interest of their sovereign. Rymer, i. 260.

<sup>f</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 612-9; W. Nang. in Bouq. xx. 1348-52.

<sup>g</sup> Mut. Modoet. 489; Rolandino, v. 14, in Murat. viii.; Raumer, iv. 73-4.

<sup>h</sup> Matt. Par. 679. The English envoys

objected to the payment of the tribute promised by King John, saying that the realm had not agreed to it, and that Archbishop Langton, in the name of the whole kingdom, had protested against it. The pope said that it was a subject for mature deliberation, and so put it aside. (Trivet, 234-5). The council passed seventeen canons—among them, one for aid to the Byzantine empire (xiv.); one for defence against the Tartars (xvi.); and one for a crusade, with the offer of indulgences, &c. (xvii.; cf. M. Paris, 672-5).



panions protested against it, appealing to a future pope, to a general council, to the princes of Germany, and to all sovereigns, and declaring Frederick's willingness to refer the whole question between himself and the church to the arbitration of king Louis of France.<sup>1</sup>

Frederick was at Turin when he received the news of his deposition. "Where are my caskets?" he indignantly exclaimed, "let us see whether I have lost my crowns." Then, taking one of the crowns from its case, he placed it on his head, and assumed an air of intense defiance, declaring that neither pope nor council should deprive him of his crown except at the cost of a bloody struggle; that he now felt himself released from all obedience, reverence, love, or other duty towards the pope.<sup>k</sup> He issued, accordingly, a protest against the sentence as being null for many reasons: as contrary to the facts of the case, as pronounced in the absence of the accused, and by a person who had no competent authority, forasmuch as the emperor was the source of all law, and was subject to God alone. And with this protest were combined a vindication of his own orthodoxy, and a vehement attack on the pope for his wealth and luxury, for neglect of pastoral duty, for blood-guiltiness, for his extravagance in building a sumptuous palace at Anagni, while he allowed Jerusalem to be "a bondmaid to dogs and tributary to Saracens."<sup>m</sup> The pope replied by a letter in which Frederick's behaviour was compared to that of a sick man who complains that, after having refused milder means of cure, he is subjected to the knife and to cautery; and enouncing that the Saviour bestowed on St. Peter the kingly as well as the priestly power.<sup>n</sup> The violence of Frederick's language startled and shocked his contemporaries, who interpreted it as declaring an intention to destroy the church; and the effect of the pope's sentence was partly seen in the refusal of the Duke of Austria's daughter to marry an excommunicated emperor.<sup>o</sup> The imperial theory had, indeed, been of late shaken by many things,—among them, by

<sup>i</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 353-6.

<sup>k</sup> M. Paris, 679; Barthol. Scriba, in Pertz, xviii. 217.

<sup>m</sup> Pet. de Vin. Epp. i. 1, 2, 3, 6; M. Paris, 680, 702-4; Rym. i. 236-8. Frederick quotes the Donation of Constantine as genuine. P. de Vin. 79.

<sup>n</sup> This letter was first given in a translation by Raumer, iv. 78-9. The original has since been published by Höfler. Raumer remarks the inconsis-

tency of the pope's claim with St. Bernard's words (*De Consid.* ii. 11.) "I ergo tu, et tibi usurpare aude aut dominans apostolatum, aut apostolicus dominatum. Plane ab alterutro prohiberis. Si utrumque simul habere voles, perdes utrumque." (*Patrol.* clxxxii. 748).

<sup>o</sup> M. Paris, 680; Giesel. II. ii. 151. Isabella of England had died Dec. 1. 1, 1241. Böhm. 191.

the papal deposition of Otho and by the choice of Frederick in his stead—nor did the princes of Christendom understand that it was their interest to make common cause with the empire.<sup>p</sup>

In the north of Italy, Frederick began a war which was carried on with extreme bitterness and with a neglect of the ordinary humanities.<sup>q</sup> An eye-witness, Salimbene, tells us that during these hostilities beasts and birds of prey were allowed to multiply unchecked—that wolves howled around the walls of cities, and sometimes were able to find an entrance, when they killed and ate those whom they found asleep under porticos.<sup>r</sup> In Sicily, a revolt was stirred up by papal emissaries, who were authorised to offer the privileges of crusaders to all who should take arms against their sovereign.<sup>s</sup>

Frederick, instead of attempting to strengthen himself by alienating a portion of the clergy from the pope, was tempted by his anger to the unjust and impolitic course of attacking the whole clerical order. He charged them with fattening on the alms which were intended for the relief of the poor, inveighed against them as luxurious, and declared an intention to relieve them of their superfluous wealth.<sup>t</sup> His officials were ordered to exact a third of all their revenues for the support of the imperial cause;<sup>u</sup> and to punish by deprivation and banishment any ecclesiastics who should comply with the pope's orders by refraining from the celebration of religious offices.<sup>x</sup> He declared that there were too many bishopricks and canonries, and among the impieties which the pope charged against him it is stated (probably not without exaggeration) that he kept fifty sees and innumerable parish churches vacant.<sup>y</sup> The mendicant orders, whom he styles the pope's "evil angels,"<sup>z</sup> were let loose against him, to inflame the people, down to the very lowest, by their unscrupulous denunciations; and he ordered that not only such of them as should be caught in spreading the letters of excommunication and interdict, but any other persons who should carry or receive such letters, should be burnt.<sup>a</sup> On both sides there were charges of intended treachery—that Innocent had employed

<sup>p</sup> Gregorov. v. 244-6.

<sup>q</sup> M. Paris, 688; Raumer, iv. 82.

<sup>r</sup> P. 71.

<sup>s</sup> Rayn. 1246. 11.

<sup>t</sup> Pet. de Vin. Ep. 1. 2; Miln. iv. 331.

<sup>u</sup> P. de Vin. Ep. i. 10.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 423; Rayn. 1248. 1. Nicolas de Curbio says that Frederick raged

against the clergy "*tanquam ursa raptis catulis frendens*" (Vita Innoc. 27.) For a monstrous story told against him by the Archbishop Sifrid of Mentz, see Annal. Erphord. in Pertz, xvi. 36.

<sup>y</sup> Raumer, iv. 85 (from a Vatican MS.).

<sup>z</sup> Pet. de Vin. ii. 38, p. 318.

<sup>a</sup> Pet. de Vin. i. 18-9; Raumer, l. c.



some members of the emperor's household to poison him; that Frederick had hired ruffians to assassinate the pope.<sup>b</sup> The accusations against Frederick were strongly denied by him, and are utterly improbable; and although it is very possible that some fanatical monk may have conceived the idea of ridding the world of an excommunicated emperor, it is not to be supposed that the head of the church himself was privy to any such atrocious design.<sup>c</sup> In order to meet the imputations of heresy or unbelief, which he found to be the most dangerous weapons against him, Frederick desired the archbishop of Palermo, with two Dominican friars and some abbots, to examine him as to his religious opinions, and, when they had satisfied themselves of his orthodoxy, to state the result in a paper which they were to present to the pope. But the pope, instead of receiving their testimony, rebuked them for having held intercourse with an excommunicate person, and for speaking of him as emperor after his solemn deposition by apostolical authority.<sup>d</sup> He objected to them as partial judges in the matter, and, with reflections on Frederick as untrustworthy, he gave but little encouragement to his offer to appear in person for the purpose of clearing his orthodoxy.<sup>e</sup> The intercession of King Louis, and the offers which Frederick made through him—to devote the remainder of his days to the war in the Holy Land, if he might secure absolution for himself and the succession to the empire for his son—were also fruitless, and Louis made no secret of his indignation and disgust at finding this implacable hardness and pride in one whose business it should have been to unite all Christian princes for the defence of their common faith.<sup>f</sup>

In Germany, the pope had great difficulty in finding any one who would allow himself to be set up as king in rivalry to the Hohenstaufen.<sup>g</sup> At length, however, the offer of the crown was accepted, with much unwillingness, by Henry Raspe,<sup>h</sup> landgrave of Thuringia, a brave warrior, but one whose harshness towards his widowed sister-in-law, the saintly Elizabeth of Hungary,<sup>i</sup>

<sup>b</sup> M. Paris, 717, 724-5; Frid. ib. 712; Walt. de Oera, ib. 714; Rayn. 1246. 15; 1247. 9. "Necesse est enim," says Matthew Paris, with reference to the pope, "ut multos timeat, qui a multis timetur, et multorum perturbator, multipliciter perturbetur," 725.

<sup>c</sup> See Raumer, iv. 89-90.

<sup>d</sup> Rayn. 1246. 17-8; Miln. iv. 335.

<sup>e</sup> Rayn. 1246. 18 (see Frederick's remarks, ib. 22); Raumer, iv. 91.

<sup>f</sup> M. Paris, 683, 691, 697.

<sup>g</sup> Louis had dissuaded his brother Robert of Artois from accepting it. See Raumer, iii. 446; Huill.-Bréh. *Introd.* ccc.

<sup>h</sup> This name, according to some authorities, was taken from the castle of Raspenberg; while others say that it means *the Rough*. See Raumer, iv. 101.

<sup>i</sup> See pp. 391, 562; Hist. de Landgr. Thuring. in Pistor. i. 1323; Vita Eliz.

had not prepared men to see him chosen as the special champion of the church. The election was made almost entirely May 22, 1246. by the great prelates of the Rhine, while the lay electors in general held aloof, and Henry was derided as the "clergy's king."<sup>k</sup> Supported in part by money from the pope, Henry carried on war with Conrad the son of Frederick, whom he defeated<sup>m</sup> near Frankfort in August, 1246. But at a later battle near Ulm, in February, 1247, the result was reversed; Feb. 17, 1247. and Henry withdrew to the Wartburg, where he died of shame and grief.<sup>n</sup> The difficulty of finding an opponent to the Hohenstaufen emperor was now even greater than before. After various attempts in other quarters, William, count of Holland, a youth of twenty, was chosen by the Rhenish arch-Sept. 30, 1247. bishops and some other electors; but the want of support from the princes made his royalty little more than a shadow, although the pope exerted himself to the utmost in his behalf, and commuted the vow of Crusaders for the engagement to fight against Frederick.<sup>o</sup> Aix-la-Chapelle refused to admit the new pretender within its walls, and, although laid under interdict by a cardinal, did not yield until after Frederick's death, when William at length received the German crown in Charlemagne's Nov. 1, 1248. minster;<sup>p</sup> but he was still engaged, as before, in a struggle with Frederick's son and successor Conrad.

In Italy, the war between the emperor and his enemies was carried on with unrelenting ferocity. Early in 1247, King Enzo hanged one of the pope's near relations who had fallen into his hands; and partly in consequence of this provocation, the pope on Good Friday renewed his excommunication of the emperor in a manner which impressed those who were present with more than the ordinary awe.<sup>q</sup> In order to raise money for the expenses of the struggle, Innocent now openly practised abuses which at another time would have incurred the heaviest reprobation of the church—excessive taxation of ecclesiastical

in Canis. IV. He afterwards behaved more kindly to her. Ib. v. 7-8.

<sup>k</sup> "Regem clericorum," (Alb. Stad. 3701); "Pfaffenkönig" (Raumer, iv. 103.) Henry announced his election to the Milanese with much abuse of "Fredericum quondam Cæsarem, inimicum Crucifixi." (Hahn, Monum. i. 248; where there are other letters of the time.) For letters of Innocent in his favour, see Pertz, Leges, ii. 361-2. Cf. Rayn. 1246. 1-2.

<sup>m</sup> M. Paris, 704. See Henry's letter

to the Milanese, Hahn, 1. 253.

<sup>n</sup> M. Paris, 726. Böhmer says that there was no second battle, Reg. 1246-1313, p. 2.

<sup>o</sup> M. Paris, 726-7, 730, 735; Rayn. 1248. 13. For documents relating to William, see Pertz, Leges, ii. 363, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> M. Paris, 750; Wikes, 1246. Corn. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 97-8.

<sup>q</sup> "Adeo horribiliter ut audientibus et videntibus horrorem incussit vehementer." M. Paris, 727.



property, sale of indulgences, and relaxation of deserved censures, bestowal of sees without canonical election, and the diversion of money intended for the Holy Land to the purposes of his quarrel with the first prince of Christendom.\*

Frederick was still desirous of peace, and renewed his offers of terms. He had received the submission of the Milanese, and was on his way to seek a conference with Innocent at Lyons,<sup>s</sup> when he was recalled by the tidings that an insurrection had broken out at Parma. With a view of reducing the place, he built and fortified a town over against it, to which, in the confident anticipation of success, he gave the name of Victoria;<sup>t</sup> and it is said that, in order to strike terror into the besieged, he every day beheaded some of his prisoners in their sight.<sup>u</sup> The siege lasted nearly seven months, and the Parmesans were reduced to great distress; but their spirit was unbroken, and, after solemn prayers, in which all classes and ages joined,<sup>x</sup> a sally was made against Victoria on Frederick's birthday. The buildings, mainly composed of wood, were set on fire; and the emperor, who had been engaged in hawking at some distance, found on his return that Victoria was destroyed, that 1500 of his men were slain, and that the Parmesans had carried off 3000 prisoners, with booty of immense value, including crowns, precious jewels, and his imperial seal.<sup>y</sup> But above all he had to lament the loss of two of his most valuable adherents, the Marquis Lancia and Thaddeus of Sessa; Thaddeus, after having lost both his hands in the fight, was taken prisoner, and, in revenge for the supposed crime of having advised his master to measures of severity, was barbarously hacked to pieces.<sup>z</sup> A few months later, Frederick had to mourn a calamity which touched him yet more deeply—the capture of his illegitimate son King Enzo, a handsome, brave and accomplished youth, to whose valour he had been greatly indebted in the contests of the last years. Enzo fell into the hands of the Bolognese, who refused

June 16,  
1247.

Aug. 2,  
1247, to  
Feb. 18,  
1248.

Feb. 18,  
1248.

May 26,  
1249.

\* Raumer, iv. 116-7.

<sup>s</sup> Pet. de Vin. ii. 14; Barthol. Scriba, ap. Pertz, xviii. 221. The pope's biographer, Nicolas de Curbio, says that Frederick intended to seize him (Murat. iii.) but this seems to be groundless. See Schröckh, xxvi. 189.

<sup>t</sup> Anon. Parmensis, in Pertz, xviii. 673; Barthol. Scriba, ib. 222; Böhm. 204-5. <sup>u</sup> Salimbene (a Parmesan) 80.

<sup>x</sup> They offered to the Blessed Virgin a

silver model of the city. "Rogavit mater Filium; exaudivit Filius matrem, cui de jure nihil poterat denegare," says Salimbene, 80.

<sup>y</sup> Pet. de Vin. t. i. p. 329; Epp. ii. 5, 41; Mut. Modoet. ap. Pertz, xviii. 495-7; Anon. Parm. ib. 675; Barthol. Scriba, ib. 224-5; Salimb. 81, 164. There are three poems on the subject in Pertz, xviii.

<sup>z</sup> M. Paris, 746; Anon. Parm. 675.

to yield him up either to threats or to offers of ransom.<sup>a</sup> From the age of twenty-four to that of forty-seven he was kept in the palace of the Podestà, in a captivity, which, although not severe, was strictly guarded and hopeless; and on his death in 1272, he was buried with honour by the Bolognese in the church which contained the body of St. Dominic.<sup>b</sup>

To the loss of these faithful adherents was soon added the treachery of Frederick's minister and confidant Peter delle Vigne. Peter had not been able to bear his elevation without exciting complaints of his pride, assumption, and rapacity;<sup>c</sup> and it would seem that his sudden and miserable downfall excited more of terror than of pity. The history which is given of this is mysterious and romantic; yet if we hesitate on this account to accept it, we are left without any explanation of his fate.<sup>d</sup> It is said that Peter had been suspected of treachery in holding intercourse with the pope at the council of Lyons, where he had arrived after the sentence of deposition against his master had been pronounced; yet for three years after that council he retained, outwardly at least, the imperial favour.<sup>e</sup> At last, according to the chroniclers, he caught at an opportunity of carrying out his treacherous designs by recommending a physician to the emperor when sick. Frederick, suspecting evil, desired the physician to taste a potion which he had prescribed for him. The physician affected to stumble, and spilt the greater part of the draught; but the remainder was enough to kill a condemned criminal to whom it was administered. The chancellor was arrested at Cremona, where his life was with difficulty saved from the violence of the exasperated people; his eyes were torn out, and in this miserable state he was paraded through various Italian towns. At length, it was announced to him that he was to be given up to the Pisans, whom he regarded as his especial enemies; and on hearing this doom, he prevented the execution of it by dashing out his brains against a pillar to which he was chained.<sup>f</sup>

Frederick was sick both in body and in mind. He suspected

<sup>a</sup> *E.g.* Pet. de Vin. ii. 34; M. Paris, 788-9.

<sup>b</sup> M. Paris, 767; Salimb. 156, 244, 259; Mut. Modoet. 556; Barthol. Scriba, 227.

<sup>c</sup> Raumer, iv. 132. Mr. Kington gives specimens of the flattery—in some cases even blasphemous—which was addressed to Peter; ii. 479.

<sup>d</sup> Raumer, iv. 132.

<sup>e</sup> Salimb. 79; M. Paris, 764; Raumer, iv. 132.

<sup>f</sup> M. Paris, 764; Mut. Modoet. 498; F. Pipin. 39 (Murat. ix.); Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1051-3; Giannone, iii. 181-3; Tiraboschi, iv. 23-6; Böhmer, Introd. 38-9; Raumer, iv. 133-4, and Append. 391 (where the various accounts are examined); Milin. iv. 343-4; Kington, ii. 482. Dante (Inf. xiii.) places Peter in hell among the suicides, but makes him ascribe his ruin to the envy of courtiers, and strongly protest his innocence of treachery.



all men; his temper became more violent than before; and the cruelty which he may be said to have inherited from his father, was more and more displayed in the treatment of such enemies as fell into his hands.<sup>g</sup> His illness was aggravated by a stroke of palsy, and on the thirteenth of December, 1250, he died at Fiorentino,<sup>h</sup> in the Capitanata, having directed by his last testament that all the rights of the church should be restored, on condition that the church should restore the rights of the empire.<sup>i</sup> On his deathbed he was reconciled to the church, and received the last sacraments from the hands of the Archbishop of Palermo; and, agreeably to the directions of his will, his body was laid beside those of his parents in the cathedral of that city, to which he had left a large bequest.<sup>k</sup>

Of Frederick's character something has been already said, and little need be here added.<sup>m</sup> The writers in the papal interest have painted him, as its resolute and persevering enemy, in the darkest colours; yet even they are obliged to admit that he was a man of high talents, of many graces and accomplishments, endowed with an irresistible charm of manner, a patron of learning and of all liberal arts, and that "if he had been a good Catholic he would have had few equals among sovereigns."<sup>n</sup> On the other hand, although there can be little doubt that his religious opinions have been misrepresented by his enemies, it seems certain that he indulged in a dangerous laxity of belief and levity of expression; and the facts of his life bear out in great measure the charges which are made against him, of excessive licentiousness, of cruelty, cunning, treachery, and falsehood. It is said that his favour could not be relied on, but was

<sup>g</sup> Annal. Parmens. in Pertz, xviii. 672-3; Spinelli, in Murat. vii. 1068; Salimb. 157. For his cruelty, see Hist. Sicul. in Huill.-Bréh. i. 908; Böhmer, Introd. 38-9. The leaden cloaks which he employed in punishment of treason are mentioned by Dante, 'Inferno,' xxiii. 65-6; Benvenuto of Imola says that the criminals so arrayed were put into a furnace, where the lead melted away. Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1091.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 390.

<sup>i</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 357, seqq.

<sup>k</sup> As to the day of his death, see Pertz, Leges, ii. 356-7; Cf. Mut. Modoet. 502; Fr. Pipin. in Murat. ix., c. 41; M. Paris, 804, 812. The legate Gregory of Monte Lungo writes to the Milanese, with allusion to his dying on St. Lucy's Day, "In tempore lucido diem lucidum virgo Lucia vobis naviter obtulit."

(Hahn, Monum. 1. 257). Nicolas de Curbio represents him as dying in despair and torments, and says nothing of the absolution by the archbishop of Palermo. (Vita Innoc. IV. in Murat. iii. 592.) Other anti-imperialists assert that he was suffocated with a pillow, or poisoned, by his son Manfred. (Ptol. Lucens. xxii. 9, ib. xi.; Annal. Parm. 676.) See Rayn. 1250. 33; Mansi in Rayn. t. ii. 428; Milman, iv. 344-5. In 1284, a man who pretended to be Frederick was burnt by Rudolf of Hapsburg. Annal. Vindob. A.D. 1284, Pertz, ix.; Böhmer, 127.

<sup>m</sup> Giannone gives a too favourable view of him (iii. 188-195). Böhmer (whose original remarks are not the most valuable part of his books) is very severe against him. Introd. 35, seqq.

<sup>n</sup> Salimb. 166.

rather a token of eventual ruin, and that in such cases he did not scruple to employ feigned accusations against his victims;<sup>o</sup> but, if this may seem to be countenanced by the fate of Peter delle Vigne, we must remember that the emperor retained to the last the warm affection and the zealous service of men so highly respected by their contemporaries as Thaddeus of Sessa, Herman of Salza, and Berardo, Archbishop of Palermo.<sup>p</sup>

In his great struggle with the papacy, Frederick, notwithstanding the calamities of his last days, had not to undergo any such humiliation as the appearance of Henry IV. before Gregory VII. at Canossa, or the submission of his own grandfather Barbarossa to Alexander III.; he was not guilty of any such acts of violence as that which Henry V. committed in the seizure of pope Paschal; and he avoided the error of setting up an antipope in opposition to the popes who ineffectually declared him to be deposed and charged all Christians to avoid him.<sup>q</sup> He regarded the struggle as one of principle, as involving the rights of all Christian princes; and in this he was justified by the extravagant language and by the violent acts of Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. In taking up the cause of "the boy of Sicily" as a claimant of the German kingdom and of the empire, Innocent III. committed a mistake like that which Henry V. of Germany had made as to Albert of Mentz, or that which Henry II. of England had made in the promotion of Becket. Instead of a pliant tool, the pope and his successors found in Frederick a man who was strongly convinced of the imperial rights and believed them to be incompatible with the pretensions of the papacy. When the knowledge of their mistake had been forced on them, they attempted to hold him to the fulfilment of his crusading vow, to the disregard of all his political and personal interests. They throughout treated his excuses, however reasonable, as mere pretences; they thwarted him in his expedition to the Holy Land, misrepresented his proceedings there, invaded his territories while he was engaged in the cause of the cross, employed the most unmeasured calumnies against him, and circulated these by the agency of the friars, which penetrated to all places and to

<sup>o</sup> Salimbene, 79-80, 224. Frederick is reported to have said, "*Nunquam nutrivi porcum de quo axungiam non habuerim*"—meaning that he never favoured any one without afterwards making him pay for it. (Ib.) But the story seems unlikely.

<sup>p</sup> Milm. iv. 347-8.

<sup>q</sup> M. Huillard-Bréholles cites many passages to show that from about 1247 Frederick meditated the establishment of a church with himself for its head, and separate from the Roman Church, although not differing from it in doctrine. *Introd.* 504, seqq.



every class of society; and they had recourse to the extreme measures of declaring him excommunicate and deposed, of releasing his subjects from allegiance, and of setting up pretenders to his throne. Whatever, therefore, the faults of Frederick's character may have been—however he may have erred in some of his measures of resistance to the papal policy—we can hardly refuse him, in the main, our sympathy in his contest with Rome, unless we be prepared to admit a theory which would make all power, both religious and secular, centre in the papacy alone.

Frederick by his will appointed Conrad, his son by Iolanthe,<sup>r</sup> heir both of the empire and of the Sicilian kingdom, and directed that Manfred, the child of a connexion with a daughter of the Marquis Lancia, should in Conrad's absence be governor of Sicily and Italy.<sup>s</sup> Innocent wrote to the Germans that, although Herod was dead, Archelaus his son reigned in his stead.<sup>t</sup> He renewed the excommunication of Conrad, and, not content with supporting William of Holland in his pretensions to the crown, endeavoured even to deprive Conrad of the hereditary dukedom of Swabia, by declaring that any one was at liberty to seize his lands. A frightful scene of confusion followed, every one being intent on his own selfish objects, with an entire disregard of all patriotic feeling. The primate, Christian of Mentz, was deposed by a legate for refusing to take part in the crusade against the Hohenstaufen, and it was in vain that he appealed to those canons of the church by which ecclesiastics were forbidden to fight.<sup>u</sup>

The pope was bent on setting up a rival to Conrad in the southern kingdom as well as in Germany. After an unsuccessful attempt to make use of Henry, the son of Frederick by his English wife, Isabella, overtures were made to Charles of Anjou, brother of King Louis of France. But at this time the pope was unpopular with the French, who attributed in part to his implacable enmity against Frederick the disasters which had made their king a captive in the East. The friars who were commissioned to preach a crusade against Conrad were forbidden

<sup>r</sup> Salimb. 17.

<sup>s</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 358. Some suppose that Bianca Lancia was married to Frederick, although, from inequality of birth, not acknowledged as empress; others, that there was no marriage, but that Manfred was legitimatised by a later act. (See Sismondi, ii. 253; Raumer, iv. 180-2); Matthew Paris (930) and Bartholomew the Scribe (Pertz,

xviii. 228) say that, when she was dying, Frederick married her in order to render Manfred legitimate; and this is the opinion of M. Huillard-Bréholles. (*Intr.* 184-8). Cf. S. Malaspina, i. (Murat. viii.); Giannone, iii. 211; Böhm. 277-8. There are two letters from Manfred to Conrad, on their father's death, in Baluz. *Miscell.* i. 193. <sup>t</sup> Rayn. 1252. 11.

<sup>u</sup> Raumer, iv. 176-9.

to exercise their office in France, and the queen-mother, Blanche, is reported to have said that those who served the Pope in war ought to be maintained by the pope.<sup>x</sup> Charles of Anjou, therefore, was not as yet ready to accept the offered crown,<sup>y</sup> and Innocent next applied to Richard, Earl of Cornwall,<sup>z</sup> brother of Henry III., a prince who had won fame as a crusader and was reputed to be very wealthy. But Richard was not to be dazzled by an offer which he declared to be much as if the pope were to profess to give him the moon, and to bid him climb up and get possession of it for himself.<sup>a</sup> The weak Henry, however, was captivated by the idea of acquiring a new crown for his family, and eagerly closed with, if he did not even solicit, an offer of the Sicilian kingdom for his son Edmund, then only nine years old. He gave the boy the royal title, displayed him before the assembled parliament and elsewhere as King of Sicily, laid heavy taxes on his subjects in order to defray the expenses of the war against Conrad, borrowed money from his brother Richard and from the Jews, and authorised the pope to raise a loan on the security of the English crown.<sup>b</sup>

The pope, on hearing of Frederick's death, had resolved to return to Italy. He left Lyons on the 16th of April, 1251, in company with William of Holland, who had visited him there,<sup>c</sup> and, after passing through Genoa and Milan, arrived at Perugia, from whence, after a stay of some months, he removed to Assisi<sup>d</sup> in the spring of 1252. The Romans, in somewhat rude terms, reminded him that he was pope of Rome, not of any provincial town; and in consequence of a second invitation, even less courteous than the first, he returned, apparently in the beginning of 1254, to his own city. But, although he was received with honour, he found much difficulty in appeasing the clamours of

<sup>x</sup> M. Paris, 827; Giesel. II. ii. 156; Pauli, iii. 680; Raumer, iv. 189.

<sup>y</sup> Rayn. 1253. 3-5.

<sup>z</sup> Rymer, i. 288.

<sup>a</sup> M. Paris, 778, 856, 892; Annal. Burton. 338; Trivet, 241; Pauli, iii. 635-6, 694-5.

<sup>b</sup> Rymer, i. 297, 301-2, 304, &c.; M. Paris, 892-3, 896, 946; Annal. Burton. 339, 349; Raumer, iv. 189-190; Pauli, iii. 695-6, 699, 711. In one letter the pope tells the king that, unless he keep from all needless expenses, even in matters of piety, he will not believe him to be earnest in the affair. Rym. 1. 302.

<sup>c</sup> A cardinal was employed to preach

a farewell sermon, and in it is said to have told an audience in great part composed of women, that whereas at the pope's arrival in their city there had been three or four brothels in it, there was now only one; but that *it* reached from the eastern to the western gate. M. Paris, 819.

<sup>d</sup> Mut. Modoet. 505; Nic. de Curbio, 38; Barthol. Scriba, 229, 230; Rayn. 1251. 30; 1252. 1. For the dates, see Mansi in Rayn. ii. 446; Raumer, iv. 179. During his residence at Assisi, he consecrated the church of St. Francis on May 25, 1253, and visited St. Clara before her death on the 11th of August. Böhmer, 361-2.



his people, who demanded compensation for the losses which they had sustained through the long absence of their sovereign pastor.<sup>e</sup>

Conrad in the meantime crossed the Alps, and made his way by the Adriatic to Siponto,<sup>f</sup> where he was received by Manfred. It was in vain that he offered to make peace with the church by giving up to it all that it had ever possessed, and that he attempted to clear himself from the charges which the pope accumulated in reckless profusion against him.<sup>g</sup> His arms, however, had considerable success, and after a siege of four months he was able to reduce the city of Naples, where he treated his vanquished enemies with a severity which recalled the memory of his father and of his grandfather.<sup>h</sup> But his career was cut short by death at the age of twenty-six on the 20th of May, 1254; and, as the papal party ascribed the death of his brother Henry, in the preceding year, to Conrad, and that of Conrad to Manfred, so the opposite party attributed both to the machinations of the pope.<sup>i</sup>

A.D. 1251-  
Jan. 8,  
1252.

Oct. 10,  
1253.

Conrad left no other child than a boy of two years old, who bore his father's name, but is more commonly known by the diminutive Conradin. The guardianship of the young prince had been given to Berthold, Marquis of Hohenburg; but Berthold soon found himself in such difficulties that he was fain to request the assistance of Manfred, who reluctantly accepted the regency.<sup>k</sup> On hearing of this, the pope denounced both Berthold and Manfred; he declared the Sicilian kingdom to have lapsed to the Roman church, and would not allow Conradin any other titles than the dukedom of Swabia and the shadowy royalty of Jerusalem.<sup>m</sup> After a time, Manfred appeared to have made a somewhat more favourable impression; he was released from his excommunication, was allowed to hold the pope's bridle as he crossed the Garigliano, which formed the boundary of the Apulian territory, and Innocent, notwithstanding his own engagements to England, gave him the principality of Taranto,

<sup>e</sup> M. Paris, 879, 880; Raumer, iv. 199.

<sup>f</sup> Böhm. 272. See letters from him in Pet. de Vineis, Epp. iii. 77-80, 129, 130, &c.; Sismondi, ii. 252; Raumer, iv. 188.

<sup>g</sup> Raumer, iv. 188-9, 194-6. See M. Paris, 893, and Additamenta, 192.

<sup>h</sup> Spinelli ap. Murat. vii. 1070-2; Nic. de Curbio, 31.

<sup>i</sup> See M. Paris, 893; Barthol. Scriba, in Pertz, xviii. 230; S. Malaspina, c. 4

(Murat. viii.); Chron. Lanercost., p. 60; Barth. de Neocastro, 1 (ib. xiii.); Raumer, iv. 196. It seems, however, to be true that Conrad had conceived a jealousy of Manfred, and that this was fostered by designing people. Nic. de Jamsilla, ap. Murat. viii. 505; Raumer, iv. 191.

<sup>k</sup> N. de Jamsilla, 507-8; Raumer, iv. 197-200.

<sup>m</sup> Rayn. 1254. 52, 56; Sism., R. I., ii. 258; Milman, iv. 356.

and appointed him lieutenant over some part of the kingdom.<sup>n</sup> But soon after this a nobleman named Borello, who had always been troublesome and insolent to Manfred, was slain through mistake by the prince's soldiers, and Manfred felt himself in the greatest danger, as being held accountable for the act.<sup>o</sup> He offered to undergo an investigation before the pope, on condition of receiving a safe conduct; but no satisfactory answer was returned. Berthold, whether from faithlessness or from timidity, had turned against him, and Manfred's condition appeared to be desperate if he remained within reach of his enemies. He therefore resolved to save himself by flight, and, after many adventures and dangers, he reached Luceria, which was garrisoned by Saracens<sup>p</sup> and Germans. By these adherents of his family he was received with enthusiasm; the treasures which his predecessors had laid up within the strong fortress supplied him with money, and he soon found himself in a condition to cope with and to overthrow the forces of Berthold and the pope.<sup>q</sup>

Innocent continued his progress towards the south, meeting with a welcome from the people, who were tired of A.D. 1254. Saracen and German rule,<sup>r</sup> until on the 27th of October he entered Naples. Thus far his policy had been almost everywhere triumphant; but the tidings of Manfred's victory at Foggia, on the 2nd of December, proved fatal to him, and five days after that battle he died.<sup>s</sup> We are told by a Guelfic chronicler that on his death-bed he often repeated the penitential words, "Thou, Lord, with rebukes hast chastened man for sin."<sup>t</sup> A story of different character is told by Matthew Paris—that, as the pope lay on his deathbed, surrounded by his weeping relations, he roused himself to rebuke them by asking, "Why do you cry, wretches? Have I not made you all rich?"<sup>u</sup>

At Rome, the pope had not been able to establish his temporal government. In 1252, the citizens chose as their senator for

<sup>n</sup> N. de Jamsilla, 512; Barthol. Scriba, 232; Raumer, iv. 201-2; Gregorov. v. 295-6.

<sup>o</sup> N. de Jamsilla, 514; Mut. Modoet. 507; Barthol. Scriba, 232; Raumer, iv. 204-5.

<sup>p</sup> See Huill.-Bréh. Introd. 381, seqq.

<sup>q</sup> N. de Jamsilla, 515, 528, 531, 534; S. Malaspina, i. 5; Mut. Modoet. 507; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 265; Raumer, iv. 207-213.

<sup>r</sup> Spinelli, 1073; Giann. iii. 234.

<sup>s</sup> Raumer, iv. 214; Böhm. 364.

<sup>t</sup> *Annal. Parmens. ap. Pertz*, xviii.

77 (Ps. xxviii. 12, Vulg.).

<sup>u</sup> 897. The Ghibelline Mutius of Monza says, after relating the excommunications of Frederick, Enzo, and the Marquis Lancia, that at the same time the pope enriched his brothers and nephews, "maximis thesauris et fortissimis dignitatibus de thesauro ecclesiæ et prælatorum" (489). Bartholomew the Scribe praises him highly 234). Matthew Paris relates a terrible vision in which Innocent appeared to Alexander IV. 904.



three years a Bolognese nobleman named Brancalone degli Andolò, who by his severe justice and by the vigour which he showed in demolishing the strongholds of the nobles within the city, reduced it to quietness and order.<sup>x</sup> But his impartiality and strictness gave offence to the great families, by whom he was seized and imprisoned at the expiration of the term for which he had stipulated that his office should last; and he owed his life to the foresight with which he had required, before accepting the senatorship, that thirty noble Roman youth should be delivered to the Bolognese as hostages. On his arrest, his wife hurried to Bologna, where the hostages were imprisoned by way of retaliation; and when the pope interdicted Bologna, the citizens, instead of surrendering the hostages, replied by imprisoning two of his near relations.<sup>y</sup> After a time Brancalone was released, and recalled to Rome, where he resumed the stern policy of his earlier days.<sup>z</sup> It seemed as if the Roman republic were restored in its independence;<sup>a</sup> Brancalone entered into friendly relations with Manfred, and his strong remonstrances compelled Innocent's successor, Alexander, who had retired to Anagni, to return to the capital.<sup>b</sup> A second overthrow of Brancalone was followed by a second restoration;<sup>c</sup> and on his death, in 1258, of an illness caught at the siege of Corneto, the Romans showed their veneration for him by enclosing his head in a precious vase, which was placed on the top of a column, and by electing one of his kinsmen in his room.<sup>d</sup>

II. Henry III. of England had been left by his father to the guardianship of the pope and the Roman church;<sup>e</sup> and in his early years the legate, Gualo, although not unmindful of his own interest,<sup>f</sup> discharged this office well until, in 1218, he was succeeded by Pandulf, then bishop of Norwich.<sup>g</sup> But the kingdom

<sup>x</sup> M. Paris, 860; Gibbon, vi. 345. For a full account of the office, see Gregorov. v. 279.

<sup>y</sup> M. Paris, 922; W. Nangis, ap. Bouq. xx. 390.

<sup>z</sup> M. Paris, 930, 970-2. He is said to have pulled down about 140 towers in all (975). Gregorovius reckons that there were at least 300 in Rome. v. 317.

<sup>a</sup> Sismondi, R. I., ii. 273.

<sup>b</sup> M. Paris, 960, 972.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 959. Gregorovius, however, says that he was only once put down, while another writer makes three such revolutions. v. 319.

<sup>d</sup> M. Paris, 980; Gibbon, vi. 346.

<sup>e</sup> Honor. IV., ap. Bouq. xix. 624.

<sup>f</sup> As to the treasures which he carried off from England, see R. Hoveden, contin., in Bouq. xviii. 183; Trivet, 203. It is to him that Vercelli, his native place, is indebted for its English MSS., and for its English-looking church of St. Andrew. Pauli, iii. 512. See below, c. VIII. sect. iii.

<sup>g</sup> Hoved. contin. 182; Raynald, 1217. 67, seqq.; Pauli, iii. 492-4, 511. See the letters of Honorius, Bouq. xix. 616, 623-635, 708-9.

was to pay dearly for the benefits which the papacy had conferred on its sovereign. The exactions of Rome in this age rose far beyond anything that had before been known, and England was the country on which they lay heaviest. In addition to the Peter's pence of former times, and to the tribute promised by the late king, demands of money to a large amount were continually made under pretence of crusades; and monks and clergy joined with the laity in complaining that the sums thus wrung from them were often spent, not on any attempt to deliver the Holy Land from the infidels, but in the quarrels of popes with Christian princes at home.<sup>h</sup> The system of provisions<sup>i</sup> was carried to a great length by Gregory IX., and still further by Innocent IV. It was complained by the English that the benefices possessed by foreigners amounted to 70,000 marks yearly—more than thrice the revenue of the crown;<sup>k</sup> and that these foreign incumbents performed no duties of residence, hospitality, or pastoral care.<sup>m</sup> The legates and other emissaries of the pope very commonly added to the dislike which necessarily attached to their office by their arrogance, ostentation, and personal rapacity;<sup>n</sup> and the people were fleeced yet more through the arts of the Caursins, or money-lenders, who, although their trade was in direct defiance of the church's canons, now settled in England under the title of "papal merchants."<sup>o</sup>

The English were not passive under these oppressions, which produced a general disaffection to the papacy.<sup>p</sup> The clergy and the national parliaments often remonstrated;<sup>q</sup> an English deputation, as we have seen, presented a representation of grievances to Innocent at the council of Lyons;<sup>r</sup> and in the following year the bishops of the province of Canterbury sent him an

<sup>h</sup> M. Paris, 433, 533, 642-5; Pauli, iii. 523-4, 533, 676-7; Collier, cc. 491-2. See the remonstrance of the clergy, in M. Paris, 535.

"Li rois ne l'apostolle ne pensent autrement  
Mès coment au clers toient lur or e lur argent,"  
&c.—*Political Songs*, ed. Wright (Camd. Soc.), 43.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 220.

<sup>k</sup> M. Paris, 859.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. 438. A dean of Lincoln was obliged to go to Rome and answer for having summoned a cardinal who held a canonry of Lincoln to attend a chapter (Annal. Dunstap., A.D. 1228, p. 109). In 1234, Gregory IX., being on bad terms with the Romans, deprived all *Roman* clerks of their English preferments.

Annal. Theokesb. 94.

<sup>n</sup> See as to Otho (who was by no means the worst of his class), M. Paris, 440, 443; Hook, iii. 187, seqq.

<sup>o</sup> M. Paris, 805. For these usurers, see Ducange, s. v. *Caorcini*; Murat., Antiq. Ital. Dissert. xvi.; Fuller, i. 350-2. The name of Caursini was really derived from Cahors (Murat. 890); but, says Fuller, "some will have them called *quasi causa Ursini*, so bearish and cruel in their causes; others, *quasi Corrasini*, from scraping all together."

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 515, 719.

<sup>q</sup> E.g. M. Par. 442, 659, 698-701, 720; Ann. Burton. 277; Collier, ii. 490; Pauli, iii. 691.

<sup>r</sup> P. 414.



entreaty that he would abstain from continuing a system which the English declared to be more intolerable than death itself.<sup>s</sup> Sometimes the resistance took a more violent form. Messengers from the pope were beaten or killed; foreign ecclesiastics were attacked when travelling, or their houses and granaries were set on fire; and such deeds were traced to an association formed for the purpose, whose proceedings were supposed to be even connived at by persons in authority.<sup>t</sup> The chief of this association, who styled himself William Wither, on finding himself hardly pressed, avowed himself to the king as Robert of Twenge, a Yorkshire knight. He was sent by Henry to Rome, with a representation of the church's complaints,<sup>u</sup> but was obliged to content himself with the redress of his own especial grievance, the invasion of a parish in his gift by a papal nominee.<sup>x</sup>

The king sometimes took part with his subjects in resisting the oppressions from which they suffered;<sup>y</sup> more commonly he stood helpless between the two parties, or weakly succumbed to the fear of Rome. The popes were indifferent to all the misgovernment of England, whether in church or in state, provided that they could extort money from the people.

The old evil of long vacancies in sees was unabated, and the contests as to the appointment of prelates were frequently renewed. Royal nomination clashed with capitular election, and both were in many cases forced to give way to the papal despotism which conferred the disputed see on a nominee of its own. Thus, when the primacy of Canterbury was vacant in 1231, Gregory IX. set aside three persons who had been elected to it in succession, and at last desired the Canterbury monks who had been sent to him as representatives of their brethren, to elect Edmund Rich, treasurer of Sarum.<sup>z</sup> The archbishop thus appointed was an honest and single-minded man, greatly revered for his sanctity and learning;<sup>a</sup> but he soon found himself involved in troubles

<sup>s</sup> Wilkins, i. 694.

<sup>t</sup> Greg. IX., in Rymer, i. 204 (A.D. 1232); Wendov. iv. 240, 263; Rayn. 1232. 28; Pauli, iii. 591. It is said that they produced letters from the grand justiciar, Hubert de Burgh. *Annal. Dunstapl.* 129-130.

<sup>u</sup> *Annal. Dunstapl.* 129.

<sup>x</sup> Wendov. iv. 240-1; M. Paris, 513. Matthew sarcastically remarks on Robert's success, that it was only ecclesiastics and unwarlike monks whose patronage was invaded (514). Greg. ix., Ep. 13, in Mansi, xxiii. (where the editor's

heading gives the reverse of the real meaning of the letter); Cf. Innoc. IV., in Rymer, i. 256. "Robertus de Theweng, miles," appears as an envoy from Scotland to Alexander IV., in 1277. Theiner, *Monum.* 77.

<sup>y</sup> *E.g. Annal. Dunst.* 169-170, A.D. 1246.

<sup>z</sup> R. Wendov. iv. 267.

<sup>a</sup> See, in addition to Dean Hook's *Lives*, vol. iii., the *Life* of him by Bertram of Pontigny, in Martene, *Thes.* iii., where are many other pieces relating to him. "De corporis seu capitis non curabat

with the court, with the legate, who overruled his sentences, with the monks of his own cathedral, and with those of Rochester, which rendered his position intolerable. He therefore resolved to carry his difficulties to the pope; but Gregory, although he heard him favourably, was afraid to give him any substantial aid, and Edmund, finding on his return to England that his opponents were too strong for him, withdrew to Pontigny, where his predecessors Thomas Becket and Stephen Langton had formerly found a refuge.<sup>b</sup> After his death, which took place

Nov. 16. in 1240, the pope was requested to canonise him on account of his sanctity, and many miracles were alleged in support of the petition. Some delay was occasioned by the influence of those who had opposed the archbishop during his lifetime; but he was enrolled in the catalogue of saints by Innocent IV. in 1246.<sup>c</sup>

The successor of Edmund, chosen by the monks in accordance with the king's wishes, was Boniface, a young prince of Savoy and uncle of the queen.<sup>d</sup> Boniface, finding his church in debt, made this a pretext for spending the first six years of his archiepiscopate abroad, impoverishing his see while he enriched himself by cutting down the woods on the estates, and, although the pope allowed him to add to the primacy of England the administration of the bishoprick of Valence, devoting himself chiefly to warlike occupations.<sup>e</sup> When he reappeared in England, his arrogance, assumption, and violent temper, which were especially displayed in a visitation of his province,<sup>f</sup> produced a general feeling of indignation; and at length, after having gathered all

lavacro, satis esse arbitrans si inesset mundities cordi suo." Cf. M. Paris, 628; Chron. Lanercost., A.D. 1228, 1242. There is a late French Life. by M. Massé, which I have not seen.

<sup>b</sup> Vita, ap. Mart. Thes. iii. 1813; M. Paris, 468, 527, 532-3; Annal. Waverl. 1238; Hook, iii. 207-9, 215. Edmund ordered, and Gregory IX. confirmed the order, that no suffragan of Canterbury should be consecrated except in the cathedral. (Raynald. 1238. 40.) This rule is still in force, except that by later arrangements the privilege of the cathedral may be commuted for "one decent cope," and the cope for a fee of twenty shillings.

<sup>c</sup> See M. Paris, 626, 631, 663, 718; Wilkins, i. 694. For Edmund's translation, see M. Par. 732-3, and a curious story as to the sequel, 778. In 1254 Henry III. visited his shrine at Pontigny.

(Annal. Burton. 327.) Trivet says that St. Edmund's miraculous power was shown "præcipue in resuscitatione infantium oppressorum" (229). No Frenchwoman, "quæ plus cæteris sordere solent vitio carnis," was allowed to approach his shrine except in company with an Englishwoman. Chron. Lanerc. p. 50.

<sup>d</sup> "Plus genere quam scientia coruscus, plus armis martialibus quam spiritualibus formidabilis." M. Paris, 661.

<sup>e</sup> M. Paris, 653; Godwin, 92-3; Pauli, iii. 659; Collier, ii. 523. A view of Boniface from another point, and far more favourable, is given in the Chronicle of Savoy, 'Monum. Hist. Patriæ,' ii. 146-8. Dean Hook, too, is more favourable to him.

<sup>f</sup> See M. Paris, 780-1; Hook, iii. 256, seqq.



the money that he could collect by dilapidating his see and exhausting its tenants, he withdrew to his native country, where the revenues of the English primacy were spent in maintaining the political interests of his family.<sup>g</sup>

Among the English prelates of this time, Robert Grossetête was especially distinguished both for his learning and for his pastoral labours. Grossetête was born in Suffolk about the year 1175,<sup>h</sup> and, after having studied at Oxford and Paris, became bishop of Lincoln in 1235.<sup>i</sup> His acquaintance with the ancient tongues is said to have included not only Greek (which he studied under a native Greek named Nicolas),<sup>k</sup> but Hebrew;<sup>m</sup> and, as in other cases, his learning drew on him from some of his contemporaries the suspicion of magic.<sup>n</sup> As bishop, Grossetête displayed an indefatigable activity, with an earnest and somewhat intolerant zeal for the reformation of his own flock and of the church at large.<sup>o</sup> In him the new orders found a hearty patron; he employed them in his vast diocese, as instruments for reaching those classes which were neglected by the secular clergy; and in the University of Oxford, of which he was chancellor, his favour encouraged them as teachers.<sup>p</sup> Yet the especial principle of these orders was not unreservedly approved by him; for we are told that, after having cried up mendicancy as the highest step of the ladder which leads to heaven, he added privately that there is one step yet higher—to live by the labour of one's own hands.<sup>q</sup> And it is said that in his last days he strongly reprobated the change by which the friars, instead of being censors of the great, had become their flatterers.<sup>r</sup>

Among the evils against which Grossetête struggled were

<sup>g</sup> M. Paris, 653, 910, 936; Godwin, 93-6; Pauli, iii. 659; Milman, iv. 389.

<sup>h</sup> Life, by Pegge, Lond. 1793, pp. 8, 302.

<sup>i</sup> Wendov. iv. 325.

<sup>k</sup> R. Bacon, Minor Works, ed. Brewer (Chron. and Mem.) 91, 434; Pegge, 11, 162.

<sup>m</sup> Pegge, 12. Salimbene styles him "unum de majoribus clericis de mundo" (99), and Roger Bacon (certainly no indiscriminating eulogist) always speaks of him with profound respect. See below, c. viii. sect. iv.

<sup>n</sup> Pegge, 18-9; Append. iv.

<sup>o</sup> See M. Paris, 815. "Sed hæc omnia fecisse creditur ut subjectos, de quorum animabus habet respondere, a peccatis coereret." Elsewhere, Matthew

styles him "religiosorum fatigator infessus" (772). "Domini Papæ et regis redargutor manifestus, prælatorum correptor, monachorum corrector, presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor, scholarium sustentator, populi prædicator, incontinentium persecutor, scripturarum sedulus persecutor diversarum, Romanorum malleus et contemptor" (876). Cf. 880.

<sup>p</sup> See Pegge, 24-5, 144-7; Grossetête's Epistles, ed. Luard (Chron. and Mem.) xxi. xxvi. 61, 71, 122, 180, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Th. de Eccleston, in 'Monumenta Franciscana,' 69 (Chron. and Mem.).

<sup>r</sup> M. Paris, 874. This is from a death-bed speech, in which the bishop is represented as inveighing against the evils of the time.

the rapacity of the Roman court, the abuse of indulgences, the bestowal of patronage on unfit and undeserving persons,<sup>s</sup> the employment of ecclesiastics in secular business,<sup>t</sup> the subjection of the clergy to secular tribunals<sup>u</sup> (for as to this he held the views of Becket), the admission of persons who were not priests to benefices,<sup>w</sup> the marriage and concubinage of the clergy.<sup>x</sup> He remonstrated very strongly against the presentation of one of the pope's near relations, a boy who knew nothing of English, to a canonry of Lincoln;<sup>y</sup> and when Archbishop Boniface had insisted on testing the fitness of Robert de Passelewe, a favourite of the king, whom the chapter of Chichester had been persuaded to elect as bishop, Grossetête undertook the part of examiner, and set him aside on the ground of ignorance.<sup>z</sup> That a man so impetuous and even imprudent, so zealous, active, fearless and unsparing, should have made many enemies, was natural.<sup>a</sup> He was deeply involved in quarrels with the dean and chapter of his cathedral, who questioned his right of visitation;<sup>b</sup> with monks and clergy, with Templars and Hospitallers,<sup>c</sup> with some of the laity, whose morals he searched into with a scrutiny which Matthew Paris censures as inexpedient, and which was checked by a prohibition from the king.<sup>d</sup> In political affairs, he allied himself with the party opposed to the foreign influence which prevailed at court; he was tutor to the sons of Simon de Montfort, and is said to have counselled the earl that the English church could not be saved except by the material sword.<sup>e</sup> By his opposition to the pope, he excited the strong dislike of Innocent, who treated him with slight on his going to Lyons in 1250,<sup>f</sup> and, although miracles were reported in connexion with the bishop's death,<sup>g</sup> is said to have intended that his body should be cast out of the cathedral in

\* Epp. 51, 102, 154, 241, 273, &c. ; M. Paris, 874.

<sup>t</sup> Epp. 72, 124, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Epp. 214 ; Pegge, 50.

<sup>w</sup> M. Paris, 833. <sup>x</sup> Epp. p. 157.

<sup>y</sup> Epp. 187 ; Pegge, 295. The pope's letter for this is headed in the Burton Annals—" *Litera papalis, Deo odibilis et hominibus*," 436-8.

<sup>z</sup> M. Paris, 652, 656. See Pegge, 119.

<sup>a</sup> " *Quietis nescius, multis adversans quamplurimisque ei adversantibus, Ismaëli consimilis*." M. Paris, 688.

<sup>b</sup> Luard, xxiii. xli., 249, seqq. ; 335 ; Ep. 127 ; Pegge, 25.

<sup>c</sup> M. Paris, 773.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 716.

<sup>e</sup> Rishanger, 36 (Chron. and Mem.).

<sup>f</sup> M. Paris, 773. See in Browne's 'Fasciculus,' ii. 250, seqq., a sermon of which he distributed copies among the pope and cardinals at Lyons. It is in strong reproof of the papal court. Among other things, he says that the English blamed the curia for allowing Archbishop Boniface to take a year's income of bishopricks which fell vacant in his province (257). In the same volume are other sermons, all in favour of reform, with a large collection of letters.

<sup>g</sup> M. Paris, 876. The Lanercost chronicle and Knighton (in Twysd. 2436.), who is followed by Pegge (197, 211), are wrong in saying that he died ex-



which it was buried. But the bishop appeared to him by night, arrayed in full pontificals, and, driving his pastoral staff into the pope's side, so that he cried out for pain, declared himself to be exempt from his power. And after that terrible vision, it is added, Innocent never was well again.<sup>h</sup>

Yet Grossetête, notwithstanding his violent collisions with the papacy, was not a reformer in the sense of the sixteenth century. He adhered to the strictest orthodoxy of his time;<sup>1</sup> his views of reformation extended only to the discipline and administration of the church; and, while he did not hesitate to speak of an individual pope as antichrist on account of his blamable actions,<sup>k</sup> he very strongly held a high view of the papacy, from which and through which he considered that all bishops must derive their commission and their spiritual power.<sup>m</sup>

III. Although the Lateran council had decided against the counts of Toulouse,<sup>n</sup> the younger Raymond was determined to regain, if possible, the territories of which his father had been deprived. On returning from the council, he was received with great enthusiasm at Avignon.<sup>o</sup> A general abhorrence had been excited by the severities of the crusaders; nobles, knights, soldiers, flocked to his standard; even Marseilles, which had never acknowledged the lordship of his family, now offered him its keys.<sup>p</sup> It was in vain that pope Honorius endeavoured to discountenance the enterprise;<sup>q</sup> war was again commenced, and Raymond gained some successes, even against Simon de Montfort himself. Simon, although hardly pressed, resolved to attempt the capture of Toulouse before abandoning the country;<sup>r</sup> and, after having for some time besieged it, he reduced the inhabitants to sue for mercy, which his brother Guy and others ad-

communicate. See Collier, ii. 536; Luard, lxxxii.

<sup>h</sup> M. Paris, 885. (Cf. Knighton, in Twysden, 2436.) The address "Senibalde, papa miserrime," appears in Fox as a remarkable specimen of free translation—"O thou scurvie, lazie, old, bald, lousie, wretched, dotting pope" (i. 422, ed. 1632.) "We cannot doubt," says Dr. Maitland, "that he got the words *old, bald, from Senibalde*—which is a mistake for 'Sinibalde,' the pope's baptismal name." (Brit. Magazine, xi. 625.) In the last edition this becomes "Sinibald, thou most wretched pope!" (ii. 533)—which is certainly more cor-

rect, but is not Fox.

<sup>1</sup> See Browne, Fascic. ii. 245.

<sup>k</sup> M. Paris, 875.

<sup>m</sup> *E. g.* Epp. 364-5, 367, 389-390. Raynaldus is strongly against Grossetête on account of his opposition to the papacy (1253. 43). An attempt was made to get him canonised by Clement V.; but his language against Rome was too strong to allow of this. Collier, ii. 535. <sup>n</sup> P. 362.

<sup>o</sup> Troubadour, 268.

<sup>p</sup> Anon. Lang. 32; P. Sarn. 83-4; Martin, iv. 100-1.

<sup>q</sup> See his letters in Bouq. xix. 643, seqq. <sup>r</sup> Troub. 350.

vised him to grant.<sup>s</sup> The bishop, Fulk, entered the city, and persuaded the people to go out to the besieger's camp in the hope of appeasing his anger; but one party after another, as they reached the camp, were seized and hanged. Reports of this treachery were speedily carried into the city by fugitives, and an immediate rising took place. Fulk was driven to save himself by flight,<sup>t</sup> there was long and furious fighting in the streets, and at length Simon gave orders that the houses should be set on fire. The bishop afterwards proposed that the defenders should place themselves at De Montfort's mercy, on receiving a solemn guarantee by oath for the safety of their persons and property. But when this promise had served its purpose, it was broken; the churches were spared, but the fortified houses and other chief buildings were demolished, and the inhabitants had to pay excessive taxation as the price of what was left to them.<sup>u</sup> Soon after this

Sept. 13, the citizens, taking advantage of Simon's absence,  
1217.

again rose in revolt, in concert with Count Raymond, and endeavoured to restore their fortifications.<sup>x</sup> The news of this insurrection reached Simon on the east of the Rhone, and he immediately set off on horseback, swearing by the holy chrism of his baptism that he would keep up the siege until he should either be victorious or perish.<sup>y</sup> He himself remained before Toulouse throughout the winter, while bishop Fulk and others were actively recruiting for him in northern France, and the besieged were strengthened by assistance from Provence and from Spain.<sup>z</sup> The campaign of 1218 was opened with increased vigour on both sides, and on the 25th of June a grand assault was made on the city. As Simon was at mass, he was informed that an engine, on which he had greatly relied, had been attacked by a sallying party of the besieged; but he refused to go forth until the end of the sacred office.<sup>a</sup> In the fight which ensued, his brother Guy fell, covered with wounds, and Simon himself, as he was lamenting over the body, was slain by a stone from a mangonel.<sup>b</sup> The crusaders, disheartened by the fall of their great leader, immediately raised the siege, and withdrew from the country, pursued by the exasperated people.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Troub. 374-6.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. 354-6.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. 370, 380-6, 388-392.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 394-406. <sup>y</sup> Ib. 432, 436, 454.

<sup>z</sup> Honor. in Bouq. xix. 641; G. Pod. Laur. 29; Anon. Langued. 37; Martin, iv. 104-5.

<sup>a</sup> Troub. 551, seqq.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 572; Pet. Sarn. 86; G. Pod.

Laur. 30. "Et ad Dominum tanquam martyr, ut creditur, transmigravit," says William of Nangis (Bouq. xx. 414). The engine was long after shown at Toulouse. See Mr. Way's Introduction to the 'Promptorium Parvulorum,' xxviii. (Camd. Soc.)

<sup>c</sup> Troub. 584; Martin, iv. 508.



Pope Honorius, notwithstanding the younger Raymond's professions of orthodoxy, and his offer to give satisfaction on all points,<sup>d</sup> felt himself bound to carry out the policy of Innocent as to southern France. He took up the cause of Amaury de Montfort, the son of Simon,<sup>e</sup> encouraged the raising of troops by the offer of indulgences for crimes to those who should take part in the expedition,<sup>f</sup> allowed a part of the funds raised for the Holy Land to be applied to the Albigensian war, and founded a military order "of the Holy Faith" for the purpose of fighting against the heretics.<sup>g</sup> In the mean time the Cathari, who had been driven from the country, took encouragement from the death of Simon to return,<sup>h</sup> and the war, from having for some time been a national struggle, took again the character of an enterprise for the suppression of heresy. The elder Raymond died in 1222; but, although his son offered ample evidence that he had died in the orthodox faith, the legate, to whom the pope referred the question of his Christian burial, decided against him, and for three hundred years his body was kept unburied in the house of the Knights Hospitallers at Toulouse.<sup>i</sup>

Attempts were made to draw Philip Augustus into the war of the south. But although Honorius urged him repeatedly, and Amaury de Montfort was willing to make over to the king the rights which he himself was not strong enough to assert, the decay of Philip's health withheld him from sharing in such an enterprise.<sup>k</sup> At his death, however, which took place in July, 1223, he bequeathed a sum of money for the extirpation of heresy in the south, as well as for the holy war in Palestine; and his son, Louis VIII., took up the cause with zeal.<sup>m</sup> In February, 1224, Amaury de Montfort, who had just been driven from Languedoc with the scanty remains of his army, ceded to the king of France the privileges which had been bestowed on his father Simon, and received a promise of the office of Constable of France.<sup>n</sup> The attempts of Raymond to save

<sup>d</sup> R. Wendov. iv. 124-5.

<sup>e</sup> Bouq. xix. 666-7, 696, 715; Rayn. 1218. 54, 55; Giesel. II. ii. 591.

<sup>f</sup> Bouq. xix. 664, 676.

<sup>g</sup> Bouq. xix. 699-701. Cf. 706-7, 718, 722, 764; Rayn. 1225. 28-9.

<sup>h</sup> Honor. in Bouq. xix. 718. A letter printed by Martene and Durand (Thes. i. 901) states that the Albigensian pope (see above, p. 194) who lived on the confines of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, sent his bishops into southern France

for the performance of consecrations, &c. Cf. Annal. Dunstap. A.D. 1223, pp. 79-80.

<sup>i</sup> G. Pod. Laur. 34; Greg. IX. Ep. 20 (Mansi, xxiii.).

<sup>k</sup> Honor. ap. Bouq. xix. 667, 670-1, 720; Rayn. 1217. 62; 1218. 56, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Honor. in Bouq. xix. 739, 740, 742, seqq.; Martin, iv. 112-3.

<sup>n</sup> Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1225; Bern. Guidon. in Murat. iii. 569; G. Pod. Laur. 34; Bouq. xviii. 310-2; xix. 748, 753.

himself from the threatened danger by offering, before a council held by a legate at Bourges in 1225, to submit to the church in everything and to devote himself to the extirpation of heresy, were fruitless.<sup>o</sup> The crusade was actively preached, and in the spring of 1226, Louis at the head of a vast force set out for the south. Avignon, which had been faithful to the counts of Toulouse, and for ten years had shared their excommunication, offered him a passage across its bridge, on condition that he should pass on without entering the town;<sup>p</sup> but he angrily rejected this offer, and swore that he would not advance further until he should have reduced the place.<sup>q</sup> A siege was therefore commenced, which lasted from the early part of June to September; and during this time a sickness broke out in the army, which carried off many, and fatally shattered the health of Louis himself. Avignon was taken, and was condemned to lose its walls, with fifty of the best houses;<sup>r</sup> but the king's further progress was unattended with any considerable triumphs.

The siege of Toulouse was deferred until a future campaign, and on his return Louis died at Montpensier, leaving his crown to a son only twelve years old.<sup>s</sup>

The war was continued; Raymond, according to one chronicler, disgraced himself by the barbarities which he committed after a success gained over the invaders in 1228;<sup>t</sup> and perhaps the indignation excited by this impolitic cruelty may have tended to swell the ranks of the crusaders. In 1229, Raymond was glad to conclude a treaty by which a part of his territories was given up at once to France, and provision was made that

<sup>o</sup> Hard. vii. 134-5.

<sup>p</sup> Guil. Pod. Laur. 35. The origin of this bridge is ascribed to a youth named Benedict, who in 1177 appeared at Avignon, saying that he was commissioned by God to build it. His first announcements were met with ridicule; but he collected money, partly by displaying some miracles, and the work was done (R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xii. 298; Chron. S. Mart. Lemovic. ib. 455). The bridge has since been partly carried away; but some arches and a little chapel still remain. The road passes outside the city, between the Rhone and the cliff of the "Rocher des Doms;" and Louis objected to take this road as being dangerous from its narrowness, as well as discreditable to a prince of his importance. See Sism. vi. 583-6.

<sup>q</sup> G. Pod. Laur. l. c.; Chron. Turon. 314-7. (This writer says that the

citizens invited him to enter with a few followers—intending to kill him.) There is a letter from the prelates and nobles of the army to Frederick II., assuring him that, in besieging the people of Avignon as heretics and fautors of heretics, they had no intention of invading the imperial rights. Huill.-Bréh. ii. 612.

<sup>r</sup> Annal. Dunst. p. 101.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Turon. 317; G. Pod. Laur. 36. Some chroniclers ascribe the death of Louis to poison (*e. g.* Chron. Aquicinet. A.D. 1226; Patrol. clx.), which, according to Wendover, was administered by Count Theobald of Champagne, out of love for the queen Blanche. Wendover says that this was during the siege of Avignon, but that the death was kept secret for a time, iv. 133-4.

<sup>t</sup> M. Paris, 349. See Martin, iv. 14, who questions this.



the rest should eventually devolve to the crown<sup>u</sup>—a treaty which proved that in the estimation of the crusaders the question of territory was more important than that of heresy. Raymond himself was allowed to appear in the dress of a penitent, and received absolution from a legate in the cathedral of Paris on Good Friday.<sup>x</sup>

But measures were taken for the suppression of heresy. It was a condition of the treaty that an university should be founded at Toulouse, in order to the counteraction of heretical teaching;<sup>y</sup> and thus the spirit of southern literature was put down by the scholasticism of the north.<sup>z</sup> At a council held at Toulouse in 1229, canons of excessive strictness were enacted—that no one should read the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue<sup>a</sup> (a prohibition of which there had been no earlier example); that no one suspected of heresy should be allowed to practise as a physician, or to have access to persons on their deathbeds;<sup>b</sup> that all male persons from the age of fourteen, and females from the age of twelve, should be required to abjure heresy;<sup>c</sup> that all persons should communicate thrice a year, under pain of being suspected as heretics.<sup>d</sup> Severe disabilities were inflicted on all who should in any way favour heretics;<sup>e</sup> and it was ordered that in every parish two, three, or more laymen of good repute should be sworn to search out all suspicious persons, and to denounce them to the bishop, or to the lord of the place.<sup>f</sup> But this machinery, which was subject to the bishop in each diocese, was shortly after superseded by the Inquisition, which the pope committed into the hands of the Dominicans.<sup>g</sup> In the proceedings of this tribunal, the ordinary rules of A.D. 1233. judicial fairness were utterly set aside. The names of witnesses were not disclosed;<sup>h</sup> all manner of persons, however criminal or infamous, and even although partakers in the same guilt, were

<sup>u</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 163-176; Tillemont, Vie de St. Louis, ii. 5; Martin, iv. 125, seqq.

<sup>x</sup> G. Pod. Laur. 39. Others place this on Maunday Thursday, which is more agreeable to the discipline of the church. Tillem. ii. 9.

<sup>y</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 166; Greg. IX., Ep. 28, ib.; Alberic. Tr.-Font. ap. Bouq. xxi. 599; Bulaeus, iii. 149, seqq., 156; Tillem. ii. 19. Paris had until this time been the only university in France.

<sup>z</sup> Martin, iv. 154.

<sup>a</sup> C. 14.

<sup>b</sup> C. 15.

<sup>c</sup> C. 12.

<sup>d</sup> C. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Cc. 3, seqq.

<sup>f</sup> C. 1. This was in accordance with the Council of Avignon in 1209 (c. 3), and with the 3rd Canon of the IVth Council of Lateran (originally derived from an order of Lucius III.—see p. 189; Giesel. II., ii. 593). The Council of Narbonne in 1227 (c. 14) called these detectives by the name of *testes synodales*.

<sup>g</sup> Acta SS. Aug. 4, pp. 411-8.

<sup>h</sup> Conc. Narbonn., A.D. 1235, c. 22; Conc. Biterr. 1246, in Mansi, xxiii. 691; Letter of Abp. of Narbonne, ib. 715, seqq. See the "*Doctrina de modo procedendi contra Hæreticos*," in Mart. Thes. v. 1795, seqq.

admitted to give evidence,<sup>1</sup> and their evidence was believed against the denials of the accused.<sup>k</sup> Ensnaring questions were put, and torture was employed to wring out avowals of heresy.<sup>m</sup> The iniquitous proceedings and cruelties of the inquisitors soon produced a general exasperation. At Toulouse, Narbonne, Albi, Avignonnet, and other places the inquisitors were driven out, or even murdered by the infuriated people.<sup>n</sup> In order to mitigate this feeling, the pope in 1237 ordered that the less stern Franciscans should be associated with the Dominicans, and from that year to 1241 the inquisition was suspended.<sup>o</sup> The disturbances of Languedoc long continued to break out afresh from time to time, councils renewed their enactments for the detection of heresy,<sup>p</sup> and Raymond in 1234 issued a code of regulations for the same purpose.<sup>q</sup> In order to preserve his credit for orthodoxy, the count often found himself compelled to share in acts which he abhorred, while his position was made uneasy by the watchfulness of bishop Fulk and his successor, who were always ready to tax him with lukewarmness in the cause of the church. A fresh insurrection in 1242 ended in his being obliged to throw himself on the mercy of Louis IX., by whom he was generously treated. The pope, Gregory IX., released him from a crusading vow which he had been compelled to make, and bestowed on him the marquise of Provence; and in his last years he was much employed in attempts to reconcile Innocent IV. with Frederick.<sup>r</sup> Raymond VII. died in 1249, having a short time before signalled his orthodoxy by presiding at the execution of eighty "perfect" Cathari at Agen.<sup>s</sup>

IV. In the mean time, Louis IX. of France<sup>t</sup> grew up under the careful guardianship of his mother, Blanche of Castille, who administered the affairs of the kingdom through a time of no

<sup>i</sup> Conc. Narbonn. c. 24; VI. Decret. V., ii. 5. See Limborch, l. iv., c. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Conc. Narbonn. c. 26.

<sup>m</sup> See Limborch, l. iv., c. 14; Gieseler, II., ii. 596-7. When the Count and the Consuls of Toulouse, in 1235, begged that the usual forms of justice should be observed, it was refused, as the proposal was considered too favourable to the heretics, whom the Count was accused of encouraging (Tillem. ii. 243). A Dominican who was brought before the Inquisition of Toulouse in 1319 said that if St. Peter and St. Paul were subjected to its processes, they could not clear themselves of heresy. Lib. Sentent. ed. Limborch, 269.

<sup>n</sup> Martene, Thes. i. 985, 992; Tillem. ii. 243, 287; Schröckh, xxix. 592-4.

<sup>o</sup> Schröckh, xxix. 594.

<sup>p</sup> E. g. Conc. Biterr., A.D. 1233; Conc. Albigen. A.D. 1254.

<sup>q</sup> Rayn. 1233. 60, and Mansi's note; Mansi, Concilia, xxiii.

<sup>r</sup> Martin, iv. 156, 192-8.

<sup>s</sup> Bern. Guidonis, in Bouq. xix. 228; Martin, iv. 249.

<sup>t</sup> In vol. xx. of the 'Recueil des Historiens de la France,' are Lives of Louis by his Dominican Confessor, Godfrey of Beaulieu; by his chaplain William of Chartres; by a monk of St. Denys; by Queen Margaret's Confessor; by Joinville; and by William of Nangis.



ordinary difficulties with signal ability and energy. The strong and stern character of Blanche—in which the love of influence and domination put on the appearance of religious strictness, although even this was not enough to exempt her from the assaults of scandal—maintained its mastery over Louis to the end of her life; and her tyranny was remorselessly exercised towards his queen, Margaret of Provence, to whom she married him in 1234.<sup>u</sup> The contrast between Louis and his contemporary, Frederick, was very remarkable. While the emperor was sceptical in his opinions and lax in his morals, Louis was rigorously strict in everything that was regarded as belonging to the saintly character. He daily heard mass, twice at least, sometimes three or four times;<sup>x</sup> he attended the canonical hours, and, when informed that his nobles found fault with this, he defended himself by saying that no one would have blamed him if he had spent twice as much time in dicing or in hunting.<sup>y</sup> His private devotions were frequent and fervent; every day he read, or caused to be read to him, some portion of the Scriptures with a commentary, and some part of the writings of St. Augustine; every Friday he confessed his sins, and received the discipline from his confessor. He was rigidly ascetic as to food and drink; he refrained from all worldly sports and pastimes, and, as far as was possible, from the outward pomp of royalty; he was careful as to his language, avoiding all oaths, and enacting severe penalties against the use of them;<sup>z</sup> he diligently exercised himself in acts of charity and pious bounty, and in personal ministrations to the sick, the needy, and the afflicted.<sup>a</sup> He treated the clergy, and especially the new orders of friars, with reverence; he was connected with the Franciscan order as a tertiary,<sup>b</sup> and is reported to have said that, if he could divide himself into two, he would give one half to the Dominicans and the other to the Franciscans.<sup>c</sup> He devoted some of his children to the monastic life, and it is said that he was at one time

<sup>u</sup> Joinville, 281; W. Nang. 322; Martin, iv. 169; Chron. de Reims, in Bouq. xxii. 317; Tillem. ii. 321-2.

<sup>x</sup> Matthew Paris relates that Louis, in conversation with Henry III., expressed a preference of sermons over masses; to which the English king replied that he would rather see his friend often than hear another speaking, however well, of him. 736.

<sup>y</sup> G. Belloloc. 21, 50-1; Confess. Reg. Margar. 71, seqq.; Joinv. 198-9. See for the details of his piety, &c., Tillem.

v. 324, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> G. Belloloc. 33. See Clem. IV., Ep. 689, in Martene, Thes. ii.

<sup>a</sup> G. Belloloc. 7-9, 18, 19; Monach. Sandionys. pp. 36, 48, 52-3; Guill. Carnot. 27, 35; Joinville, 193-4, 292-8; Guill. Nang. 402-4. As to his courtesy, the monk of St. Denys notes that he "spoke to every one in the plural." 36.

<sup>b</sup> Wadding, iii. 350-2.

<sup>c</sup> G. Belloloc. 12. For his bounty to the two orders, see Tillem. i. 135.

desirous of entering one of the mendicant orders, when he was dissuaded by his queen's representation that he would better fulfil his duty by striving as a king to keep his realm in peace, and to benefit the church.<sup>d</sup> His justice was such, that of his own accord he gave up to the English king some territories which had once belonged to England;<sup>e</sup> and from a like motive he caused an inquiry to be made as to the possessions acquired by the crown during the last three reigns, and restored those which had been unjustly obtained.<sup>f</sup> The reputation of this virtue induced Henry III. and the insurgent barons of England to choose him as arbiter of their differences.<sup>g</sup> Among the popular superstitions of the age, the reverence for relics was that to which Louis was especially addicted, and the capture of Constantinople by the Latins enabled him to gratify his taste by acquiring many objects of very high pretensions. To this we are indebted for the beautiful "Holy Chapel" of Paris, which was built by Peter of Montreuil at his expense, and richly endowed by him, for the reception of the crown of thorns, a piece of the true cross, and other memorials of the Saviour's passion.<sup>h</sup>

Yet although the religion of Louis had much in it that must appear to us weak, he was not a slave of the hierarchy. High as was his regard for the papacy, he had learnt from Scripture lessons of right which enabled him to look above the will of popes. That principle of the equality of clergy and laity before the law of the land, by the assertion of which Henry II. of England had provoked the indignation of the hierarchy, and in opposition to which Becket had endured exile and death, was firmly established in France by the saintly king, whose very reverence for the clergy induced him to refuse them immunity from crime.<sup>i</sup> He was careful to guard his prerogative against the encroachments of the hierarchy;<sup>k</sup> and by his "Pragmatic Sanction," which will be more particularly noticed hereafter,<sup>m</sup> he laid the foundation of those "liberties" which for centuries were the distinctive privilege of the Gallican church. And,

<sup>d</sup> G. Belloloc. 12, 14.

<sup>e</sup> Joinv. 200; M. Paris, 736; Annal. Waverl., A.D. 1259; Martin, iv. 262; Guizot, iii. 244. Tillemont is amusing as to this, ii. 373-4; iv. 102.

<sup>f</sup> Hallam, ii. 28.

<sup>g</sup> D'Achery, iii. 642; Raumer, iv. 144. See below, p. 458. He is, however, much blamed by the party of the barons for his award. Annal. Dunstapl. 227.

<sup>h</sup> Confessor Reg. Marg. 75; Chron. S.

Medard. Suession. ap. D'Acher. ii. 491-2; Annal. Sandionys., ib. i. 497; W. Nang. 326; Guill. Carnot. 27; M. Paris, 546; Gibbon, vi. 66-7; Martin, iv. 177. Matthew Paris styles it "Capellam mirifici decoris." l. c.

<sup>i</sup> See Rayn. 1236. 31, seqq.; Alex. IV., ad Ludov. ap. D'Achery, iii. 634; Martin, iv. 166; Milm. iv. 383-4.

<sup>k</sup> See Raumer, iv. 145.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 465; Guizot, iii. 258.



while Frederick was engaged in a deadly struggle with the popes, the saintly character and high reputation of Louis enabled him to assert the royal and the national rights without exciting the opposition of Rome.<sup>n</sup> At home they tended greatly to increase the influence of the crown, and under Louis the royal territory was extended by important additions,<sup>o</sup> while the example of such a character was more powerful than anything else to win back for religion that respect of mankind which was endangered alike by the scepticism of Frederick and by the gross worldly ambition of his papal opponents.

Louis held religious error in abhorrence, and believed the use of the sword to be lawful as a means of suppressing it. "No one," he said, "ought to dispute with Jews unless he be a very good clerk; but the layman, when he heareth the Christian law spoken against, ought not to defend it save with the sword, which he should thrust as far as it will go into the unbeliever's belly."<sup>p</sup> Yet while Frederick, by way of vindicating his own orthodoxy, exercised cruel severities against his heretical subjects, the persecutions which in the earlier part of the reign of Louis were carried on in Languedoc were done without his consent, and it was probably owing to him that the inquisition was never established in any other part of France.<sup>q</sup>

The popes had always endeavoured to keep the idea of a crusade before the eyes of the western nations, but with little effect; indeed the chief hindrance to a general armament for the recovery of the Holy Land was to be found in that policy by which they gave the character of a crusade to the wars against the heretics of Languedoc and the pagans of northern Europe, and to their own wars against the Hohenstaufen princes, so that these nearer and less formidable enterprises diverted and dispersed the forces which might otherwise have been combined in the cause of Palestine.<sup>r</sup> From time to time small expeditions were made, as that of Richard of Cornwall, in 1240;<sup>s</sup> but, if the

<sup>n</sup> Raumer, iv. 146.

<sup>o</sup> Sism. viii. 67-8; Guizot, iii. 246; Hallam, i. 27.

<sup>p</sup> Joinv. 198. He held Jews in such horror that he would not allow any of their property to be converted to his use, and ordered that they should either forsake usury or leave his kingdom. Some counsellors suggested that, since people must get loans, "melius esse ac tolerabilius quod Judæi, qui jam damnati sunt, hujus damnationis exerceant officium

quam aliqui Christiani, qui ex hac occasione etiam majoribus usuris populum opprimebant." But the king would not listen to this. Guill. Carnot. 36.

<sup>q</sup> Martin, iv. 173; Milm. iv. 379, 380. William of Chartres praises him for his attention to inquisitors, and for saying, "negotium fidei debere omnibus aliis anteponi" (35); but he does not produce anything special in support of this.

<sup>r</sup> Wilken, vi. 29-30, 49.

<sup>s</sup> M. Paris, 545, 566-8; Raumer, iv. 59.

Mussulmans had been united among themselves, they might easily have driven the Christians out of the land. The sultans of Damascus and of Egypt, however, were in bitter hostility to each other, and, while the one allied himself with the Templars, the other entered into a connexion with the Knights of the Hospital.<sup>t</sup> The Templars, in 1243, besieged the Hospitallers in their house at Acre, and, in order to insult the emperor Frederick, they turned the Teutonic order out of their possessions, to the weakening of the Christian cause, and to the encouragement of the infidels.<sup>u</sup>

Soon after this, however, a new power appeared on the scene. The Chorasmians, who had gained possession of Persia, were driven from that country by the advance of the Mongols, and their barbarous hordes poured into Syria and the Holy Land.<sup>w</sup> In September 1244, Jerusalem fell into their hands. A great slaughter of the inhabitants took place; the churches were robbed of their ornaments, the Holy Sepulchre and the royal tombs were violated; places and things which the Saracens had respected, either from a common feeling of their sanctity or in observance of conventions with the Christians, were now exposed to brutal profanation.<sup>x</sup> The Christians, when it was too late, allied themselves with the Moslem against this new enemy, but their joint forces were defeated with great loss in October 1244.<sup>y</sup> Earnest and urgent requests for help, such as had been only too frequent on former occasions, were sent to the west,<sup>z</sup> and the subject of a crusade was discussed at the council of Lyons. But in answer to the proposal of a contribution, it was said that the misappropriation of money collected under the pretext of a crusade had produced a general distrust;<sup>a</sup> and when preachers were sent to stir up the western nations for the holy cause, they met in many quarters with no favourable response. The Christians of Spain were, as at other times, engaged with their own Moorish neighbours; Germany and Italy were distracted by the disputes between the emperor and the pope; and when the bishop of Beyrout visited England, he was told by King Henry that, after having been so often deceived in such matters, the English would not join in the undertaking. "The king of France may go," said Henry; "for his people will follow him ;

<sup>t</sup> Raumer, iv. 58.

<sup>u</sup> M. Paris, 604.

<sup>w</sup> Vinc. Bellov. xxix. 88.

<sup>x</sup> M. Paris, 618-621; Letter of the Patriarch, 631-3; W. Nang. in Bouq.

xx. 346; Tillem. iii. 36-7; Raumer, iv. 60.

<sup>y</sup> Tillem. iii. 38-42; Raumer, iv. 62.

<sup>z</sup> M. Paris, 621, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. 679.



but I am uneasy as to the French, the Scots, and the Welsh, and the pope protects those who rise against me.”<sup>b</sup>

In the autumn of 1244, while Innocent IV. was on his way from Sutri to Lyons, Louis fell dangerously ill at Pontoise.<sup>c</sup> The most urgent means of intercession were used in his behalf; sacred relics were exposed, in the hope of adding fervency to the prayers of the faithful; but recovery seemed to be hopeless. At length, after the king had been long speechless, and was even supposed by some of his attendants to be already dead, he sent for the bishop of Paris, and asked that the cross might be given to him. From that hour he recovered; but when he spoke of the engagement which he had contracted to the crusade, his wife and mother, with other advisers both secular and spiritual—even the bishop himself, the famous schoolman William of Auvergne—endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise by urging that his duties to his kingdom required him to stay at home; that the promise, made when he was not fully master of himself, was not to be regarded as binding; and that he might help the Holy War as effectually by sending troops to the east as by going in person.<sup>d</sup> Louis, however, adhered to his resolution, nor was it shaken by the discovery that he must expect but little co-operation from other countries, and that even among his own subjects his zeal met with little sympathy.<sup>e</sup>

It was the custom of sovereigns at high festivals to bestow dresses on their courtiers; and on Christmas-day, when a solemn service was to be held at the “holy chapel” before daybreak, Louis caused a number of garments to be distributed among the nobles who were in attendance on him. On passing from the dimness without into the fully-lighted chapel, the receivers were astonished to find that these garments were marked with the cross, so that, according to the ideas of that time, they had unwittingly bound themselves to the holy war, and it was impossible to draw back.<sup>f</sup> The preparations for a crusade were therefore actively carried on, and on the 12th of June, 1248, the king, having settled a regency, of which his mother was the

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 685. In Rymer there are many letters on the subject of the crusade. Innocent urged the English to take part in it (i. 272); but he desired Henry to stay at home, as he and Louis could not be spared at once. 270 (A.D. 1250).

<sup>c</sup> W. Nang. ap. Bouq. xx. 344. Joinville, however, places this illness at

Paris (207). See the editor's note there.

<sup>d</sup> Joinv. 207-8; W. Nang. 344-6; M. Paris, 625; Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thes. iii. 725; Tillem. iii. 58-61; Martin, iv. 200, 213.

<sup>e</sup> Raumer, iii. 150.

<sup>f</sup> M. Paris (690), is the only authority for this. Wilken, vii. 27-8.

head, took the oriflamme from the altar of St. Denys, and set out on the expedition. From that time he laid aside all the ensigns of royalty, and all luxury of dress;<sup>g</sup> and, as he went along, he visited the chief monasteries which lay in his way, edifying the inmates by his piety and self-denial, and entreating the assistance of their prayers.<sup>h</sup> At Lyons, he had interviews with the pope, whose quarrel with the emperor he had found to be the great obstacle to the crusade; and he was deeply grieved and disgusted at finding that he was unable to produce any effect by exhorting him to peace for the general sake of Christendom. But, notwithstanding these feelings as to Innocent, he showed his reverence for the papal office by confessing his sins to him very elaborately, and devoutly receiving his absolution.<sup>i</sup>

From Aigues Mortes—his only Mediterranean port, which he  
 Aug. 25. had done much to improve<sup>k</sup>—Louis sailed to Cyprus,  
 Sept. 18. which had been chosen as the place of meeting for the expedition; and from the irregularity with which his recruits arrived, it was found necessary to remain there for the winter.<sup>m</sup> During this time many of the Crusaders sickened and died, and the army would have been in great distress for provisions, had it not been largely relieved by the friendship or the policy of the excommunicated emperor.<sup>n</sup> The empress of Constantinople, a daughter of John of Brienne, arrived to solicit the king's aid for the sinking power of the Latins;<sup>o</sup> but Louis, although he expressed a hearty sympathy with her misfortunes, would not be diverted from the proper object of his expedition. An embassy also appeared in the name of the khan of the Mongols, who was represented as offering his alliance, and as professing to have derived a favourable disposition towards Christianity from a Christian mother. Louis received the ambassadors with courtesy, and dismissed them with gifts for their master; but in the event it appeared as if they had acted without authority, and the communication with the khan led to no result.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>g</sup> W. Nang. 356; Tillem. ii. 178-9.

<sup>h</sup> Salimbene, who was in the Franciscan convent at Sens, gives an interesting account of the king's visit. Louis, he says, appeared in the guise of a pilgrim, walking on foot; he was tall and thin, more like a monk than a warrior, "habens vultum angelicum, et faciem gratiosam" 93.

<sup>i</sup> M. Paris, 749; W. Nang. 352; Martin, iv. 201, 208, 214; Raumer, iv. 95-6.

<sup>k</sup> Tillem. iii. 112.

<sup>m</sup> W. Nang. 356; Martin, iv. 217-8.

<sup>n</sup> Mart. Coll. Ampl. i. 124; Pet. de Vin., Ep. iii. 23-4; M. Paris, 765; Tillem. iii. 209.

<sup>o</sup> For the decline and fall of this empire, see Gibbon, vi. 59, seqq. The empress was indebted to Joinville's charity for the means of appearing in decent attire before Louis. Joinv. 212.

<sup>p</sup> W. Nang. 358, 362; M. Paris, 770; Ep. Tuscul. Ep. ad Papam, ib. 364; Annal. S. Rudb. Salisburg. ap. Pertz, ix.



On the 19th of May, 1249, the crusading force set sail for Damietta, where it effected a landing on the 5th of June.<sup>a</sup> The city was taken with ease, the defenders deserting it by night;<sup>r</sup> but this was almost the only success which the Crusaders had to boast. The remembrance of the misfortunes endured by the former expedition to Egypt, and the necessity of waiting for their companions, who had been scattered by a violent storm, and for other expected accessions, delayed their advance until the rising of the Nile should have subsided; and thus the enemy had time to recover from the first alarm produced by the invasion, while the inaction of the army resulted in a general demoralization, so that the camp of the saintly king became full of gross and open profligacy.<sup>s</sup> At length, on the 20th of November, the advance towards Cairo was commenced; but it proved to be a series of disasters. In a battle, near Feb. 7, Mansurah, Louis was victorious; but he had to mourn 1250. the loss of his brother Robert of Artois, of the Earl of Salisbury with almost all his English followers, and of a great number of other soldiers, including many knights of the religious-military orders.<sup>t</sup> Pestilence and famine began to do their work on the Franks, and it soon became evident that the conquest of Egypt was hopeless.<sup>u</sup> The sultan's offer of Palestine in exchange for Damietta had before been refused;<sup>w</sup> but when it was now proposed by the Christians to exchange Damietta for Jerusalem alone, the sultan declared that Louis must become a hostage for the performance of the bargain.<sup>x</sup> The distress increased; the Christians found themselves reduced to eat their horses, disregarding the prohibitions of Lent;<sup>y</sup> their fleet was destroyed; the Saracens surrounded the army in vast numbers; the sluices of the river were opened with fatal effect;<sup>z</sup> many Crusaders apostatised; and Louis himself was so ill that his life was in

249; Trivet, 211; Joinv. 211-5. The editors of the 'Rec. des Hist. de la France,' (xx. 211), suppose the mission to have been real, but that the envoys forged the letters which they produced. Cf. Tillem. iii. 222. Wilken (vii. 79) thinks that they were sent as spies. One of them was recognised by a Dominican who had been at the Tartar court. Tillem. iii. 219.

<sup>a</sup> Wilken, vii. 100. Their numbers were very variously estimated from 50,000 to 139,000! Raumer, iv. 153.

<sup>r</sup> Joinv. 215-6; W. Nang. 370; Martin, iv. 220.

<sup>s</sup> Joinv. 217, 222-3, 229-230; W. Nang. 374; Tillem. iii. 260-2; Martin, iv. 222-3.

<sup>t</sup> Joinv. 224, 232; M. Paris, 789-796; W. Nang. 228, 374; Tillem. iii. 301-314; Wilk. vii. 157-173; Martin, iv. 225-7.

<sup>u</sup> Joinv. 232, 235-6.

<sup>w</sup> Raumer, iv. 156. See, however, Wilk. vii. 193-4.

<sup>x</sup> Joinv. 237.

<sup>y</sup> M. Paris, 774-6; Martin, iv. 230.

<sup>z</sup> Raumer, iv. 158; Wilken, vii. 188.

danger. Against such difficulties and perils he found it impossible to struggle any longer, and on the 8th of April he surrendered to the mercy of the Saracens.<sup>a</sup>

But even in captivity his dignified and saintly bearing, and the constancy with which he performed his devotions, impressed the Mussulmans with reverence.<sup>b</sup> The sultan, Turan-shah, to whom he had become prisoner, was assassinated, in May 2. revenge for some slights by which he had provoked his Turkish Mamelukes, and the murderers, rushing into the presence of Louis with their bloody weapons in their hands, asked what he would give them for having delivered him from an enemy who had intended to put him to death. Their leader is said to have demanded of him the degree of knighthood, to which the king answered that it could not be conferred, unless on condition of his becoming a Christian.<sup>c</sup> Finding that he was unmoved by their threats, it is said that the infidels thought of choosing the Most Christian king to fill the vacant throne.<sup>d</sup>

The dealings for ransom were difficult, and the collection of the money was slow ; and in the mean time the Saracens got rid of many of their prisoners, especially the sick, by killing them in cold blood and throwing their bodies into the Nile.<sup>e</sup> Louis, with characteristic integrity, refused to enter into any arrangement for his own liberation, unless it should include all his companions ;<sup>f</sup> he refused to leave his captivity until the covenanted sum was made up, although the means of doing so were offered to him ;<sup>g</sup> and when some of his followers boasted that in paying the ransom they had put a trick on the enemy, he indignantly ordered that the deceit should be amended.<sup>h</sup> The new sultan, struck with his behaviour, voluntarily remitted a large portion of the ransom ; but Damietta, the sole conquest which the Christians had made, was to be given up. The Saracens stipulated that, if they should fail in performing their part of the treaty, they would abjure the religion of Islam, and wished the king to bind himself by a similar oath, that in case of failure as to his engagements he should be disgraced as a renegade, "as one who spits and tramples

<sup>a</sup> Joinv. 238 ; W. Nang. 378 ; Martin, iv. 230-2 ; Wilken, vii. 197-200.

<sup>b</sup> G. de Belloloc. 25 ; Wilken, vii. 255-6.

<sup>c</sup> Joinv. 245-6 ; W. Carnot. 31, 51 ; Conf. Reg. Marg. 68 ; Mon. Sandionys. 55 ; W. Nang. 380.

<sup>d</sup> Gibbon thinks this possible (v. 502). Wilken disbelieves these stories, vii. 238, 257.

<sup>e</sup> Joinv. 241 ; Tillem. iii. 344 ; Wilken, vii. 216.

<sup>f</sup> Mon. Sandionys. 55. <sup>g</sup> Joinv. 250.

<sup>h</sup> Conf. Reg. Marg. 110.



on the cross;" but he refused with horror to admit such words even by way of supposition.<sup>1</sup>

On recovering his liberty, Louis sailed for Acre, and there rejoined his queen, who had left Damietta after having given birth to a son, on whom she bestowed the ominous name of Tristan.<sup>k</sup> The king resolved to remain in the Holy Land in order to watch over the execution of the treaty by the Saracens; he repaired the fortifications of Acre, Sidon, Cæsarea, and other places which were still in possession of the Christians,<sup>m</sup> and endeavoured to reconcile their divisions. But although he ardently desired to see Jerusalem, and although the sultan of Damascus was willing to permit him, he refrained out of deference to the suggestion of his counsellors, that, if the first of Christian kings were to visit the holy city without delivering it from the infidels, the desire to deliver it would die away among Christians.<sup>n</sup> The only gratification, therefore, which he allowed himself was a pilgrimage to Nazareth, which he performed with deep devotion.<sup>o</sup>

Innocent IV. wrote from Lyons a letter of consolation to the king, and ordered that prayers should be put up throughout France for his deliverance.<sup>p</sup> But the pope's conduct in stirring up war at home, while the champion of the cross was in captivity—in diverting to a crusade against Frederick and Conrad the money which should have served for the ransom of Louis, and the forces which might have delivered him—produced a strong feeling of indignation, which became more vehement as it penetrated deeper into the lower ranks of society.<sup>q</sup> And out of this feeling grew a strange movement, beginning in the north of France, among some shepherds and others of the poorest class, who styled themselves Pastoureaux. These professed to have for their object the deliverance of the king, and to believe that that which other means had failed to effect would be granted to their simplicity.<sup>r</sup> As they went along their numbers swelled, and among the recruits were many lawless ruffians, who were bent on profiting by the enthusiasm of the time. At their head was a mysterious personage about sixty years of age, who spoke French, German, and Latin.<sup>s</sup> This personage was styled the

<sup>1</sup> Joinv. 247; Conf. Reg. Marg. 67.

<sup>k</sup> Joinv. 252; Wilken, vii. 245.

<sup>m</sup> W. Nang. 384. Such was the sinfulness of Acre that a legate said to Joinville that it could only be washed out by the blood of the inhabitants.

282.

<sup>o</sup> W. Nang. 384-6.

<sup>p</sup> Epp. 16-7, in Mansi, xxiii.

<sup>q</sup> M. Paris, 803; Martin, iv. 240.

<sup>r</sup> W. Nang. 382; M. Paris, 822.

<sup>s</sup> M. Paris, l. c. Some add Arabic.

<sup>n</sup> Joinv. 274.

Master of Hungary—a title which would seem to indicate a connexion with the Manichæans about the Danube; but wonderful stories were told of him—that he possessed a charm which irresistibly drew all men to follow him; that he was an apostate Cistercian monk; that he was the same who forty years before had been the leader of the Children's Crusade;<sup>t</sup> that he was a Mahometan and a sorcerer, who had engaged for a certain price to deliver a multitude of Christians into the hands of the sultan of Babylon.<sup>u</sup>

On reaching the capital, the Pastoureaux were favourably treated by the queen-mother, who admitted their chief to an interview with her, and bestowed presents on them;<sup>x</sup> but even at Paris they began to display the real character of the movement, and as they proceeded further towards the south it became more and more manifest. They abused, assaulted, and even killed clergymen, monks, and especially friars; they vented wild and blasphemous doctrines, and usurped priestly functions—the Master of Hungary appearing with a mitre on his head.<sup>y</sup> At Orleans, as the Master was preaching, he was interrupted by a student of the university, who told him that he was a heretic and a deceiver. The student's skull was immediately cleft by one of the fanatics; a general attack was made on the clergy; and a tumult arose which was attended with much slaughter on both sides. The bishop interdicted the city, and the queen-mother, on being informed of these scenes, withdrew her protection from the Pastoureaux.<sup>z</sup> At Bourges, they pillaged the synagogue and the houses of the Jews, and committed great outrages of other kinds, which provoked the inhabitants to rise against them and drive them out of the town. The Master of Hungary was pursued and slain, and many of his followers were hanged.<sup>a</sup> Some of the party straggled on to Bordeaux, but Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who commanded there for the king of England, refused to admit them into the town, and compelled them by threats to withdraw from the neighbourhood. Many of them were drowned in the Gironde.<sup>b</sup> Another division made

Wilken, vii. 290. For a collection of passages relating to the Pastoureaux, see D'Argentré, i. 161, seqq. <sup>t</sup> See p. 341.

<sup>u</sup> Chron. Sandion. in Bouq. xxi. 114; W. Nang. 382; M. Paris, 822; Joh. Oxenedes, 167. An anonymous chronicler gives him the name of Roger (Bouq. xxi. 83); others call him James.

<sup>x</sup> M. Paris, 823.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.; Chron. Sandionys. 116; Tillem. iii. 429, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> M. Paris, 823; Martin, iv. 245.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Sandionys. 116; W. Nang. 382; M. Paris, 824. The Annals of Tewkesbury (145) and of Burton (292) describe the Master at his death as calling on "Deum suum Machometum."

<sup>b</sup> M. Paris, 824.



for Marseilles, where they arrived with numbers greatly reduced. Some of them were hanged and the rest dispersed, and thus this movement came to an end.<sup>c</sup>

Blanche had often urged her son to return from the East, on the ground that a man was needed for the conduct of the Government.<sup>d</sup> A war broke out with Flanders, in which the French suffered severely;<sup>e</sup> and on the 1st of March, 1252, the queen-mother died,<sup>f</sup> leaving the regency in the hands of her sons Charles Count of Anjou, and Alphonsus. Louis was deeply affected by the news of her death;<sup>g</sup> and, after having consulted his advisers, he resolved to return home.<sup>h</sup> A few days after Easter, 1254, he embarked at Acre. His vessel was furnished with a chapel in which the canonical hours were Apr. 24. regularly performed; there were three sermons weekly, and a course of religious instruction was established for the sailors,<sup>i</sup> whose lack of opportunities for learning had excited the king's compassion.<sup>k</sup> After a stormy voyage of ten weeks, Louis landed at Hyères, and on the 7th of September he reached Paris, after an absence of more than six years.<sup>m</sup> All who saw him were struck with the appearance of profound grief and dejection which he wore. He had lost much, while he had gained nothing for Christendom; he had failed in a manner which would have been ignominious but for the saintly virtue and the patient courage which he had displayed throughout his reverses and sufferings. He ascribed to his own sinfulness the disasters which had befallen the Christian force; and he did not consider his crusading vow to have been fulfilled by the expedition which had cost him so dear.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Martin, iv. 247.

<sup>d</sup> Joinv. 254.

<sup>e</sup> M. Paris, 891.

<sup>f</sup> See Wilken, vii. 341, as to the date.

<sup>g</sup> Joinv. 281; W. Nang. 386; G. de Belloloc. 28; Tillem. iii. 453-6.

<sup>h</sup> Mon. Sandionys. 56.

<sup>i</sup> "Considerans quod hujusmodi gens audiret rarissime verbum Dei." G. Belloloc. 23, 29.

<sup>k</sup> W. Nang. 388; Martin, iv. 256.

<sup>m</sup> Tillem. iv. 45. See Tillem. c. 337. Cf. Wilken, vii. 349-350.

<sup>n</sup> M. Paris, 895; Joinv. 290.

## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE ALEXANDER IV. TO THE DEATH OF  
LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE.

A.D. 1254–1270.

THE successor of Innocent IV. was Reginald, Bishop of Ostia, a member of the Franciscan order, and nephew of Gregory IX. He took the name of Alexander IV., and began his pontificate by issuing a circular letter to all bishops, in which he requested the benefit of their prayers; but the favourable expectations which this produced were somewhat disappointed by the sequel of his pontificate.<sup>a</sup> Alexander, although he wished to follow the same policy as his predecessor, was far inferior to Innocent in ability, and without his strength of character; and while he is praised for his piety and for his kindly disposition, he is said to have been a dupe of flatterers, and a tool of those who made the Roman court odious by their rapacity and extortion.<sup>b</sup>

Manfred, a prince of great talents and brilliant accomplishments,<sup>c</sup> was able, by his political skill and by the popular graces of his character, to extend his influence, and in this he was the more readily successful, because, unlike his Hohenstaufen ancestors, he did not rely on the arms of the Germans, who were more hated by the Italians than even the infidel Saracens.<sup>d</sup> Within two years, he regained for his nephew Conradin the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily, having been urged on to make himself master of the whole by the pope's refusal to ratify a treaty which proposed a division of the territory.<sup>e</sup> A cry arose that he should be king, and about the same time a report was spread that Conradin

<sup>a</sup> M. Paris, 897, 926.

<sup>b</sup> "Vir, ut aiunt, satis benignus et bene religiosus, assiduus in orationibus, in abstinentia strenuus; sed sibilis adulantium seducibilis, et pravis avarorum suggestionibus inclinativus" (M. Paris, 897). Salimbene speaks more warmly of him, probably as being a brother Franciscan—"Grossus, i.e. corpulentus et crassus fuit, sicut alter Eglon; benignus, clemens, pius, justus et timoratus fuit, et Deo devotus" (232). He was

especially fond of his own order, the Franciscans, and, on being asked by them to appoint a protector, answered that so long as he lived they should have no other protector but himself. Jordan. in Murat. Antiq. iv. 917.

<sup>c</sup> Spinelli describes him as a great "romanzatore." Murat. vii. 1097.

<sup>d</sup> N. de Jamsilla, in Murat. vii. 497-8, 540; Milm. iv. 386; Raumer, iv. 182. See Rymer, i. 320.

<sup>e</sup> N. de Jamsilla, 576; Spinelli, 1085.



had died in Germany. Manfred, without closely inquiring into the truth of this report, (of which, indeed, his enemies suppose him to have been the inventor,<sup>f</sup>) resolved to accept the dignity which was pressed on him, and on the 11th of August, 1258, he was crowned at Palermo.<sup>g</sup> In answer to a remonstrance from Conradin's mother, he told her envoys that he held the kingdom by a personal title—by the success of his arms and the choice of his people; that it would be inexpedient to endanger the Hohenstaufen interest by leaving it in the hands of women and children; but that, as he himself had no other heir, he would gladly make Conradin his successor: and he invited him to the Sicilian court, in order that he might prepare himself for the duties of royalty by acquiring the manners of his future subjects and by gaining their affection.<sup>h</sup> In the mean time, he took strong measures against all who professed to adhere to the cause of Conradin.<sup>i</sup>

The pope endeavoured to carry out his predecessor's scheme for establishing the English Prince Edmund on the throne of Sicily,<sup>k</sup> and in 1255 the boy was formally invested in the kingdom by a bishop who had been sent to England for the purpose.<sup>m</sup> But the English were shocked at finding that a crusade was preached against Manfred with the offer of the same indulgences and immunities as the enterprise of delivering the Holy Land from the Saracens, while the Holy Land itself was neglected in its urgent need; nay, that the money which was so largely extorted from them under the pretence of a crusade, was not even spent for Edmund's interest, but was diverted to the pope's own secular purposes. A strong opposition arose, both in Parliament and throughout the country, to the exactions of the papal collector, Rostand; and the pope, on making complaints of Henry's supineness in the affair, and of his backwardness in supplying money,<sup>n</sup> found that the source on which he had mainly relied for

<sup>f</sup> See Mut. Modoet. 509; W. Nang. 412; Giannone, iii. 253-5; Murat. Ann. VII. ii. 103; Böhm. 280. He is even charged with having attempted to poison Conradin, whom his mother is said to have saved by substituting another boy—Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. i. 1152 (who gives a curiously mixed character of Manfred, 1150).

<sup>g</sup> N. de Jamsilla, 584; S. Malaspina, 798; M. Paris, 979; Spinelli, 1083.

<sup>h</sup> Spinelli, 1087; Sismondi, R. I. ii. 306.

<sup>i</sup> S. Malaspina, 797. Conradin in 1261 (at the age of 8 or 9) entered into an alliance with the Guelf party of Florence against Manfred, and promised to join them in Italy; but nothing came of this. Böhm. 283; Gregorov. v. 335.

<sup>k</sup> Wikes, 1260. See Rymer, i. 316; Rayn. 1257. 38.

<sup>m</sup> M. Paris, 911.

<sup>n</sup> M. Paris, 914, 965; Rymer, i. 336, seqq., 342-3, 356, 358-9, 361, 370, seqq.; Flor. Vigorn. contin. 184-6; Annal. Burton. 350, 360-4, 384-392, 397, 409;

the supply of his exigencies was likely to dry up. In alarm at this prospect, he made overtures to Manfred, whom he had before excommunicated and declared to be deprived not only of the Sicilian kingdom but of the principality of Taranto; but the negotiation was ended by Manfred's refusing to dismiss his Saracen soldiery, and declaring, in answer to the proposal, that he would fetch as many more from Africa.<sup>o</sup> Manfred had taken into his own hands the appointment of archbishops and bishops.<sup>p</sup> The goodness of his administration won for him a strength which enabled him to defy the papal censures; and in order to counteract the money which the pope extorted from the English clergy, he held himself at liberty to supply his needs by invading the property of churches and monasteries.<sup>q</sup>

In Germany, William of Holland became lawful king by the death of Conrad, nor during the short remainder of his life was he opposed by any rival; although, when invited by the pope to repair to Rome for coronation as emperor, he found himself neither strong enough nor rich enough to undertake the expedition.<sup>r</sup> By his death in a battle against the Frisians, in 1256, the kingdom was again vacant.<sup>s</sup> The claims of Conradin were peremptorily set aside by the pope, who wrote to the ecclesiastical electors, dilating on the misdeeds of the Swabian family, and forbidding them under pain of excommunication to choose the boy, whose age he also represented as a personal disqualification.<sup>t</sup> The idea of a real kingship had died out among the princes of Germany, so that each of them was intent on promoting his own interests by weakening the power of the crown. A foreigner, therefore, appeared preferable to a native prince; and while one party, headed by the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, chose Richard of

Annal. Theokesb. 163; Barth. Cotton, 135; Pauli, iii. 701-2, 714-5. There is a letter from Alexander to Henry in favour of his Siennese "campsores" in England. (Rym. i. 330.) The pope tried to get a loan for Edmund from Richard of Cornwall; but Richard warily answered, "Nolo thesaurum superiori commodare, quem non possum distringere." (M. Paris, 914.) Information was sent to England in 1257, both directly from the Roman court and through Richard, who was then in Germany, that Manfred had despatched "assisini" to murder Henry, with his

two sons Edward and Edmund, and also his brother Richard. Annal. Burt. 395.

<sup>o</sup> Spinelli, 1095; Rymer, i. 320.

<sup>p</sup> M. Paris, 979. <sup>q</sup> Raumer, iv. 265.

<sup>r</sup> Raynald. 1250. 9; Raumer, iv. 231-2.

<sup>s</sup> M. Paris, 741-2, 923; Corn. Zantfl. 102. See a story as to his burial in Stero of Altaich ap. Canis. iv. 190; also Böhm. 37.

<sup>t</sup> Rayn. 1256. 3. It has been generally supposed that the number of seven electors came to be fixed in the time after the deposition of Frederick. See Cenni, in Patrol. xeviii. 666, seqq.; Böhrner, Regesta, 1246-1313, p. 4.



Cornwall, another, under the Archbishop of Treves, set up Alfonso "the Wise," of Castille,<sup>u</sup> a grandson of Philip of Swabia.<sup>x</sup> Richard was crowned at Aix-la Chapelle, on Ascension-day, 1257, and, by large gifts to his chief supporters,<sup>y</sup> gained a stronger influence than Alfonso, who never showed himself in Germany; but neither of the rivals was able to acquire the reality of power. Pope Alexander and his successors contrived to hold the balance skilfully between the two, acknowledging the title of each, and professing to reserve the decision between them for a further inquiry;<sup>z</sup> and thus, without committing themselves to the cause of either claimant, they were able to impress on the Germans a belief that the decision of such questions belonged to the Roman see.<sup>a</sup>

In Northern Italy there were great commotions. The city of Florence was distracted by the furious enmities of its Guelf and Ghibelline factions; and at one time, when the Ghibellines were triumphant, it would have been destroyed by their allies of Pisa and Siena, but for the patriotic resistance of the Ghibelline chief, Farinata degli Uberti.<sup>b</sup> The proud independence of the republican cities was giving way to the ascendancy of lords, who succeeded in establishing their domination over them.<sup>c</sup> Among these lords (or tyrants), Eccelino de Romano, of Padua, a zealous partisan of the imperial interest, has earned a remembrance above the rest by a career of unequalled atrocity.<sup>d</sup> After twenty years of triumphant cruelty and oppression, he was overcome and taken prisoner in September, 1259, by a crusading force under

<sup>u</sup> Stero Altah. in Canis. iv. 190; M. Paris, 939-940; Joh. Oxenedes, 192; Raumer, iv. 226, 237-9. Matthew Paris says that Alfonso claimed priority of election (957); but this was contrary to the fact. Urban IV. says that Richard was chosen first, but that Alfonso had the greater number of electors. (Rayn. 1263. 49). At the election, the archbishop of Mentz was represented by the archbishop of Cologne, being himself a prisoner to Duke Albert of Brunswick, until Richard's "hand-salve" gave him the means of ransoming himself. Böhm. 37.

<sup>x</sup> Alfonso had already claimed the dukedom of Swabia, and Alexander IV. supported the claim. Rayn. 1255. 53.

<sup>y</sup> See Rymer, i. 356; M. Paris, 942, 952; Wikes, 1256-7; Oxenedes, 190-4; Raumer, iv. 238. Some—as the archbishop of Treves—left Richard in dissatisfaction with their shares, as compared

with those of others (Wikes, l. c.). A Hamburg annalist says of Richard—"Effudit pecuniam ante pedes principum sicut aquam.....Certe tantum olei quantum infusum est ejus capiti potuisset in sua terra pretio emisse minori." (Pertz, xvi. 383-4.) See the extract from a Troubadour in Giesel. II., ii. 166.

<sup>z</sup> *E. g.* Alex. in Rymer, i. 382; Urban IV., ib. 430-2.

<sup>a</sup> Annal. Burton. 466-470; Monach. Patav. in Murat. viii. 697; M. Paris, 970; Planck, IV., i. 587-9.

<sup>b</sup> Dante, Inf. x. 90, seqq.; Raumer, iv. 248-9; Miln. iv. 393.

<sup>c</sup> Murat. Antiq. iv., Dissert. 54; Hallam, M. A., i. 270-5; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 324-5.

<sup>d</sup> For his life there are many authorities in Muratori, viii.; one of them, Gerard Maurisius, wrote before the blackest parts of his character had been developed, and therefore in a tone which

a papal legate, Archbishop Philip of Ravenna.<sup>e</sup> His behaviour in prison was sullenly ferocious; on being asked to confess his sins, he answered that he had nothing to repent of except that he had not destroyed more of his enemies, and that he had led his troops badly. He refused food and drink, tore the bandages from his wounds, and was found dead on the eleventh day after his capture.<sup>f</sup> Among the chief leaders of the crusade, under Archbishop Philip, was John of Vicenza, a Dominican friar, who a quarter of a century earlier had distinguished himself as a preacher of universal peace, and had at one time acquired a sort of despotic power in his native city and at Verona, being supposed, in addition to his power of eloquence, to possess the gift of miracles, so as even to raise the dead.<sup>g</sup>

In 1260—a year which had a peculiar significance according to the systems of Abbot Joachim and other apocalyptic teachers<sup>h</sup>—a strange fanaticism burst out at Perugia, and spread both southward to Rome, and in the opposite direction to Northern Italy, and even beyond the Alps to France and the Rhine, to Hungary, Silesia and Poland.<sup>i</sup> This movement was said to have been begun in obedience to visions, or to the counsel of a blind and mysterious hermit, and is not apparently traceable to the influence of any preacher.<sup>k</sup> In every city, vast multitudes—men, women, and children, down to the age of five—paraded the streets, with their faces covered, but their bodies naked to the

contrasts with that of other writers. See also Innoc. IV., ap. Rayn. 1254. 35; Monach. Patav. in Mur. viii. 686-8, 691, 694, 707-9; Salimbene, 182. "Multos occidit," says Mutius of Monza, "feminas incarceravit, eunuchos multos fecit. Si enim unus de una progenie contra eum peccabat, omnes de progenie illa occidebat. Nullus in ferocitate ei unquam fuit similis." (Pertz, xviii. 510.) "Credo certissime," says Salimbene, "quod, sicut Filius Dei voluit habere unum specialem amicum, quem similem sibi faceret, sic diabolus Yelinum" (75). "Puto quod non habuit diabolus tale membrum in mundo, ita sibi conformem in omni malitia occidendi, ex quo factus est mundus" (238).

<sup>e</sup> Rayn. 1256. 38; Salimb. 181, 201; Sism. R. I., ii. 286, 292-3. Salimbene tells much that is curious as to Philip.

<sup>f</sup> Rolandin. xii. 9 (Murat. viii.); Mut. Modoet.; Raumer, iv. 258-9.

<sup>g</sup> See Rayn. 1233. 35, and notes; Gerard Mauris. in Murat. viii. 37-8; Salimb. 35, 38-9; Murat. Antiq. iv. 639-

643; Annali, VII. i. 282-3; Quétif, i. 150-3; Hallam, i. 266; Raumer, iii. 343-6; Milin. iv. 305-6. Frederick II. complained of him for meddling with politics, and for assuming the titles of duke of Verona and "rector perpetuus" (Huill.-Bréh. iv. 908). Like a good Dominican, he burnt heretics zealously—at one time sixty within three days (Mur. Ann. 282). After a time, his miracles were mocked at; thus the Florentines begged him not to visit their city, because it would not be large enough to contain the dead whom he would raise. The ex-podestà of Vicenza attacked, overcame, and imprisoned him, and, on being released, John found his influence gone.

<sup>h</sup> Salimb. 240. See p. 209; and below, c. viii., sect. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Raynald. 1260. 11. See Förstemann, 'Die christlichen Geisslergesellschaften,' Halle, 1828.

<sup>k</sup> Annal. S. Rudb. Salisburg. A.D. 1260 (Pertz, ix.); Förstemann, 26.



waist, gesticulating wildly and pitilessly scourging themselves with whips, while they shouted the invocation, "Holy Lady Mary, receive us sinners, and pray Jesus Christ to spare us!"<sup>m</sup> Some of them, wrought up to a pitch of frenzy, dashed themselves on the ground, in mud or in snow, and screamed out "Mercy! Mercy! Peace! Peace!" At first this spectacle excited ridicule; but gradually the feeling of sin impelled many to join them; and, with clergy or monks at their head, the bands of penitents moved from city to city, everywhere communicating their enthusiasm.<sup>n</sup> Any one who held out against the contagion was noted by his neighbours as a "man of the devil," and it was believed that the impiety of such persons was punished by judgments of heaven.<sup>o</sup> The chroniclers tell us that the movement produced good effects in the reconciliation of enemies and of political factions; that usurers abandoned their practices, that unjust gains were restored, that prisoners were set free, and that for the time there was a general reformation of morals.<sup>p</sup> But in the progress of the movement, circumstances appeared which suggested doubts as to its religious tendency, such as a contempt of the ordinary means of grace, and a proneness to denounce the clergy.<sup>q</sup> The pope declined to encourage it; Manfred refused to admit the flagellants into his kingdom; some of the authorities of Northern Italy erected gibbets on their frontiers, as an indication of the fate which awaited any flagellant who should attempt to enter their territories; and in Germany, the Duke of Bavaria and the bishops were strong in their opposition. Under these discouragements from both temporal and spiritual authorities, and probably also through the natural decay of such enthusiasm, the flagellant revival (as it would now be styled) in no long time died utterly away.<sup>r</sup>

Alexander had been much disquieted in Rome by the partisans of Manfred, and in 1257 had been driven by Brancalcione, on his escape from his second imprisonment, to take refuge at Viterbo. His hopes of restoration on the death of Brancalcione were disappointed; the parties of Rome continued their discords,

<sup>m</sup> Annal. Januens. in Pertz, xviii. 241; Stero in Canis. iv. 194.

<sup>n</sup> Ib.; Mut. Mod. 512; Annal. Parm. 677; Annal. Saneruc. A.D. 1261 (Pertz. ix.).

<sup>o</sup> Salimb. 239.

<sup>p</sup> Annal. Parm. 677; Mut. Modoet. 512; Monach. Patav. in Murat. viii. 713.

<sup>q</sup> Raumer, iv. 263.

<sup>r</sup> Monach. Patav. in Murat. viii. 713;

Galv. Flamma, i. 296 (ib. xi. 690-1); Mut. Mod. in Pertz, xviii. 512; Annal. Mellic., A.D. 1260 (ib. ix.); Murat. Antiq. vi. 470; Förstemann, 39 (who gives accounts of other similar movements). When a renewal of the Flagellant outbreak was expected in 1269, the Marquis of Este and the Ferrarese took measures to prevent it. Mur. Antiq. vi. 471-2.

and the pope, after having resided for some time at Anagni, returned to Viterbo, where he died on the 25th of May, 1261.<sup>s</sup>

About the same time, the Latin empire of Constantinople came to an end. Almost from the time of its origin, this unfortunate power had been continually sinking. Its limits had shrunk until it was confined to the city; the emperor, Baldwin II., was reduced to the most pitiable expedients for the means of maintaining his position—selling the lead from the roofs of churches, and even giving his own son as a pledge to the Venetians for the repayment of a loan; and the Latin patriarch was supported by the alms of the pope.<sup>t</sup> While the Venetians were in league with the Latin emperor, their rivals of Genoa allied themselves with the Greeks,<sup>u</sup> and their force contributed

July 25. to the victory of Alexander Strategopolos, who in 1261 wrested Constantinople from the Latins for the Emperor Michael Palæologus of Nicæa.<sup>x</sup> The dispossessed Baldwin spent the remainder of his days in vainly soliciting assistance from the sovereigns of the west. But the Greek reconquest, instead of bringing fresh vigour to the empire, did little else than restore it to the same condition of decrepitude which had prepared it to fall a prey to the western crusaders fifty-seven years before.<sup>y</sup>

Alexander had allowed the number of cardinals to dwindle down to eighteen, and these were for three months unable to agree in the choice of a successor, until James Pantaleon, patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived at Viterbo, where they were assembled, Aug. 29. and was raised by them to the papacy under the name of Urban IV.<sup>z</sup> The new pope, who was the son of a cobbler at Troyes,<sup>a</sup> had chiefly owed his success in life to his skill as a negotiator, which had been shown in many important missions;<sup>b</sup> and he carried on the traditional policy of the papacy with greater vigour than his predecessor. But as he was prosecuting the contest with Manfred, he had the mortification of finding that he was unable to prevent a marriage between the heir of Aragon and one of Manfred's daughters; nay, that even the saintly Louis of France, although restrained for a time by

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, *xxvi.* 458-9; Raumer, *iv.* 247-8, 274.

<sup>t</sup> Raumer, *iv.* 274-5.

<sup>u</sup> *Annal. Januens.*, in Pertz, *xviii.* 243; Gibbon, *vi.* 68.

<sup>x</sup> W. Nang. *ap. Bouq.* *xx.* 414; G. Acropol. 85; Gibbon, *vi.* 69-70.

<sup>y</sup> *Monach. Patav.* 716-7; Raumer, *iv.* 275-6.

<sup>z</sup> Malaspina, in Murat. *viii.* 588; Schröckh, *xxvi.* 460.

<sup>a</sup> "Filius pauperculi resarcientis sotulares." Antonin. *ap. Rayn.* 1261. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Raumer, *iv.* 277.



scruples, allowed one of his sons to marry into the family which had been thus contaminated by a connexion with one whom the Roman church regarded as a bastard, an usurper, and an excommunicate.<sup>c</sup> The pope cited Manfred to appear before him, personally or by proxy, on Maunday Thursday, 1263, and answer for his heavy crimes against God and man—his connexions with Saracens, whom he was accused of preferring to Christians, the celebration of divine offices in interdicted places, the murder of some of his subjects, and other grievous offences.<sup>d</sup> But a difference arose as to the terms of the safe conduct which Manfred required, and, as he did not obey the summons, the pope, without heeding his excuses, renewed his excommunication.<sup>e</sup>

As no further supplies of money were to be expected from England, the pope resolved to set aside the claim of Prince Edmund to the Sicilian crown, which he offered to Louis of France for one of his sons. But Louis, on account of the claims of Conradin and of Edmund, felt scruples which were not to be overcome by the pope's assurance that they were groundless,<sup>f</sup> and the offer was transferred to the king's brother, Charles of Anjou. Charles, who was then forty-two years of age, was of a character utterly unlike that of Louis. He was stern, ambitious, rapacious, and unscrupulous. His valour had been shown in the late disastrous crusade, from which he had returned before his brother to take the chief share in the regency of France; he was urged on to accept the offer of Sicily by the pride of his wife, the youngest daughter of Raymond Berenger, who had brought him the county of Provence as her dowry, and was discontented at being inferior in rank to her sisters, the queens of France, England and Germany.<sup>g</sup> As Louis still hesitated to sanction the acceptance of the Sicilian crown by a prince of his house, the archbishop of Cosenza was sent to negotiate with Henry III. for the cession of Edmund's pretensions.<sup>h</sup> Henry represented the vast amount of treasure which he had spent for the July 28,  
1263. object which he was now desired to forego; but he was in the middle of his great struggle with the barons under Simon de Montfort, and in such circumstances he could not afford

<sup>c</sup> Malasp. 591; Rayn. 1262. 9, 16; Giann. iii. 260; Schröckh, xxvi. 464; Raumer, iv. 281-3.

<sup>d</sup> Urban ap. Rayn. 1263. 65; Sismondi. R. I., ii. 374.

<sup>e</sup> Malasp. 591.

<sup>f</sup> Urb. ap. Rayn. 1262. 21; Raumer, iv. 285-6.

<sup>g</sup> Raynald. 1264. 19. See Dante, Parad. vi. 133, and the commentary by Benvenuto of Imola in Murat. Antiq. i. 1238. <sup>h</sup> Rymer, i. 428.

to alienate the pope by a refusal.<sup>l</sup> The claim of Edmund to Sicily, therefore, was formally relinquished;<sup>k</sup> and by way of recompense the censures of the Roman church were dealt forth against the earl of Leicester and his partisans.<sup>m</sup> The crusade against Manfred was preached in France under the pope's authority, and the French clergy were exhorted to aid it with a tenth of their income.<sup>n</sup>

At Rome a contest arose in August, 1263, as to the election of a senator. The citizens were divided between Charles of Anjou and Manfred; but the partisans of Charles prevailed.<sup>o</sup> The pope, afraid that a secular prince established in Rome might have greater power than himself, required Charles to bind himself by oath to certain conditions—that he would not accept the senatorship for more than five years, and if, within that time he should get possession of the Sicilian kingdom, he would, if required by the pope, absolutely resign the senatorship.<sup>p</sup> To these proposals Charles acceded; but he used the opportunity to make better terms than before as to the Sicilian kingdom;—that he was to enjoy those parts of it which the pope had wished to reserve for himself, with the exception of the city of Benevento; that his yearly tribute should be lessened; that the succession should be extended beyond the four heirs to whom it had been limited in the earlier scheme; and that females as well as males should be admitted to inherit.<sup>q</sup>

The pope was the more willing to concede because Manfred still continued to make progress, and gained possession of the greater part of the papal territory. Urban, finding himself threatened in his capital, withdrew to Perugia, and there died on the day after his arrival, the 2nd of October, 1264.<sup>r</sup>

Urban had been careful to recruit the college of cardinals with men favourable to his own policy; and their choice fell on Guy Fulcodi, who took the name of Clement IV.<sup>s</sup> The new

<sup>l</sup> Rayn. 1263. 78; Trivet, 250, seqq.; Wikes, 1263-4.

<sup>k</sup> Rymer, i. 457; Pauli, iii. 758.

<sup>m</sup> Flor. Vigorn., contin. 194; Pauli, iii. 759, 778. The history of the Barons' War need not be here related. Alexander IV. released Henry from the oath which he had taken to observe the "Provisions of Oxford," and Urban confirmed the release (Rymer, i. 405-6, 416; Chron. Lanercost., p. 70; Pauli, iii. 740-2). Louis of France, being called in as arbiter between the parties, declared the "Provisions" to be null, and, by his unreserved decision in favour of the crown, gave the barons great dissatisfaction (Rymer, i.

433-61, 438; Pauli, iii. 756-9. See p. 440). The battle of Evesham, at which Simon fell, was fought on Aug. 3, 1265.

<sup>n</sup> Urb. Epp. 20-7, 43; Rayn. 1264. 12-3.

<sup>o</sup> Mansi, in Rayn. iii. 132.

<sup>p</sup> Rayn. 1264. 4; Urb. Epp. 12-3, 15; ap. Martene, Thesaur. ii.

<sup>q</sup> See Urban, Epp. 7, 17, 49, &c.; Schröckh, xxvi. 468; Gieseler, II., ii. 168.

<sup>r</sup> S. Malasp. ii. 2, 15; Raumer, iv. 292-3.

<sup>s</sup> "Clemens, cujus nomen ab effectu non modice distat," says Mutius of Monza, Pertz, xviii. 517. So, too, Conradin, in a manifesto, ib. 523. Some



pope, who was of a noble family in Languedoc, had in early life been eminent as a lawyer, and had assisted Louis IX. in his legislation. He had been married, and had two daughters, but after his wife's death he entered into holy orders, and became successively bishop of Le Puy, archbishop of Narbonne, and cardinal-bishop of Sabino.<sup>t</sup> As pope, he was especially careful to discourage his near relations from conceiving ambitious hopes on account of their connection with him; he refused to let his daughters or his niece marry above his own original rank, and warned his nephews<sup>u</sup> not to come to the papal court, or to expect anything from his favour.<sup>x</sup> At the time of his election, he was engaged in a legation to England, and he was obliged, from fear of the Ghibellines, to make his way to Rome in the disguise of a simple monk.<sup>y</sup>

Clement, as a native of southern France, was naturally disposed to favour the interest of Charles of Provence, who sailed from Marseilles about Easter, 1265, and proceeded, chiefly by sea, to Rome, where he was received with great pomp, and was invested in the office of senator.<sup>z</sup> May 21-3. But the pope, who was then at Viterbo, found great cause to be uneasy and displeased. Charles had brought with him but few men, and no money; he was distressed even for food and clothing, which the Romans refused to supply without payment; and he wished to borrow on the pope's security, while Clement had pledged his credit so deeply that he could not raise money for his own necessities, and throughout his whole pontificate was unable to venture to Rome on account of the debts which he owed.<sup>a</sup> The pope declared that he could do nothing for Charles except by a miracle, and that his merits were not sufficient to work a miracle.<sup>b</sup> Charles's violence, also, in taking possession of the Lateran palace drew forth strong remonstrances from the pope, who told him that he could not give up either of his palaces to him, and that in a city where large houses were so plentiful the senator could not be at a loss for a suitable lodging.<sup>c</sup>

place Clement's appointment in October, 1264; some, in February 1265. See Mansi, in Rayn. iii. 157 (who supposes the earlier date to be that of the election, and the later to be that of his acceptance); Böhmer, 328.

<sup>t</sup> W. Nang. in Bouq. xx. 418; Raumer, iv. 294.

<sup>u</sup> Ep. 21, in Mart. Thes. ii.; J. Desnouelles, in Bouq. xxi. 182.

<sup>x</sup> Ep. 21, l. c.; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 23;

Rayn. 1265. 10. <sup>y</sup> Raumer, iv. 295.

<sup>z</sup> N. de Jamsilla, 597; S. Malasp. ii. 8; W. Nang. 418; Raumer, iv. 296-8; Gregorov. v. 60-2. <sup>a</sup> Stero Altah. 199.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. ap. Rayn. 1266. 9; Ep. 271; Cf. Epp. 116, 125, 135, 137, 146, 165, 173, 181, 195, 210 (Martene, Thes. ii.); S. Malasp. iii. 10; N. de Jamsilla, contin. 601; W. Nang. in Bouq. xx. 418.

<sup>c</sup> Clem. ap. Rayn. 1265. 12-3; Gregorov. v. 363.

As the pope's support was too valuable to be thrown away for such an object, Charles removed from the Lateran; but Clement was still obliged to complain of the exactions which were made in his name. The pope, however, declared Edmund of England to have forfeited the Sicilian crown by neglecting to perform the conditions annexed to the offer of it;<sup>d</sup> he granted it to

June 28. Charles, who was formally invested in it; and a new agreement was drawn up as to the terms on which it should be held. In default of lawful issue of Charles or of his successors, the kingdom was to revert to the pope. It was not to be held with the empire, with Germany, Lombardy, or Tuscany. On getting possession of the kingdom, Charles was to pay the pope 50,000 ounces of gold. A tribute of 8000 ounces was to be paid every year, and a white palfrey every third year. And the king bound himself to respect all ecclesiastical and monastic property.<sup>e</sup>

The crusade against Manfred was actively preached,<sup>f</sup> with the offer of indulgence for crimes to all who should join it; and thus a host of ruffians was gathered, in addition to the troops which Charles had enlisted in France, and whose acts of violence as they proceeded on the way to join him at Rome—extortion, plunder, arson, sacrilege, murder—drew forth fresh complaints and reproofs from Clement.<sup>g</sup> By this increase of strength Charles was enabled to press more effectually than before his suit for the coronation of himself and his wife as king and queen of Sicily; and the ceremony—the first coronation of any one below the imperial dignity that had ever taken place in St. Peter's—was performed by a commission of cardinals on the festival of the Epiphany, 1266.<sup>h</sup>

About the middle of January, as the necessities of his army urged him to proceed without delay, Charles set out from Rome for the south. Manfred had attempted to negotiate with him by means of envoys; but they were repelled with the answer, "Tell the *sultan* of Nocera, that either I shall send him to hell or he shall send me to heaven."<sup>i</sup> Yet even at this time it would

<sup>d</sup> Dachery, iii. 648, 650.

<sup>e</sup> Rayn. 1265. 14; Dachery, iii. 652. See Raumer, iv. 299. This treaty was concluded by some cardinals on May 29, 1265, but was not ratified by the pope until Nov. 4. Giesel. II., ii. 169.

<sup>f</sup> See Clement's bull and letters in Martene, Thes. ii. 196; Rayn. 1265. 23, seqq., 26; Giesel. II., ii. 171.

<sup>g</sup> Raumer, iv. 307. The pope must have found reason to doubt the etymology which he gives in a letter to Manfred—"Carolus, Deo et hominibus totus carus; *ἅλον* enim *totum* significat linguâ Græcâ." Rayn. 1266. 8.

<sup>h</sup> Raumer, iv. 308-9; Gregorov. v. 376.

<sup>i</sup> G. Villani, vii. 5. The Saracen connexion was a continual subject of re-



seem that the pope, in his disgust at the disorders of the French, was inclined to relent towards Manfred.<sup>k</sup> Manfred, reduced to stand on his defence, exerted himself with energy to meet the invaders, whose advance into his territory was favoured by a season of unusual mildness;<sup>m</sup> but his counsel and valour were displayed in vain. Surprised and deserted through treachery,<sup>n</sup> he fell in the thickest of the fight at the battle of Benevento on the 26th of February, 1266.<sup>o</sup> His body, which was not recognised until two days later, was excluded from Christian burial, as that of an excommunicate person, and was interred by the victor's command near the bridge of Benevento, where the French, in a generous feeling of respect for a brave and unfortunate enemy, heaped up a cairn over it, each casting a stone. But the archbishop of Cosenza, by command of the pope, afterwards caused the corpse to be cast out of this resting-place, as being unworthy to find sepulture within the territory of the church, and it was again committed, without any religious rites, to a grave in a remote valley of the Abruzzi.<sup>p</sup> The ruffians whom the pope had invested with the character of crusaders again excited his indignation by plundering his city of Benevento with circumstances of atrocious outrage and excess.<sup>q</sup>

proach against Manfred, as it had been against his father. Urban IV. wrote to Charles in 1264—"Manfredus, qui Saracenorum ritus amplectitur, ac illos in quotidianis ejus obsequiis notabiliter secum tenet, et præfert eos in opprobrium Catholicæ fidei Christianis." In 1261, the Neapolitans implored Manfred to make peace with the church, because while he was excommunicate their archbishop would not allow mass to be celebrated. The king replied that he would send 300 Saracens, who would compel the clergy to say mass; and he was very angry when the Neapolitans begged that he would not do so, as they were not disposed to lodge Saracens (Spinelli, 1099). In his message to Manfred, Charles may perhaps have borrowed from the answer which his brother St. Louis is said to have made when the queen-mother expressed apprehension of the Tartar invasion—"Si superveniant ipsi, vel nos ipsos, quos vocamus Tartaros, ad suas tartarcas sedes, unde exierunt, retrudemus, vel ipsi nos omnes ad cælum subvehent." M. Par. 558.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 232. See Giesel. II., ii. 172; Raumer, iv. 309, 310.

<sup>m</sup> Salimb. 244.

<sup>n</sup> "A Ceperano, dove fu bugiardo  
Ciascun Pugliese."

—Dante, *Inf.* xxviii. 13-4.

<sup>o</sup> N. de Jamsilla, contin. 603-7; S. Malasp. iii. 7-8; Mut. Modoet. 515-6; Salimb. 245; W. Nang. 426; Raumer, 317-320. Charles's letter of Feb. 27, announcing the victory to the pope, is among Clement's Epp., No. 236 (Mart. Thes. ii.). The fate of Manfred was then unknown. Böhmer dates the battle on the 6th. 281.

<sup>p</sup> See Dante, *Purgat.* iii. 124, seqq., who has offended some orthodox commentators by admitting Manfred into Purgatory, and putting into his mouth the words—

"Orribil furon li peccati miei;  
Ma la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia,  
Che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei."

Benven. Imol. 1152-4; S. Malasp. iii. 13; W. Nang. 426; R. Malasp., c. 180; Annal. Januens. in Pertz, xviii. 256 (which give a different account of the burial, as does also a Paduan chronicler, in Mur. viii. 727); Raumer, iv. 323-4; Handb. for S. Italy, 505-6, ed. 1853. Salimbene says that several pretended Manfreds afterwards appeared, and were put down by Charles. 246.

<sup>q</sup> S. Malasp. iii. 12; Clem. Epp. 254, 262; Rayn. 1266: 15.

The whole of the south now submitted to Charles, and throughout Italy the overthrow of Manfred struck terror into the Ghibellines, so that many who had until then held out submitted to the church.<sup>r</sup> The widowed queen, a princess of the Comnenian family, fell into the victor's hands, with her children, who spent the remainder of their days in strict and hopeless captivity.<sup>s</sup> Manfred's adherents were cruelly punished, and the country was subjected to a grinding taxation and oppressions of all sorts by the new officials who took the place of those employed under the late reign. The pope remonstrated vehemently, both as to Charles's treatment of his new subjects, and as to his neglect of the conditions by which he had bound himself to the Roman see.<sup>t</sup> Yet when Charles visited Rome in 1267, the pope on Palm Sunday bestowed on him the golden rose, and he appointed him vicar of the empire, and pacificator of Tuscany.<sup>u</sup>

Even those of Charles's subjects who had been opposed to Manfred now learnt to regret the change of rulers, and a general feeling arose in favour of Conradin, who was invited to attempt the recovery of the Sicilian throne.<sup>x</sup> The heir of the Hohenstaufen, who had been left fatherless at the age of two, was now fifteen, and had grown up into a handsome, spirited, and accomplished youth.<sup>y</sup> When the Sicilian enterprise was proposed, his mother and the more cautious of his counsellors endeavoured to dissuade him; but Conradin was filled with the thought of the great things which had been achieved by his grandfather Frederick, to whose earlier history his own seemed thus far to bear a likeness.<sup>z</sup> Despising the threats by which the pope endeavoured to deter him,<sup>a</sup> he crossed the Alps in the autumn of 1267, with a force of about 10,000 men, which, notwithstanding some desertions occasioned by his want of Apr.-July, money,<sup>b</sup> continually increased as he went on. At Pisa 1268. and Siena he was welcomed with much splendour;<sup>c</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Mut. Modoet. 516.

<sup>s</sup> Rayn. 1266. 17; Raumer, iv. 325. Clement writes to his legate in England, Cardinal Ottobuoni—"Carolus rex Siciliae illustris tenet pacifice totum regnum, illius hominis pestilentis cadaver putridum, uxorem, liberos obtinens et thronum." Ep. 278.

<sup>t</sup> Epp. 380, 432-3, 471, 504, 530, &c.; Rayn. 1266. 19; Raumer, iv. 341-6. Yet William of Nangis says that Charles was unwisely lenient towards Manfred's partisans. Bouq. xx. 426.

<sup>u</sup> Clem., Ep. 625; Spinelli, 1103; Raynald. 1267. 5-6, 9-10; Murat. Ann.

VII., ii. 165.

<sup>x</sup> The continuator of Jamsilla says that those who had taken Manfred for a wolf now found out, when it was too late, that he had been a lamb (609). Cf. S. Malasp. iii. 16.

<sup>y</sup> Raumer, iv. 347. Salimbene styles him "litteratus juvenis." 247.

<sup>z</sup> Raumer, iv. 352, 355.

<sup>a</sup> Annal. S. Rudb. Salisburg., A.D. 1267 (Pertz, ix.); S. Malasp. iv. 1.

<sup>b</sup> This was at Verona, where he spent three months. Böhm. 287.

<sup>c</sup> Mut. Modoet. 526-7.



and, as he passed Viterbo, where the pope was, he displayed his forces before the walls, but disdained to make any attack on him.<sup>d</sup> Clement had from the beginning spoken of the young prince's expedition with contemptuous denunciations,<sup>e</sup> foretelling that he would pass away like a smoke, and on Maunday Thursday, 1268, he anathematised him, with his partisans, and summoned him to submit to penance.<sup>f</sup> But when Conradin entered Rome, having been invited by an embassy of the citizens, the streets were hung with garlands, and the general magnificence of his reception put to shame that which under the papal auspices before had been bestowed on Charles of Anjou.<sup>g</sup> Henry, the brother of Alfonso of Castille, after many adventures in Africa and Sicily, had been chosen senator, partly through the influence of Charles, who was his nephew; but the two had now quarrelled,<sup>h</sup> and both at Rome and in Sicily Henry supported the young Hohenstaufen with all his power.<sup>i</sup> He unscrupulously laid the treasures of churches under contribution for his service, and incurred a share of the pope's denunciations for his sake.<sup>k</sup> Conradin advanced into Apulia; the Pisan fleet, which was in his interest, had defeated the Provençal fleet;<sup>m</sup> Sicily was won by his partisans, and the Saracens of Nocera rose in his behalf.<sup>n</sup> On the 23rd of August, the young adventurer's army encountered that of Charles, at Scurcola, near Tagliacozzo. For a time success appeared to be with Conradin; but by too readily believing that his opponent was defeated and slain, he exposed himself to Charles, who surprised him by breaking from an ambush, and inflicted on him a total overthrow.<sup>o</sup> Conradin fled to Rome, but was refused admittance by Guy of

<sup>d</sup> S. Malasp. iv. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Salimb. 249. "De radice colubri venenosi egressus regulus (see p. 411) suis jam inficit flatibus partes Tusciæ, viperarum genimina, viros pestilentes, suæ voluntatis conformes, &c." (Ep. 450). Cf. Epp. 559, 606 ("conatus fatuos stolidi adolescentis Conradini," &c.), 608, 620, 640, 663, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Rayn. 1268. 4. About this part of the story, we find the name of one of Becket's murderers — "Raynaldus de Filiis Ursi," recurring as that of a Roman noble (Orsini). S. Malasp. iii. 20; Jamsilla, contin. 613.

<sup>g</sup> Mut. Modoet. 527; S. Malasp. iv. 6-9; Raumer, iv. 362.

<sup>h</sup> Partly because Henry could get no repayment for a large sum which he had

lent to Charles for his expedition against Manfred. Amari, 33.

<sup>i</sup> Monach. Patav. in Murat. viii. 729; W. Nang. 428; S. Malasp. iii. 20; Jamsilla contin. 611-3.

<sup>k</sup> S. Malasp. iii. 20; Clem. Epp. 554; Rayn. 1267. 14; 1268. 21-4. S. Malaspina says that Henry had a scheme for putting himself into Conradin's place. iv. 7.

<sup>m</sup> S. Malasp. iv. 4-5.

<sup>n</sup> Mut. Mod. 427; Raumer, iv. 361-4.

<sup>o</sup> S. Malasp. iv. 9-11; Spinelli, 1103; W. Nang. 434-6; Monach. Patav. 730; Carol. ad Clement. ap. Rayn. 1268. 32. Charles writes to the pope, "Arise, and eat of thy son's venison." On Conradin's expedition Gregorovius is very full. For the topography of the battle, see Raumer, iv. 367.

Montefeltro, who commanded for the senator Henry. He then attempted to escape by sea to Sicily, but was seized by one of the Frangipani—a family which had been loaded with benefits by the Swabian princes, but had lately been won to the papal side by large concessions<sup>p</sup>—and, after having been imprisoned for a time at Palestrina, he was carried by Charles to Naples.<sup>q</sup> Although a promise of safety had been given in the name of Charles—whether without authority or treacherously<sup>r</sup>—Conradin was brought to trial; and, although one only of his judges could be brought to pronounce for death,<sup>s</sup> that sentence

was approved by Charles, and the last heir of the great Oct. 29. Hohenstaufen family, with ten of his chief companions in his enterprise, perished on the scaffold.<sup>t</sup> His fate excited throughout Christendom a general feeling of pity and horror. The pope had exhorted Charles to mercy, but in vain;<sup>u</sup> and Clement himself survived only a month the execution of Conradin—dying at Viterbo on the 29th of November, 1268.<sup>x</sup>

The reign of Louis IX. of France, after his return from the Holy Land, had been distinguished by the display of high kingly qualities, of personal sanctity, and of that strong sense of the rights of royalty and law, as opposed to the assumptions of Rome, which is the more remarkable on account of the devout and ascetic piety with which it was combined.<sup>y</sup> Warned, perhaps, by the history of Henry II. of England, he did not attempt by his own authority to interfere with the immunities to which

<sup>p</sup> Rayn. 1252. 2. Innocent IV. had recognised in 1249 the claim of the Frangipani to Taranto, which Frederick II. had bestowed on Manfred. Gregorov. v. 252.

<sup>q</sup> Salimb. 248; S. Malasp. iv. 15; F. Pipin. iii. 3 (Murat. ix.); Mut. Modoet. 528.

<sup>r</sup> Raumer, iv. 375.

<sup>s</sup> See Murat. Ann. VII., ii. 176-7. It is said that Count Robert of Flanders, the king's son-in-law, struck dead the judge who read out the sentence of condemnation. G. Villani, vii. 9 (Murat. xiii.).

<sup>t</sup> F. Pipin. iii. 9; S. Malasp. iv. 16; W. Nang. 438; G. Villani, vii. 29; Benv. Imol. 1216; Barth. de Neocastro, 9-10; Raumer, iv. 378-381. The words of Mutius of Monza are remarkable—"Cui Carolo tanta iniquitas et furor et malitia supervenit," &c. 528. It is said that Charles witnessed the execution from a tower (Amari, 38). It took place

in the new market of Naples; and a church founded by Conradin's mother still preserves the memory of it on the scene.

<sup>u</sup> G. Villani, vii. 29; Rayn. 1268. 36. The story that Clement, on being consulted by Charles, answered—"Vita Corradini mors Caroli; mors Corradini, vita Caroli"—although adopted by Giannone (iii. 294), is now generally rejected. See Rayn. 1268. 34; Tillem. vi. 129; Schröckh, xxvi. 476; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 418; Raumer, iv. 383-4; Milman, iv. 438.

<sup>x</sup> S. Malaspina records his death with strange affectation—"Vitæ chirographo resignato, creditum naturæ reddidit quod mutuo receperat ab eadem"! iv. 20.

<sup>y</sup> W. Nang. in Bouq. xx. 392-400. This writer says that the king's conversation after his first crusade was better than before, as gold is better than silver. 392.



the clergy pretended; but he gained the substantial acknowledgment of the rights of the state by prevailing on Alexander IV., in 1260, to allow that the king's officials should not be liable to excommunication for arresting criminal clerks in flagrant delict, provided that they held them at the disposal of the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>z</sup> The national rights were still further asserted in the "Pragmatic Sanction" of the year 1269.<sup>a</sup> The only article, indeed, of this document which is in direct opposition to Rome, is one which forbids the exaction of money by the Roman court except with the sanction of the king and the church of France.<sup>b</sup> But the whole tone of it is antipapal,<sup>c</sup> and accords with the declaration in the king's "Establishments," that the king of France "holdeth of no one save God and himself."<sup>d</sup> In a like spirit was the answer of Louis, when the bishop of Auxerre, in the name of the clergy, represented to him that excommunication was despised (as was indeed natural, from the frequency with which it was pronounced for all manner of trifling causes), and that many excommunicate persons died without seeking absolution. For these reasons the bishop desired that the spiritual sentence might be enforced by civil penalties. The king replied that he would consent, if it were certain that the excommunicates were in the wrong. The clergy objected that it was not for secular courts to determine such a question; but Louis adhered to his declaration, and the clergy did not venture to renew their proposal.<sup>e</sup> Thus the saintly reputation of the king enabled him to assert with success, and almost without question, principles which would have drawn on any ordinary sovereign the charge of impiety and of hostility to the church; and to him

<sup>z</sup> Martin, iv. 308.

<sup>a</sup> The genuineness of this has been questioned (as by Thomassin, II., i. 43. II, &c.); but see Martin, iv. 310; Milm. iv. 440-1; Herzog, xii. 90. Mr. Hallam's doubts (M.A., ii 13) appear to be retracted in his Supplemental Notes, p. 196. The term *pragmatic* had been used from the imperial times to signify an ordinance issued by a sovereign after full and careful deliberation (πράγμα, πράγματα) with his counsellors. 'Traitez des Droits de l'Eglise Gallicane,' i. 305 (Par. 1639); Ducange, s.v. *Pragmaticum*; Herzog, xii. 89.

<sup>b</sup> "Exactiones et onera gravissima pecuniarum per curiam Romanam ecclesie regni nostri imposita vel impositas, quibus miserabiliter regnum nostrum de-

pauperatum extitit".....In future such exactions are not to be made, except for good, pious, and urgent cause, "et de spontaneo et expresso consensu nostro et ecclesie regni nostri." Mansi quotes Spondanus as marvelling how any one could suppose this to be intended against the pope! See Martin, iv. 310.

<sup>c</sup> *E.g.* It excludes the papal interference as to elections of bishops and as to other patronage. See Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 196. On such points Louis had had differences with Rome. Tillem. cc. 437-8.

<sup>d</sup> Liv. i. c. 78 (Ordonnances des Rois de France, i. 169, Paris, 1723). See Martin, iv. 307-8 (whose version is "de Dieu et de son épée").

<sup>e</sup> Joinv. 200, 290.

is chiefly due the foundation of those liberties by which the Gallican church was for centuries distinguished.<sup>f</sup>

Amidst the labours of government at home, Louis had never forgotten his crusading vow. While the popes, although they affected to keep the cause of the Holy War before the eyes of men, were bestowing all their energies and all the treasure that they could collect on the destruction of the Hohenstaufen, the disasters which were continually reported from the east filled the pious king with sorrow. In May, 1267, he appeared at an assembly of his nobles, holding in his hand the relic which was revered as the crown of thorns, and in pathetic terms exhorted them to the holy war. After a cardinal legate had addressed the assembly, Louis set the example of taking the cross, and in this he was followed by his three sons, by the king of Navarre, and by many others, whose motive was rather attachment to their sovereign than any religious enthusiasm.<sup>g</sup> Yet many hung back—among them the biographer Joinville, who remembered the oppressions which the officers of the kings of France and Navarre had inflicted on his people during his absence on the former crusade, and reflects severely on those counsellors who advised the king to undertake the new expedition, without regard either to the interests of his kingdom or to his own enfeebled health.<sup>h</sup> The pope granted for the enterprise a tenth of the income of the French clergy for three years, and, although they cried out that the impost was sacrilegious, and that they would rather be excommunicated than pay, it was rigidly exacted of them.<sup>i</sup> The crusade was preached in other countries with some success.<sup>k</sup> Edward, the heir of England, pledged Gascony to the French king in order to raise the means of joining it.<sup>m</sup> The king of Aragon also offered to go; but the pope had already reproved him for adultery, had indignantly disallowed the plea that his lawful wife was a leper, and now told him that he must forsake his sinful life before taking part in the holy work.<sup>n</sup> In the mean time tidings reached the west that Antioch had fallen into the hands of the infidels, with a vast loss of Christians slain or taken prisoners.<sup>o</sup>

On the 14th of March, 1270, Louis, although so weak that he

<sup>f</sup> See De Marca, IV., ix. 4.

<sup>g</sup> W. Nang. 438; Martin, iv. 324; Wilken, vii. 503-6.

<sup>h</sup> Joinv. 299, 300.

<sup>i</sup> Rayn. 1267. 55, 58.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. 51, 64, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Rishanger, 60 (Chron. ad Mem.);

Wikes, in Gale, 90-2.

<sup>n</sup> Raynald. 1267. 32-3. In like manner he told Alfonsus, Count of Toulouse, that he ought first to amend his conduct at home. Ib. 50.

<sup>o</sup> Gibbon, v. 504; Martin, iv. 322.



could neither bear armour nor remain long on horseback, took the oriflamme from the altar of St. Denys, and set out on his second crusade. He celebrated Easter at Cluny,<sup>p</sup> and thence made his way to Aigues Mortes, where the expedition was to embark. But there the troops were obliged to wait for the arrival of the Genoese vessels which were engaged to transport them; and this delay was unfortunate, both from the effect of the pestilential air, and because it gave time for the old jealousy between the northern and the southern French to break out into bloody quarrels.<sup>q</sup> At length, on the 1st of July, the expedition sailed, and, after some dangers at sea, a meeting took place off the Sardinian coast, where a descent on Tunis was resolved on.<sup>r</sup> It is supposed that this resolution had been suggested by the king's brother Charles in order to punish the sultan of Tunis for refusing to continue the tribute which he had paid to former kings of Sicily.<sup>s</sup> Louis had already corresponded on friendly terms with the sultan, Muley Montanza, and had hoped to act as sponsor at his baptism—for the sight of which he declared that he would gladly endure captivity in a Saracen dungeon for the remainder of his days.<sup>t</sup> But on landing in Africa, these sanguine visions were dissipated.<sup>u</sup> The sultan's troops attacked and harassed the Crusaders, and speedily the baleful climate, with the want of water and of wholesome food, began to produce their effects. Among those who were early carried off was the pope's legate. John Tristan, count of Nevers, the son who had been born during the captivity of Louis on his former crusade,<sup>x</sup> sank and died on the 3rd of August;<sup>y</sup> and Louis himself, from whose already weakened constitution the disease met with no resistance, died on the 25th of the same month after having signally displayed in his last hours the piety which had characterised his life.<sup>z</sup>

July 17.

The new king, Philip, was himself so ill that he gave up all hope of recovery, and appointed a regency for the expected minority of his son. Charles of Sicily, on whose co-operation the Crusaders had relied, arrived too late to find his brother alive,<sup>a</sup> but under-

<sup>p</sup> Tillem. v. 135.    <sup>q</sup> W. Nang. 442.<sup>r</sup> G. de Belloloc. 40; W. Nang. 444-6; Annal. Januens. in Pertz, xviii. 277.<sup>s</sup> Chron. Lemovic. ap. Bouq. xxi. 776.<sup>t</sup> W. Nang. 448; G. de Belloloc. 41.<sup>u</sup> W. Nang. 450-4. This writer mentions that many of the Saracens, having taken refuge in a cavern after a battle, were suffocated by fire (252)—a prece-

dent for a notorious deed of the modern French in the same country.

<sup>x</sup> P. 447.<sup>y</sup> W. Nang. 456.<sup>z</sup> Joinv. 300; G. Belloloc. 36-7, 44; Mon. Sandionys. 57; W. Nang. 456-8; Tillem. cc. 497-8. Louis was 56 years of age. For his last instructions to his son, see Bouq. xx. 300.<sup>a</sup> Some say that he arrived at the very

took the military conduct of the expedition; and, after two bloody engagements, forced from the sultan a peace which included liberty of religion, permission to preach Christianity, compensation for the cost of the war, release of captives, and a yearly tribute to the Sicilian crown.<sup>b</sup> Having secured these advantages, the survivors of the crusade left the African coast, professing that, after having recruited their strength in France, they would resume the expedition to the East; but a storm in which many of them perished was very generally regarded as a judgment on them for having "sold the holy war for money."<sup>c</sup> King Philip recovered his health; but as he returned through Italy, he had to carry with him the remains of his father, of his brother, of his queen, who died at Cosenza,<sup>d</sup> of one of his own children, and of his brother-in-law, King Theobald of Navarre.<sup>e</sup> At Viterbo he found the cardinals assembled for the election of a pope, and witnessed the murder of Henry, son of Richard of March 13, Germany, by Guy and Simon, the sons of Simon de 1271. Montfort, who, to avenge their father's death on the family by whose partisans he had been slain, fell on the unsuspecting prince in the cathedral at the moment of the elevation of the Host.<sup>f</sup> Philip, after having made the passage of Mont Cenis with difficulty, celebrated the obsequies of his father at St. Denys, carrying on his own shoulders the coffin which contained the bones of the saintly king.<sup>g</sup>

hour of the king's death (G. Belloloc. 45; Pet. de Condeto, ap. Dacher. iii. 607; but others make an interval of two days. Annal. Januens. 269; Mut. Modoet. 547; Cf. W. Nang. ap. Bouq. xx. 466.

<sup>b</sup> W. Nang. 476-8; Annal. Januens. 268; Pet. de Condeto, in Dacher. iii. 668; Martin, iv. 332.

<sup>c</sup> Mut. Modoet, 549; Pet. de Condeto, 668-9; Rishanger, 66; W. Nang. 478, 480; G. Villani, vii. 38.

<sup>d</sup> Pet. de Cond. 669; Annal. Januens. 269. Her flesh was boiled off from her bones, "more majorum," says S. Malaspina (v. 3), and the same had been done as to St. Louis. This practice was forbidden by Boniface VIII. (Raynald. 1299. 36), but it was after that date that Edward I. is said to have directed that his remains should be thus treated, and that his bones should be carried against the Scots. Tytler, i. 229 from Froissart).

<sup>e</sup> Philip to the abbot of St. Denys, in Dacher. iii. 669; Wilken, vii. 585.

<sup>f</sup> Mut. Mod. 550; G. Belloloc. 46-7;

Annal. Parmens. in Pertz, xviii. 683; W. Nang. 484; Chron. Lanercost., p. 91; Rishanger, 67; G. Villani, vii. 39. See Dante, Inf. xii. 118, and Benvenuto of Imola's curious commentary on the line—

"Lo cuor che 'n su 'l Tamigi ancor si cola."

(Murat. Antiq. i. 1051.) Henry's heart was preserved at Westminster ("in quodam monasterio monachorum vocato ibi Guamister," says Benvenuto), and his body was buried at Hales Abbey, in Gloucestershire, which his father had founded (Pauli, 837). The crime is generally supposed to have been committed in the cathedral of St. Laurence (Handb. of Central Italy, 360, ed. 1861); but Gregory X. says "in quadam parochiali ecclesia" (Rymer, i. 501), and there are various statements as to the name of the church (Pauli, iii. 836). As to the punishment of Guy de Montfort, see Raynald. 1273. 23, 41; Rymer, i. 499, &c. (where there are many documents relating to this); Pauli, iv. 6.

<sup>g</sup> The ceremony was delayed by one



Edward of England had been delayed so that he was unable to join the crusade at Aigues Mortes, and did not reach Tunis until after the departure of Philip and his companions. On learning the result of the expedition, he made for Sicily, where Charles was unable to persuade him to relinquish his intention of proceeding to the east, or to share in the money which had been got from the Saracens. After spending the winter in Sicily, he sailed for Acre, and displayed his valour in the defence of that city—now the only remaining possession of the Latins in Syria—and in several encounters with the infidels. But the smallness of his force prevented any considerable achievements, and the object of the Crusades appeared to be as distant as it had been before St. Louis took arms in the sacred cause.<sup>b</sup>

of the contests as to jurisdiction which continually arose in the middle ages. The archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Paris were present, but the monks, standing on their exemption, kept the king and his attendants waiting until

the two prelates withdrew. W. Nang. 486-8.

<sup>b</sup> W. Nangis, in Bouq. xx. 482; Chron. Januens. 269, 272; Mut. Medoet. 555; Gibbon, v. 504-5; Pauli, iii. 832-5.

## CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE GREGORY X. TO THE DEATH  
OF NICOLAS IV.

A.D. 1271-1292.

AFTER the death of Clement IV., the papacy was vacant for nearly three years, as the cardinals, eighteen in number, who were assembled at Viterbo, were divided into two parties, and could not be brought to agree in the choice of a successor.<sup>a</sup> At last it was resolved to delegate the power of election to three members of each party; and these on the 1st of September, 1271, chose Theobald, formerly archdeacon of Liége.<sup>b</sup> Theobald, although a member of the family of Visconti of Piacenza, had been preserved from the spirit of Italian faction by spending the greater part of his life in foreign countries.<sup>c</sup> He had been deprived of his archdeaconry through the envy of the bishop of Liége,<sup>d</sup> and received the news of his election at Acre, where he was engaged in the crusade under Edward of England.<sup>e</sup> The pope took leave of the east with the words of the Psalmist, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning!" and returned to Europe with the resolution to stir up its warriors once more for the recovery of the Holy Land.<sup>f</sup> After having been consecrated and crowned at Rome, on the 27th of March, 1272, by the name of Gregory X.,<sup>g</sup> he followed the example of his predecessor by taking up his residence at Viterbo.<sup>h</sup> Edward, finding his force insufficient for any great undertakings, concluded a truce with the Saracens for ten years ten months and ten days, and set sail for Europe. On landing at Trapani, he was

<sup>a</sup> Mut. Mod. in Pertz, xviii. 533-4; Salimb. 259; Rayn. 1271. 13. The real time seems to have been two years, nine months and two days; but Mutius and Salimbene make it longer.

<sup>b</sup> Mansi, xxiv.; Wadding, iv. 330; Rayn. 1271. 7-9.

<sup>c</sup> W. Naug. in Bouq. xx. 409; Miln. iv. 443.

<sup>d</sup> A letter from him when pope to this bishop, whom he reproves for many offences, is in Mansi, xxiv. 27. See below, p. 476, n. <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Mut. Mod. 555.

<sup>f</sup> Joh. Iperius, in Mart. Thes. iii. 747.

<sup>g</sup> Rayn. 1272. 9, seqq.

<sup>h</sup> Letter to Prince Edward in Rayn. 1272. 2.



informed of his father's death; and as he proceeded by land to take possession of his kingdom, he was received with great honour by the pope at Orvieto.<sup>1</sup>

While the papacy was vacant, Charles of Sicily, who had used his influence to prolong the interregnum, had so much increased his power as to become the arbiter of Italy. Gregory could not but see that his predecessors had seriously hampered the Roman see by connecting it with such a champion, and that the objects which Charles now aimed at were very different from his own. While Charles was wholly intent on his private interests; while he grounded his hopes of power in Italy and Sicily on the policy of encouraging the native factions to mutual fury; while his ambition suggested schemes for gaining possession of the empire of Constantinople, to which he had acquired for his family a nominal title by marrying one of his sons to the daughter of the dispossessed Baldwin II.—Gregory desired to unite all Christendom—the Italian states and their factions, the nations of western Europe, and the Christians of the east—in a grand common effort for the recovery of the Holy Land.<sup>k</sup> As no hope of this could be entertained so long as Europe was unsettled, the pope resolved to provide some counterpoise to the exorbitant influence of Charles, who, through the weakness of his nephew Philip, had come to be regarded as the virtual head of his powerful family;<sup>m</sup> and the time seemed to have arrived for the revival of the imperial dignity from the long abeyance into which it had fallen. The late popes had continued the equivocal policy of Alexander IV. as to the claims of Richard and Alfonso;<sup>n</sup> and while the English prince's influence had been lessened by the exhaustion of his treasures, and by his long absence from Germany in consequence of having been made prisoner at the battle of Lewes, Alfonso had never taken any active measures to assert his pretensions to the German crown. On the death of Richard, in 1272, Alfonso applied to the pope, and desired that a time might be appointed for his coronation as emperor; but Gregory told him in reply that he had not acquired any fresh rights by his rival's death.<sup>o</sup> A new

May 14,  
1264.

On the  
April 2.

<sup>1</sup> Flor. Vigorn. contin. ii. 211; Wikes, 99. Henry died Nov. 16, 1272.

<sup>k</sup> Sismondi, R. I., iii. 2-6, 12-4, 19; Martin, iv. 352. Charles also had views on the Holy Land, although of a different kind—bearing the title of king of Jerusalem in consequence of an arrangement by which a daughter of John

of Brienne made it over to him. S. Malasp. vi. 5; Joh. Iper. 754.

<sup>m</sup> Martin, iv. 347, 352.

<sup>n</sup> Rayn. 1262. 2; 1263. 38, 53; 1264. 37; 1267. 22, seqq.; 1268. 42, seqq.

<sup>o</sup> Rayn. 1272. 33; Schröckh, xxvi. 480-2.

king of Germany was to be chosen, and the part which Gregory took in the affair significantly shows the extent to which the papal power had grown. He urged the Germans to choose a king from among themselves; he discouraged the pretensions of Ottocar of Bohemia, who, although the most powerful prince in Germany, was liable to the objection that he belonged to the Slavonic race;<sup>p</sup> he even threatened that, if the Germans should neglect to do their duty, he would, with the consent of his cardinals, take order for the filling of the vacant throne.<sup>q</sup> The cities of Germany resolved that, if the princes should agree in the choice of a king, they would obey him, but that, in case of a double election, they would not acknowledge either claimant.<sup>r</sup> On the 29th of September, 1273, Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, was chosen at Frankfurt, not only by the seven electors, but by an assembly of all the princes;<sup>s</sup> and it was in vain that the king of Bohemia, whose representatives had been shut out from the election, attempted to question the result of it.<sup>t</sup> Rudolf was a petty independent prince, fifty-five years of age, who had been recommended by his valour, his frankness, affability, honesty, and other popular qualities, while he was not so powerful as to give cause for apprehension that he might revive the authority which emperors in former days had exercised.<sup>u</sup> Attempts were afterwards made to trace his pedigree to Charlemagne, to the Merovingians, or even to connect him with the Anicii of ancient Rome through the strange channel of the Jewish Pierleoni;<sup>x</sup> but to these genealogies no credit is to be given. The new king was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 24th of October, by Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne;<sup>y</sup> and, when a sceptre could not be found for the investiture of the feudatories, and some of them were on this account inclined to refuse the oath of fealty,

<sup>p</sup> Schmidt, iii. 363; Schröckh, xxvi. 482. The crown was offered by the electors to Ottocar, and was declined by him, on the ground that he was powerful enough without it, both before the election of Richard and after his death (Böhm. 37, 52, 353, 358). When he afterwards sent rich presents to Gregory, in the hope that he would reverse the choice which had been made, the pope said, "When we have plenty of princes and counts in Germany, why should we wish to raise a Slavonian to the empire?" Sifrid. in Pistor. i. 1047.  
<sup>q</sup> *Fragm. Historicum*, ap. Urstis. ii. 93; Planck, IV. i. 591; Giesel. II., ii. 180. Schröckh, however, questions it. xxvi. 481.  
<sup>r</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 382.

<sup>s</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 383, 393. The phrase "principes electores" occurs for the first time in a document dated 1275. (Böhm. 70.) A letter of Pope Urban, Aug. 31, 1263, speaks of the electoral princes, "qui sunt septem numero;" but this is considered by some writers to be a manifest interpolation, although Böhmer (328) believes it genuine. See p. 452, n. <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> See *Cosm. Prag. contin.* in Pertz, ix. 189.

<sup>x</sup> Sifrid. in Pistor. i. 1047; Schmidt, iii. 367; Coxe's 'House of Austria,' i. 25, ed. 1807; Böhm. 53-5.

<sup>y</sup> Schmidt, iii. 367, 370.

<sup>z</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 393; Böhmer, 58.



Rudolf produced a strong and general impression by using the crucifix as a substitute.<sup>z</sup>

With a view to the enterprise which he had so much at heart, Gregory on the 1st of April in his first year, issued a summons to a general council, which was to meet in the next year but one;<sup>a</sup> and, as there could be little hope of raising the nations beyond the Alps except by holding it on their side of the great mountain barrier, a later citation fixed on Lyons as the place of assembly.<sup>b</sup>

In order to forward his designs as to the east, Gregory attempted to effect a reconciliation between the Greek Church and his own. The old religious enmity between the Greeks and the Latins had naturally been embittered by the Latin conquest of Constantinople. Reproaches of heresy had been bandied on both sides, and, although political interest had often tended to draw the Greeks and the papacy together, the questions of doctrine had continued to prevent a reconciliation. Missions had been sent to mediate between the two communions; but their labours had always been abortive.<sup>c</sup> Each party threw the blame of the schism on the other, and the Latins insisted that all concession should come from the opposite side, or at the utmost would only allow some nugatory indulgences, such as that the Greeks should not be compelled to pronounce the article of the Double Procession in their public service, provided that they all believed it, and that all books which maintained the opposite opinion were burnt.<sup>d</sup> But for these difficulties, Vatatzes—who in a A.D. 1237-  
reign of thirty-three years gradually extended his sway <sup>61</sup>.

from the Turkish frontier on the east to the Adriatic on the west, while Constantinople alone remained isolated in the hands of the Latins—would probably have been able to get himself acknowledged by Rome; and he was the more inclined to seek reconciliation with the Western church, because he had incurred the censure of the Greek clergy by his infidelity to a contract of marriage with a natural daughter of the emperor Frederick.<sup>e</sup> But it was in vain that Vatatzes proposed a compromise founded on the analogy of secular negotiations—that the Latins should

<sup>z</sup> Rayn. 1272. 8; Stero Altah. 201.

<sup>a</sup> Mansi, xxiv. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 56, seqq.; Rayn. 1273. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *E.g.* M. Paris, 457, seqq.; Raynald. 1233. 46, seqq.; 1256. 47, seqq.; 1263. 23, seqq.; 1264. 58-60; 1267.; 1270. 1, seqq.; Clem. IV., Ep. 484; Wadding, ii. 296; Mansi, xxiii. 47, seqq.,

273, seqq.; Schröckh, xxix. 406-418, 426-8; Gibbon, vi. 96-7.

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Nymph., A.D. 1233; Mansi, xxiii. 292, 298, 304.

<sup>e</sup> "As the bride had not attained the age of puberty, Vatatzes placed in his solitary bed an Italian damsel of her train," &c. Gibbon, v. 85.

give up their creed if the Greeks would consent to respect their sacrament.<sup>f</sup>

Theodore Lascaris, the son and successor of Vatatzes, died in 1259, leaving the empire to a boy eight years of age, named John, whom he placed under the guardianship of the patriarch Arsenius and of the protovestiary George Muzalon. On the death of Muzalon, who was slain in a tumult, three days after the late emperor's funeral,<sup>g</sup> his place was filled by Michael Palæologus, the most eminent as to birth and reputation of Jan. 1, the Greek nobles; but Palæologus, not content with  
1260. the position of a guardian, a regent, or even of a colleague in the empire, procured himself to be crowned without July 25, admitting John to a share of the honour, and, after  
1261. having achieved the reconquest of Constantinople, re-  
Dec. 25, ceived the crown afresh in St. Sophia's, while John was  
1261. blinded and banished.<sup>h</sup> For this Michael was excommunicated by Arsenius, although his name was still retained in the public prayers; and his entreaties for absolution, although supported by ecclesiastics of high authority, were sternly declared by the patriarch to be unavailing unless he would make a satisfaction equal to the greatness of the offence.<sup>i</sup> "Do you require that I should abdicate the throne?" asked the emperor, kneeling in penitential form at the feet of Arsenius; and, as he spoke, he began to unbuckle his sword, the ensign of secular power. But the eagerness with which the patriarch caught at it alarmed him; he declared that he had only intended to try the spirit of Arsenius, who, instead of aiding a sinner in his repentance, as the canons prescribed, had wished to dethrone him;<sup>k</sup> and charges of irregularity were brought against the patriarch—among other things, that he had allowed the sultan of Iconium, and some companions, to bathe in the laver of the church.<sup>m</sup> Arsenius—whose character may be inferred from his boast that he possessed

<sup>f</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 304; Schröckh, xxix. 419.

<sup>g</sup> G. Acropol. 74-5; Niceph. Gregor. iii. 2; G. Pachymer. i. 18-9. Nicephorus says that the tumult was instigated by nobles, who despised Muzalon as an upstart, although they had sworn to him and to the young emperor. iii. 5-6.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>h</sup> G. Acrop. 76-7; G. Pachym. i. 28; ii. 1-4, 7-8, 27; iii. 2, 10; Nic. Greg. iii. 4; iv. 1; Gibbon, vi. 68, 85-93.

<sup>i</sup> G. Pachym. iii. 14; Nic. Greg. iv. 4.

<sup>k</sup> G. Pachym. iii. 19; iv. 1, p. 171.

<sup>m</sup> G. Pachym. iii. 23, 26; iv. 2-3. That the vessel (*λουτρόν*) was not the font, but a bath, appears from the circumstance that the gravamen of the charge rested, not on its being devoted to sacred uses, but on the crosses sculptured on it, and from the patriarch's answer (after professing ignorance of the affair) that the sultan and his companions might as well have been shut out from all the other baths of the city, since they were all adorned with crosses and sacred figures (ib. iv. 3). Nicephorus



nothing but a cloak, a pyx,<sup>n</sup> and three pieces of gold, which he had earned by transcribing the Psalms<sup>o</sup>—refused to appear before the tribunal which was appointed to try him; he was deposed by a synod, and banished to the island of Proconnesus, where he died without having relented towards Palæologus.<sup>p</sup> For fifty-six years the deprived patriarch's followers—A.D. 1266-1312. a party which, unlike such parties in general, increased in numbers—held aloof from the communion of the emperors, defying both threats and attempts at conciliation.<sup>q</sup>

The pope was very desirous to gain the co-operation of Michael for the crusade, while the eastern emperor was equally desirous to protect himself by an alliance with the pope against the disaffected clergy of his own church, against his Bulgarian neighbours, and most especially against the designs of Charles of Sicily, which he had already tried to avert by an embassy to St. Louis.<sup>r</sup> Letters were therefore interchanged in a friendly tone,<sup>s</sup> and a mission of Franciscans, headed by Jerome of Ascoli, who were sent by Gregory to Constantinople, found the task of negotiation easy.<sup>t</sup> The venerated names of the confessor Maximus, of Cyril of Alexandria, and even of Athanasius, were alleged to prove that the differences were merely verbal.<sup>u</sup> The Greek clergy, although for the most part strongly averse from union with the Latins, were coerced by the imperial power, which regarded all opposition as treason;<sup>x</sup> one of the most eminent among them, John Veccus, after having declared that there were heretics who were not so styled, and that among these were the Italians, was converted by imprisonment and study to admit their soundness in the faith.<sup>y</sup> The patriarch Joseph (whose

says that the sultan was of Christian parentage, that he had been baptised, and, while at Constantinople, behaved as a Christian. iv. 4.

<sup>n</sup> *i. e.*, for carrying the eucharist as a viaticum—the only meaning of *πυξίον* given in Ducange's Greek Glossary (Of. his Latin Glossary, s. v. *Pyxis*). But, as the word (derived from *πύξος*, *buxus*) may mean not only a box, but a *writing-tablet of box-wood* (Liddell and Scott), perhaps the editor of Pachymeres may be right in translating it by *pugillares*.

<sup>o</sup> G. Pachym. iv. 7. Nicephorus describes Arsenius as eminent as a divine, but less fitted for politics—*τῶν ἀπὸ σκαπάνης ὡς τῆς ἔρας ἀπαλλοττόντων* (iii. 3). He had been once deposed and restored before the reconquest of Constantinople (G. Acrop. 84). See further

as to him, G. Pachym. ii. 15, 34; iii. 1.

<sup>p</sup> G. Pachym. iv. 4-7, 15; Nic. Greg. iv. 4; Gibbon, vi. 93-5; Schröckh, xxix. 430-1.

<sup>q</sup> G. Pachym. iv. 28, seqq.; v. 2.

<sup>r</sup> The ambassadors followed Louis to Tunis, where they witnessed the process by which his bones were prepared for transport. G. Pachym. v. 9.

<sup>s</sup> G. Pachym. iii. 18; v. 8; Mansi, xxiv. 42, 56.

<sup>t</sup> G. Pachym. v. 11; Wadding, iv. 346, seqq. <sup>u</sup> G. Pachym. v. 10.

<sup>x</sup> G. Pachym. v. 11-2, 18, 20.

<sup>y</sup> G. Pachym. v. 12-5. He is said to have been converted by a treatise of Nicephorus Blemmydas (Nic. Greg. v. 2). The writings of Blemmydas, Veccus and other Greeks in favour of union with the Latin Church are published by Alla-

intrigues had persuaded Germanus, the successor of Arsenius, to resign),<sup>z</sup> was opposed to union; but, by an understanding with the emperor, he withdrew into a monastery, to await the event of the negotiations;<sup>a</sup> and a Greek embassy, headed by the ex-patriarch Germanus, was sent to the Council of Lyons, with splendid gifts for St. Peter.<sup>b</sup> They carried also a letter from the emperor, in which he owned the primacy of Rome, and professed the Latin creed, but requested that the Greeks might be allowed to use their creed as before the separation of the churches, and to retain such usages as were not contrary to the authority of Scripture, councils, and Fathers, or to the Roman faith.<sup>c</sup>

The second council of Lyons—the fourteenth general council, according to the Roman account—met in the cathedral church of St. John on the 7th of May, 1274.<sup>d</sup> In respect of numbers, no such imposing assembly had yet been seen; the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch were present, with upwards of five hundred bishops, and more than a thousand inferior dignitaries.<sup>e</sup> But, if these numbers greatly exceeded those of the former council which had been held at the same place, the contrast in the purpose and spirit of the two assemblies was yet more remarkable. Under Innocent IV., the great object of the council was to excommunicate the first sovereign of Christendom; under Gregory X. it was to establish between all Christians a general reconciliation and peace.<sup>f</sup>

In order to avoid any recurrence of the quarrels as to precedence which had disturbed the former council, the pope ordered that the members should take their seats promiscuously; and at the first session, in a sermon from the same text which Innocent III. had chosen at the Lateran council of 1215,<sup>g</sup> he proposed as the three great subjects of deliberation, a subsidy for the Holy Land, the union of the Greeks, and the reformation of

tius, 'Græcia Orthodoxa,' Rom. 1652-9. See Pachym. vi. 23.

<sup>z</sup> G. Pachym. iv. 17-8, 21, who, in describing Germanus, draws, in contrast with his unostentatious virtues, a remarkable picture of the "religious world" of his age and country. iv. 12.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. v. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Ib.; Nic. Gregor. v. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Rayn. 1274. 14; Mansi, xxiv. 68, seqq.

<sup>d</sup> Mansi, xxiv. 62.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. The annalist of Parma says

that the number of strangers drawn to Lyons by the council was 160,000. Pertz. xviii. 684.

<sup>f</sup> Milman, iv. 448-9. The only act of severity was the deposition of the pope's old persecutor, Henry of Gueldres, bishop of Liège, who was charged by his people with various "insolentiae" and, being set on to read, was deposed for illiteracy. He was afterwards troublesome. Hard. vii. 690; Gesta Abb. S. Trudon. in Pertz, x. 403-4.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 376.



morals.<sup>h</sup> The subsidy was carried, although the pope found but little response to his own enthusiasm, and was obliged to have recourse to private conferences with archbishops and other prelates in order to secure this object.<sup>i</sup> Edward of England had resisted his urgent entreaties that he would attend the council before returning to his own dominions, and throughout his whole reign was too much engrossed by his interests at home to renew the attempt for the recovery of the Holy Land. But, although the dean of Lincoln brought forward at the council a representation of the exhausted state of his country, he did not venture on any decided opposition to the proposed measure;<sup>k</sup> and the clergy of England joined with those of other countries in promising a tithe of their revenues for six years towards the holy war.<sup>m</sup>

The Greek ambassadors appeared, and were received with great marks of honour. The controversial skill of the two great theologians Bonaventura and Thomas of Aquino, who had been invited to appear at the council as champions of the western faith, was found needless;<sup>n</sup> for the Greeks admitted everything—the Latin doctrines and usages, and the primacy of the Roman see.<sup>o</sup> Four days after their arrival, the pope celebrated mass in the presence of all the prelates; and, after the Nicene June 28. creed had been chanted in Latin, it was repeated in Greek by the Greek and Calabrian bishops, who when they came to the article of the Double Procession, sang it thrice “with solemnity and devotion.”<sup>p</sup> The reconciliation of the two churches was formally ratified at the fourth session of the council, July 6. when the long-disputed article was again chanted twice,<sup>q</sup> and the great logothete, George Acropolita, professed, in the name of the emperor and of the empire, a firm and unalterable adherence to the faith of the Roman church.<sup>r</sup> At the same session, the survivor of two ambassadors who had been sent by a khan of the Mongols appeared, and at the next session, ten days later, he and his companions were baptised. There were,

<sup>h</sup> Hard. vii. 687-8.

<sup>i</sup> Hard. vii. 688.

<sup>k</sup> Hemingburgh, ii. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Hard. vii. 688. There is a list of the contributions from Scotland in Theiner's 'Monumenta,' 109-116.

<sup>n</sup> Thomas had died on the way; among his works is one 'Against the Errors of the Greeks.'

<sup>o</sup> Mansi, xxiv. 64.

<sup>p</sup> Mansi, xxiv. 65.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. 65-6. The 1st canon of the council declares that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, "non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ex uno principio; non duabus spirationibus, sed una spiratione."

<sup>r</sup> Mansi, l. c. See the oath of the Greeks, ib. 77.

however, some who regarded the professed mission of these Tartars with suspicion, and their baptism led to no such results as the more sanguine of the Latins had expected.<sup>s</sup>

Envoys from Rudolf of Hapsburg appeared at the council, and requested the pope to confirm his election. They bound their master by solemn engagements to all that had been promised by Frederick II. or by any other emperor—that he renounced the *jus exuviarum*, that he allowed freedom of elections and appeals to Rome, that he would not attack the property of the church, or take any office or dignity in the Roman state—more especially in the city of Rome—without the pope's permission.<sup>t</sup> In reply to this application, Gregory in the following September confirmed the election of Rudolf, in words which by their ambiguity were intended to insinuate a claim to the right of nominating the king of the Romans.<sup>u</sup>

At the sixth and last session of the council, on the 17th of July, the pope inveighed strongly against the vices of prelates, and earnestly exhorted them to reform themselves.<sup>x</sup>

Among thirty-one canons which this assembly produced, was one as to the election of popes—intended to prevent a recurrence of any such delay as that which had taken place on the last vacancy. This canon, after professing to follow the rules of earlier date, and especially the decree of Alexander III., in the third Lateran council,<sup>y</sup> orders that the cardinals, without waiting more than ten days for the absent members of their body, shall meet for the choice of a successor, each of them attended by one clerk or lay domestic only, and shall be shut up in one “conclave,” which shall not be divided by any walls or curtains; that they shall hold no communication with the world outside, and that any one who shall withdraw shall not be readmitted, unless his withdrawal were caused by manifest sickness; that their food shall be supplied through a window; that, if the election be not made within three days, their provisions shall be limited to one dish at dinner and at supper for the next five days; and after that time, to bread, wine, and water.<sup>z</sup> This canon, not unnaturally, was very unacceptable to the cardinals, who endeavoured to draw the bishops into opposition to it; but the

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 66-7, 80; W. Nang.

<sup>t</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 395-6.

<sup>u</sup> “Licet enim non sine causa distinguimus hactenus regiam tibi denominationem ascribere; cum fratribus tamen nostris nuper deliberatione præhabita,

te Regem Romanorum de ipsorum consilio nominamus.” See Schmidt, iii. 378-380; Giesel, II., ii. 181.

<sup>x</sup> Mansi, xxiv. 68.

<sup>y</sup> See p. 104.

<sup>z</sup> Can. 2; VI. Decretal. I. I., vi. 3.



pope succeeded in gaining the bishops, and by their votes the new regulation was carried.<sup>a</sup>

Rudolf wrote to thank the pope for the favour which had been shown to him, and expressed his intention of going on a crusade, more especially because his father had died in the Holy Land.<sup>b</sup> Gregory, by a threat of excommunication, and by the offer of a tenth of ecclesiastical income for the war against the Moors, prevailed on Alfonso to give up his pretensions to the German crown;<sup>c</sup> and on his return to Italy, the pope had an interview with Rudolf at Lausanne. The king confirmed all that had been done by his representatives at Lyons; Oct. 20,  
1275. he took the cross, with his wife and children, and made arrangements for receiving the imperial crown in St. Peter's at Whitsuntide following. He engaged to help the pope towards the recovery of all his territory, including Corsica and Sardinia; to respect the privileges which Louis the Pious and Otho I. were supposed to have granted to the Roman church;<sup>d</sup> to aid in retaining the kingdom of Sicily for the Roman see, and to give up all claim to the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, the territories of Ancona and Spoleto, and the inheritance of the Countess Matilda.<sup>e</sup> Thus Gregory had gained from the empire more than any of his predecessors. By forcing one claimant to withdraw his pretensions, and by the part which he took in the election and confirmation of the other, it seemed as if the choice of an emperor were virtually in the hands of the pope. All the forged or doubtful privileges in favour of the papal see, from the time of Louis the Pious downwards, were acknowledged as valid and binding; and the pope was owned as temporal lord of all the territories which had formerly been subjects of contention.

In addition to these important gains, Gregory had accomplished, as it seemed, the pacification of the west, the reconciliation of the Greek church and empire to Rome, and the combination of all Christian nations for a new crusade. But in the midst of his triumphs, he was arrested by sudden death at Arezzo, on the 10th of January, 1276,<sup>f</sup> and the effect of

<sup>a</sup> Mansi, xxix. 66-7.

<sup>b</sup> Rud., Ep. i. 12 (Patrol. xeviii). Gregory promised and partly advanced a large sum to Rudolf for the crusade. Rud., Ep. i. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Rayn. 1274. 44, seqq.; 1275. 15. He had meetings with Alfonso. Mut.

Modoet. 561-2.

<sup>d</sup> See vol. ii., pp. 255, 415 (238, 388).

<sup>e</sup> Rud. Epp. i. 34-5 (Patrol. xeviii.); Cenni, ib. 689; Pertz, Leges, ii. 403-6; Rayn. 1275. 2, seqq., 37-41.

<sup>f</sup> Mut. Mod. 562; G. Villani, vii. 49. Miracles were said to have been wrought

his labours was in great measure lost. The crusading spirit had long been declining, and the loss and suffering which had attended the late attempts of the saintly Louis had tended yet further to damp the ardour for the holy war. The author of a treatise drawn up with a view to the council of Lyons,<sup>g</sup> mentions seven causes why Christians were lukewarm as to the crusade, and finds it necessary to combat seven classes of persons who spoke against such enterprises.<sup>h</sup> And a troubadour of the time, after lamenting the death of king Louis, curses the crusades, and the clergy for promoting them; he even reproaches the Almighty for their ill success, and, after much invective against the pope and the priests, he expresses a wish that the emperor and the French would lead a crusade against the clergy, to whom he ascribes the destruction of the Christian chivalry.<sup>i</sup> Nor was the agreement with the Greeks more successful than the project of a crusade. Michael Palæologus, indeed, endeavoured to enforce it: the patriarch Joseph was superseded by the Latinizing John Veccus;<sup>k</sup> the Gospels were read in Latin as well as in Greek at the religious services of the court; the western patriarch was prayed for as "supreme high-priest of the apostolical church, and ecumenical pope;"<sup>m</sup> and the emperor, although he secretly complained of the pride of the Latins, employed the most violent and cruel measures for enforcing conformity<sup>n</sup>—violence and cruelty the less excusable because his motives for the course which he took were merely political. Ambassadors were sent to assure the pope that all was well, and, on being admitted to his presence, they found Charles on his knees before him, entreating his permission to attack the Greeks, and gnawing his ivory-headed staff in rage at Gregory's refusal.<sup>o</sup> But Michael found that the truce with Sicily, which he had procured through the pope's mediation, was dearly bought at the price of the disaffection of his own subjects, who execrated

at his tomb (Vita, in Murat. iii. 603; Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 685), and an attempt was made under Urban VIII. to procure his canonization. Rayn. 1276. 13.

<sup>g</sup> Humbert de Romanis, ap. Mansi, xxiv. 109, seqq. This treatise is published in full, but without the author's name, in the 'Fasciculus Rerum Expet. et Fugiend.' ii. 185, seqq. See Giesel, II., ii. 175. For other works of Humbert, including a very curious treatise, 'De Eruditione Prædicatorum,' see Bibl. Patr. xxv.

<sup>h</sup> Cc. 10, seqq.; 18.

<sup>i</sup> Raynouard, 'Poésies des Troubadours,' v. 54 (Paris, 1820); Giesel. II., ii. 175.

<sup>k</sup> G. Pachym. v. 22-4. Veccus is said to have been so importunate in his petitions for needy people that the emperor would only admit him to one audience in the week. Ib. 25.

<sup>m</sup> ἄκρος ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς πάπας. Ib. 22.

<sup>n</sup> Nic. Greg. v. 2.

<sup>o</sup> G. Pachym. v. 26.



him as a heretic and an apostate, and threatened the stability of his throne.<sup>p</sup>

Within a year after the death of Gregory, three popes in succession were raised to the chair.<sup>q</sup> The first of these,<sup>r</sup> Peter of Tarentaise, bishop of Ostia, and a Dominican, had distinguished himself by writing a commentary on Peter Lombard's sentences, although not without incurring suspicions of heterodoxy.<sup>s</sup> After a pontificate of five months, under the name of Innocent V., he was succeeded by a nephew of Innocent IV., Ottobuoni Fiesco, cardinal of St. Adrian, who had been engaged as legate in England during the war of the Barons, and had rendered his legation memorable by a set of canons passed at a council held under him in 1168.<sup>t</sup> From the name of his titular church, Ottobuoni styled himself Adrian V.; but he did not live to be consecrated, and it is said that, when congratulated on his election, he answered, "Would that you came to a cardinal in health, rather than to a dying pope!"<sup>u</sup> The chief act of his pontificate, which lasted only five weeks, was to release his countrymen the Genoese from an excommunication which had been inflicted on them at his own desire by Gregory.<sup>x</sup> Adrian was succeeded by a Portuguese, Peter, the son of Julian, who had formerly been archbishop of Braga, but, having been deprived of the revenues of his see by king Sancho II., had been preferred to the bishoprick of Frascati by Gregory X. John<sup>y</sup> XXI. (for this was the name which he assumed) was eminent for his scientific knowledge, which procured him the reputation of an astrologer.<sup>z</sup> A writer of the time tells us that he was hasty in speech and careless of appearances, and that his affability served to render his indiscretions the more notorious.<sup>a</sup> His dislike of monks was undisguised;<sup>b</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Gibbon, vi. 98-9; Schröckh, xxix. 440-1.

<sup>q</sup> The Dunstable annalist says that they were believed to have deserved their speedy ends by refusing to relax the crusading tithe imposed by Gregory X. p. 267.

<sup>r</sup> There is a letter of Rudolf as to the election. i. 42.

<sup>s</sup> It is said that 100 propositions in his works have been condemned. Schröckh, xxvi. 491.

<sup>t</sup> See Raynald. 1265. 62-4, 66-8, 70, 68. His 'Constitutions' may be found in Wilkins' 'Concilia,' ii. 1, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Miln. iv. 451.

<sup>x</sup> Annal. Jan. 282-3; Mut. Mod. 563. Dante represents him as expiating the sin of avarice in purgatory. Purgat. xix. 97, seqq.

<sup>y</sup> Jordan, in Murat. Antiq. iv. 1008. In reckoning the popes of this name, the number XX. is passed over. Chacon supposes the fable of Pope Joan to be the cause of this (ii. 209).

<sup>z</sup> There is a list of his works, medical, philosophical, &c., in Ciacon. ii. 213.

<sup>a</sup> Ptolom. Lucens. xxiii. 21, 24. The reading "*minus cautus in moribus*" seems preferable to "*mitis tantum*." Cf. Jordan. l. c.

<sup>b</sup> Ptol. Luc., l. c.

and the monastic writers regard the manner of his death as a judgment on him for this offence. He had, it is said, persuaded himself by astrological calculations that he was to live long; but within little more than eight months after his election, which he had raised at Viterbo—according to some, an observatory for the cultivation of his favourite science—it suddenly fell and crushed him, so that, although he was extricated from the ruins, and was able to receive the last sacraments, he died on the sixth day.<sup>c</sup>

In all the late elections, the cardinals had found the severe regulation of the council of Lyons an inconvenience. Adrian had intended to modify it, and on his death the cardinals announced that it was suspended by his authority.<sup>d</sup> John XXI. had revoked the decree, or suspended it afresh;<sup>e</sup> but, the people of Viterbo—who regarded it as a wholesome safeguard against intrigues and long delays—after six months had passed from the death of John, shut the cardinals up in the town-hall of their city until they should agree on the election of a successor.<sup>f</sup>

The choice of the cardinals, who were only seven in number, fell at length on John Gaetano, cardinal of St. Nicolas, a member of the great Roman family of Orsini, who took the name of Nicolas III.<sup>g</sup> The new pope was the son of a tertiary of the Franciscan order, to which he had been devoted from infancy, and as a member of the order he had been employed as an inquisitor into heresy.<sup>h</sup> From his union of personal graces with great abilities and various acquirements, he had got the title of *Il Composto*—the accomplished;<sup>i</sup> but he cared more for the interests of the papacy than for those of the church; his patronage was distributed among his own family, with an utter

<sup>c</sup> W. Nang. in Bouq. xx. 510; Chron. Anon., ib. xxi. 147; Stero Altah. 203; Mut. Modoet. 568. John Villani says that he was asleep (vii. 49). One writer holds that his death was in punishment of his having altered the canon as to election of a pope (Chron. Lemovic., in Bouq. xxi. 789). Another says that he was killed while writing a heretical book (Sifrid. in Pistor. i. 1047); but, says Raynaldus, no Italian, however unfriendly to John, countenances this story; and, if it were true, “non detrahendum propterea esset sedis apostolicæ dignitati, sed Divina prudentia adoranda, quæ prius Romanum pontificem ex humanis eripuisset quam hæresim

promulgare pateretur” (1277. 20). On the other hand, it has been suspected that the monks were not unconcerned in his death. Milm. iv. 452. A Franciscan of Viterbo had a supernatural notice of his death. Jordan. 1009.

<sup>d</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiii. 20; Stero Altah. 103; Schröckh, xxvi. 492.

<sup>e</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiii. 21; Rayn. 1276. 29, seqq.

<sup>f</sup> Annal. Parmens. 686; Rayn. 1277. 53.

<sup>g</sup> Mut. Modoet. 589.

<sup>h</sup> Jordan. 1009.

<sup>i</sup> Ptol. Luc. col. 1179; Milm. iv. 452. Wadding says that he was called “Pater compositus,” on account of his modesty in all his actions. v. 93.



disregard of public spirit;<sup>k</sup> and the corruption which he encouraged in his court has drawn on him the reprobation of Dante.<sup>m</sup> From Viterbo, where the late popes had lived, Nicolas transferred the papal residence back to Rome, where, besides executing important works at the Lateran and St. Peter's, he began the vast structure of the Vatican Palace.<sup>n</sup>

Nicolas was resolved to check the power of Charles of Anjou, who is said to have provoked him by refusing the proposal of a family connexion, with the insulting remark—"Does he think that, because he has red stockings, his blood is fit to mix with ours?"<sup>o</sup> and for the means of humbling the dangerous neighbour whom the papacy had raised up for itself, he looked to the new king of the Romans, Rudolf of Hapsburg. Rudolf since his election had greatly increased in strength. The activity of his movements had made his power felt in every quarter of Germany; he had recovered fiefs which had been alienated from the crown, had destroyed many of the castles which bristled throughout the land, and had done away with the terror of the little tyrants who occupied them.<sup>p</sup> His most formidable opponent, Ottocar of Bohemia, had gradually sunk before him, and at last had been killed in battle in August

Aug. 26.

1278.<sup>q</sup> It was well for Rudolf that the successors of Gregory X. did not inherit that pope's interest in the crusade, and that he was consequently at liberty to employ himself in the works which were necessary for the consolidation of his power at home.<sup>r</sup> He had put off from time to time the expedition to Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown,<sup>s</sup> and he had required that Charles should resign the vicariate of Tuscany, with which he had been invested during the abeyance of the empire. Charles, however, declared that he would not resign either this dignity or the senatorship of Rome except to the pope; and

<sup>k</sup> Thus Salimbene says—"Sed quia caro et sanguis revelabat hoc papæ, ideo fecit istos quatuor cardinales de parentela sua; ædificavit enim Sion in sanguinibus, sicut et aliqui alii Romani pontifices fecerunt aliquando" (55). Cf. Ptol. Luc. 1182; G. Villani, vii. 53. See Gregorov. v. 480-1.

<sup>m</sup> He is placed among simoniacs (Inferno, xix.). "Fuit primus in cujus curia palam committeretur simonia per suos attinentes," says Benvenuto of Imola, in his commentary on the passage (Murat. Antiq. i.).

<sup>n</sup> Ptol. Luc. 1180-1; Jordan. 1009;

Stero Altah. 203.

<sup>o</sup> Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. i. 1079; G. Villani, vii. 53.

<sup>p</sup> Schmidt, iii. 407, 416; Coxe, i. 58-60.

<sup>q</sup> Annal. Lambac. in Pertz, ix. 561, seqq.; Chron. Anon., ib. 653; Chron. Vindob., ib. 707-710; Chron. S. Rudb. Salisb., ib. 802, seqq.; Mut. Modoet., ib. xviii. 564-571; Rudolf, Epp. ii. 29, 32-3, &c. (Patrol. xcvi.); Cosmas Pragenses, contin., ib. clxvi. 355-360; Stero Altah., A.D. 1277; Böhm. 78-95.

<sup>r</sup> As to the crusade, see Rud. Epp. iii. 27, 40, &c. <sup>s</sup> See Epp. ii. 19, &c.

Nicolas requested Rudolf not to come into Italy until the difficulty should have been settled.<sup>t</sup> Nicolas skilfully took advantage of his position to play Rudolf and Charles against each other.<sup>u</sup> From Rudolf he obtained an acknowledgment of his sovereignty over the territories mentioned in the compact with Gregory X., with some which were not included in that document. The old spurious privileges were all admitted by the emperor-elect as binding;<sup>x</sup> and when one of his officials had exacted an act of homage to him from the inhabitants of some Italian towns—including the great city of Bologna—Rudolf, on receiving a complaint from Nicolas, withdrew his claim and allowed a new oath to be taken to the pope.<sup>y</sup> The condition of these cities, indeed, was substantially one of republican independence, while in some cases the emperor still retained power over them; but Rudolf's cession fell in with the papal policy, which aimed at gaining a nominal sovereignty in the hope that this might at some future time become real.<sup>z</sup>

Having gained so much from Rudolf, and procured through him a confirmation of the act by the princes of Germany,<sup>a</sup> the pope required Charles to resign the vicariate of Tuscany, and also the senatorship of Rome, as the ten years for which they had been granted were at an end. It was evident that by compliance Charles would be reduced from the position which he had occupied as the great arbiter of Italy; yet, with a readiness which surprised Nicolas himself, he acquiesced,<sup>b</sup> partly (as it would seem) out of fear lest he should throw the pope into Rudolf's interest, and partly in order that, by ceding something in Italy, he might forward his designs on the eastern empire. Nicolas on this got himself chosen senator for life, and decreed that no one should be appointed to that office for more than a year, except with the pope's sanction.<sup>c</sup> With a like view to curbing the power of Charles, Nicolas laboured to reconcile the factions of the Italian cities. He established the sovereignty of the papal power over Rome, and succeeded in acquiring a greater amount of political influence

<sup>t</sup> See Cenni, in *Patrol.* xcviii. 690.

<sup>u</sup> Rayn. 1277. 55, seqq.

<sup>x</sup> Raynald. 1278. 58; 1279. 3-7, 9; Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 121-2; Ptol. *Lucens*. 1182. See in Gieseler, *II.*, ii. 182, extracts showing how these cessions were disliked by some of the contemporaries.

<sup>y</sup> Rayn. 1278. 51-56.

<sup>z</sup> Sism. *R. I.*, iii. 35.

<sup>a</sup> Rayn. 1279. 6-7; *Milm.* iv. 454; *Gregorov.* v. 471.

<sup>b</sup> Rayn. 1278. 66-70, &c.; *Mut. Mod.* 571; Ptol. *Luc.* 1183; W. Nang. 512; Tosti, '*Storia di Bonifazio VIII.*,' i. 18, 24.

<sup>c</sup> W. Nang. in *Bouq.* xx. 512; Ptol. *Luc.* 1181.



than any of his predecessors had for many years enjoyed.<sup>d</sup> But in the midst of his prosperity, his career was cut short by a stroke of palsy at Soriano, in the diocese of Viterbo, on the 22nd of August, 1280.<sup>e</sup>

His death was the signal for violent tumults in Rome, which ended in the appointment of two senators, chosen from the rival houses of Orsini and Anibaldi.<sup>f</sup> Charles of Sicily was bent on procuring the election of a pope who would reverse the policy of the last. There were long and fierce debates among the cardinals: and, as the Lyons decree was not put in force (although it had been re-enacted by Nicolas),<sup>g</sup> it became known how the individual members of the college were affected. The people of Viterbo, gained by Charles, imprisoned the chiefs of the Orsini party; and, after a vacancy of six months, Feb. 22, 1281, the election was declared in favour of Simon of Brie, a

Frenchman of humble origin, who from a canonry of Tours had been promoted to the cardinalate of St. Cecilia.<sup>h</sup> In honour of the great saint of Tours, the new pope took the name of Martin IV.<sup>i</sup> Martin showed himself an undisguised and unqualified partisan. His hatred of the Germans was expressed in a wish that they might be frogs in a marsh, and that he himself might be a stork, or that they might be fish in a pond, and that he might be a pike;<sup>k</sup> and, on the other hand, he was an abject tool of Charles of Sicily. When the pope, after having excommunicated the people of Viterbo for their late disobedience, removed to Orvieto,<sup>m</sup> the king also took up his abode there, that he might have Martin under his eye and at his command.<sup>n</sup> The college of cardinals was increased by six nominees of Charles,<sup>o</sup> and when the pope had procured himself to be chosen senator of Rome, although with an express declaration that the dignity was bestowed on him for his personal merits, and although Nicolas III. had expressly decreed that it should not be held by any sovereign prince, or other person of considerable

<sup>d</sup> Gregorov. v. 475-480.

<sup>e</sup> Mut. Modoet. 572; Böhmer, 335. The annalist of Parma says that he died "non bono modo, sine poenitentia, ut dicebatur." 689.

<sup>f</sup> Stero Altah. 203; Gregorov. v. 482.

<sup>g</sup> Ptol. Luc. 1184. Jordan says it had been revoked. 1012.

<sup>h</sup> Jordan. l. c.; Rayn. 1281-2; Mut. Mod. 573. His letter to the king of France on his election is in Mart. Coll.

Ampl. ii. 2182.

<sup>i</sup> Rayn. 1281. 4. There had been only one Pope Martin before (A.D. 649); but the name of Marinus, which had been borne by two popes (A.D. 882-4 and 942-6), was regarded as the same. Ciacon. ii. 231.

<sup>k</sup> Annal. Vindob. in Pertz, ix. 712.

<sup>m</sup> Jordan. 1012-3.

<sup>n</sup> W. Nang. 514.

<sup>o</sup> Ptol. Luc. 1186.

independent power,<sup>p</sup> he transferred it to the king of Sicily as his deputy.<sup>q</sup>

Charles' designs on the East were now far advanced, and were favoured by the circumstances of the empire. While Michael Palæologus made himself hateful to his own subjects and drove them into schism by the violent means which he employed to enforce the union with the Latin Church,<sup>r</sup> the popes complained that he was too slow in performing his engagements. John XXI., in 1277, sent ambassadors to urge that the Greeks should give a substantial proof of their agreement by reciting the creed like the Latins. Michael showed them two of his own near relations who were in prison for opposing the agreement; he gave up to them two other men of high rank, whom he had imprisoned for the same offence; and he returned a letter agreeable to the pope's wishes, which was rendered more imposing in appearance by a number of fictitious signatures. But the pope restored the two prisoners, saying that they had been wrongfully accused; and the relations of the churches were not improved by the result of the mission.<sup>s</sup> The Latinizing patriarch Veccus was able to effect but little in the work of reconciliation, and after a time was compelled to withdraw into a cloister in consequence of having incurred the emperor's displeasure.<sup>t</sup> Under Nicolas, Michael had been in favour at Rome, on account of the common enmity to Charles;<sup>u</sup> but Martin, the devoted slave of Charles, excommunicated and anathematized the eastern emperor, under the pretext that he had failed to fulfil his promises to the church, although the sentence was really dictated by the political interest of the King of Sicily.<sup>x</sup> To this the emperor replied by excluding the pope's name from the offices of the Greek Church; and on his death, Dec. 11, 1282, which took place in the same year, the disagreement between the east and west became more flagrant than before. The new emperor, Andronicus, declared that in consenting to his father's measures he had acted under constraint.<sup>y</sup> He bestowed on Michael a funeral of the humblest kind, unaccompanied by any religious rites, and the widowed empress, Theodora, was re-

<sup>p</sup> Rayn. 1278. 75.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. 1281. 15; Gregorov. v. 485.

<sup>r</sup> G. Pachym. v. 22-3.

<sup>s</sup> G. Pachym. vi. 14, 16, 18.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. 10-3; Rayn. 1277. 32, seqq.; 1278. 2, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. 1278. 15.

<sup>x</sup> Ptol. Luc. 1186; Annal. Januens.,

A D. 1281. See Rayn. 1281. 25-6; 1282. 8; Jordan. 1013. Pachymeres says that when Michael sent envoys to congratulate Martin on his election, they were coolly received, in part because the pope disapproved of the emperor's severe measures for enforcing conformity. vi. 30.

<sup>y</sup> G. Pachym. de Andron. i. 2-3.



quired to subscribe a promise that she would never ask for such rites in behalf of her husband.<sup>z</sup> Churches which had been infected by the Latinizing worship were subjected to a solemn purification;<sup>a</sup> councils were held, which deposed and banished the patriarch Veccus, chiefly on the ground of his opinion as to the procession of the Holy Spirit,<sup>b</sup> restored his predecessor Joseph, and condemned to the flames all books which favoured the union of the churches.<sup>c</sup> In these circumstances, it became important to conciliate the party of the Arsenites, which still kept up its separation; and, after much negotiation, they proposed that the question between them and the church should be decided by an ordeal. After an attempt to obtain a judgment by enclosing the books of the Arsenites with the body of St. John Damascene had been frustrated by the emperor's precautions against fraud,<sup>d</sup> it was agreed that the books which contained the arguments in favour of each party were to be cast into a fire; if one book escaped, its partisans were to be acknowledged as in the right; if both were burnt, the parties were to be reconciled on equal terms. Contrary to the expectation of the Arsenites, the fire impartially consumed their book as well as the other; and thereupon the emperor, accompanied by the chief members of the schism, hastened on foot, through stormy weather, to the residence of the patriarch Gregory, at whose hands they all received the holy eucharist.<sup>e</sup> But next day the Arsenites regretted that they had allowed themselves to be hurried into this reconciliation; and the schism was not healed until, in the year 1312, the body of the inflexible patriarch was translated with honour to Constantinople,<sup>f</sup> and the people after having submitted to penance, were absolved from the sins of their forefathers.

While Michael was yet alive, Charles employed himself in active preparations for a new conquest of Constantinople. He had engaged the pope in his interest, had formed alliances with the Venetians and with his nephew Philip of France, and was

<sup>z</sup> Nic. Greg. v. 7; G. Pachym. de Andron. i. 10, 18. The body was removed to Selymbria, lest the Latins should steal it (N. Greg. vi. 1). The Genoese annalist, J. Doria, says that it was still unburied in 1300 (A.D. 1281). Cf. Jordan. 1020.

<sup>a</sup> G. Pachym. de Andron. i. 6-7, 15.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 8-9.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 5-6; Mansi, xxiv. 501, seqq.,

583, 595; Schröckh, xxix. 451. Veccus vainly attempted to obtain restoration. Nic. Greg. vi. 1-2.

<sup>d</sup> G. Pachym. de Andr. i. 13.

<sup>e</sup> G. Pachym. de Andr. i. 22. Joseph had died, and had been succeeded by George, who changed his name to Gregory. Ib.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 22, 30-1; Nic. Greg. vi. 1; Gibbon, vi. 95-6; Schröckh, xxix. 453.

collecting ships and soldiers, when an unexpected event compelled him to direct all his energies to objects nearer home.<sup>g</sup>

From the time of the French conquest, the Sicilians had suffered oppressions of the most grievous kind. They were ground down by exorbitant taxes; their lands and property were confiscated without a pretence of justice, they were compelled to accept a debased coinage instead of their genuine money, they were subjected to the arts of corrupt officials, they were plundered and insulted by the dominant race, and their wives and daughters were dishonoured.<sup>h</sup> So crying were the evils of Charles' government that they had drawn on him earnest remonstrances, and even threats of ecclesiastical censure, from Clement IV. and Gregory X.;<sup>i</sup> and the sufferings of his subjects had lately been aggravated by his preparations for war with the Byzantine empire—a war, moreover, for which the Sicilians had no inclination, as their relations with the Greeks were of a friendly character.<sup>k</sup>

It is said that Conradin on the scaffold threw down his glove among the crowd, and requested that it might be carried to Peter, King of Aragon, whose wife, Constance, the daughter of Manfred, was regarded as the last representative of the Hohenstaufen line.<sup>m</sup> To Peter and his queen the oppressed Sicilians looked with hope, while Constance was unremitting in her endeavours to stir her husband to some enterprise for the recovery of the inheritance of her family,<sup>n</sup> and many of those who had been dispossessed by the French conquest found a welcome at the court of Aragon. Among these was John, a nobleman of Salerno and lord of the island of Procida, who by his skill in medicine (of which Salerno was the chief school), and by his other gifts, had acquired the confidence of Frederick II. and of Manfred.<sup>o</sup> By taking arms for Conradin he had incurred the forfeiture of all his property, and it is said (although this appears very doubtful)<sup>p</sup> that his wife and daughter had been outraged by the conquerors. Burning with the desire of revenge for

<sup>g</sup> J. Aurisæ, in Pertz, xviii. 293; Gibbon, vi. 102.

<sup>h</sup> Nic. Specialis, i. 2 (Murat. x.); S. Malasp. vi. 1, 7; Barth. de Neocastro, 12-3; Amari, c. iv.

<sup>i</sup> See above, p. 462; S. Malasp. vi. 3-4.

<sup>k</sup> Amari, i. 108-9, 115.

<sup>m</sup> Gibbon, vi. 103; Raumer, iv. 380. The oldest authority for this is said to be Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.), Murat.

VII. ii. 178.

<sup>n</sup> W. Nang. 514; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 5.

<sup>o</sup> He was one of the witnesses of Frederick's will (Mut. Modoet. 504). Salimbene tells us that he was "*potens et magnus in curia ipsius Manfredi, et fertur quod fuit ille qui dedit venenum regi Conrado ad instantiam ipsius Manfredi, fratris sui.*" 245.

<sup>p</sup> See Amari, i. 91-2.



these wrongs, John of Procida devoted himself for years to the work of secret agitation. He sold all that he had received from the bounty of the King of Aragon, and, sometimes in the habit of a monk or friar, sometimes in a secular disguise, he repeatedly passed through Sicily, whispering to eager ears the hope of vengeance and of liberty.<sup>a</sup> He made his way to Constantinople, where he engaged the emperor Michael in his projects, and obtained from him a supply of money, with which he assured the doubtful resolution of Nicolas III.<sup>r</sup> In Spain, he found Alfonso of Castille disposed to take part against Charles for refusing to release his brother Henry, formerly the senator of Rome, who had been taken prisoner for his connexion with Conradin.<sup>s</sup> Peter of Aragon readily entered into his plans, but took alarm in consequence of the sudden death of Nicolas, so that John had again to visit Constantinople, from which he returned with a large subsidy for the king.<sup>t</sup> Peter then began to make preparations, but when questioned as to them, at the instance of Charles, by an emissary of the Pope, he replied that if he thought that one of his hands could tell the other his design, he would cut it off.<sup>u</sup> The ostensible destination of the armament was against the infidels of Africa, and in the beginning of June, 1282, Peter sailed for the African coast.<sup>x</sup>

In the mean time, the revolution for which preparation had so industriously been made, took place suddenly and as if by accident. On Easter Tuesday, 1282,<sup>y</sup> as the inhabitants of Palermo were sauntering in great numbers to celebrate

<sup>a</sup> Giannone, iii. 392-6; Sismondi, R. I., iii. 43, 51-2. Signor Amari (*Guerra del Vespro Siciliano*, i. 90, seq., and Appendix) questions the common account of John's proceedings, which, *e. g.*, do not appear at all in Bartholomew of Neocastro's narrative (c. 14). See, too, an article in the *Brit. and For. Review*, vol. xv. On the other side see Dean Milman, iv. 460. After all, Signor Amari's view differs substantially from the common story only in so far that, according to him, the several powers allied themselves against Charles without the alleged influence of John of Procida; for that the Sicilian vespers were the designed result of a matured conspiracy (see Amari, i. 142-3), is no part of the story.

<sup>r</sup> G. Villani, vii. 56; F. Pipin, ix. 11-2 (*Murat*, ix.). This ("la mal tolta moneta,") contributes to place Nicolas deep in Dante's hell (xix. 98; Benv. Imol. in *Murat. Ant.* i. 1241; see above,

p. 483, n. <sup>m</sup>). Yet, as Dean Milman observes (iv. 464), the money affected Nicolas only so far as to encourage him to take the part which he already wished, but hesitated, to take.

<sup>s</sup> *Mut. Modoet.* 535.

<sup>t</sup> R. Malasp. 208, in *Murat*, viii.; *Sism. R. I.*, iii., 48.

<sup>u</sup> R. Malasp. 208. According to Jordan of Osnaburg, Peter said he would cut out his tongue if he thought it likely to tell his secret. *Murat. Antiq.* iv. 1013. Charles himself says that Peter professed to have no design against him, when a similar question was put by Philip of France. *Murat. Antiq.* iii. 65.

<sup>x</sup> J. Aurias, in *Pertz*, xviii. 293; *Martin*, iv. 373.

<sup>y</sup> See Amari, i. 115. John Villani dates the affair a day earlier, and says that the citizens were on their way to the cathedral of Monreale, three miles distant. vii. 60.

vespers at a Cistercian church, a short distance from the city, while others were dancing under the shade of trees near the road, an insult offered by a French soldier to a high-born and beautiful maiden provoked her betrothed, who accompanied her, to seize the assailant's sword and kill him on the spot.<sup>z</sup> A cry of "Death to the French!" arose on every side.<sup>a</sup> The fury which had long been gathering intensity from suppression burst forth without restraint. All the Frenchmen who were near the spot were massacred, and the Sicilians, rushing into the city, slaughtered without remorse all who belonged to the detested race—men, women, and children.<sup>b</sup> Churches and monasteries were invaded; monks and friars, as being the allies of the French, were especially chosen for slaughter. Even Sicilian women who were pregnant by French husbands were ripped up, in order to exterminate the race of tyrants; and it is said that some Sicilians drank the blood of their enemies. The movement spread to Messina and throughout the island; everywhere the natives rose in fury against their oppressors, and in a short time no Frenchmen remained alive in Sicily.<sup>c</sup>

Having established a provisional government, the citizens of Palermo sent envoys to the pope, entreating him in the humblest manner to mediate with Charles. But Martin, enraged at the slaughter of his countrymen, repulsed them with scorn and with words of violent reproach.<sup>d</sup> Charles, on receiving the tidings of the "Sicilian Vespers," is said to have uttered aloud a prayer that, if it were God's pleasure that fortune should turn against him, his decline might be gradual and gentle.<sup>e</sup> But after this expression of pious resignation, he resumed his usual severity. The fleet which he had prepared for the expedition against Constantinople was recalled for the chastisement of Sicily; and the people of Messina, on entreating him to make terms, were told that they must submit their lives and persons to his will.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Nic. Special. 4; Barth. de Neocast. c. 14; Sismondi, R. I., iii. 52; Amari, i. 117.

<sup>a</sup> In the annals of Parma it is said that a voice was heard as if from heaven, "Morianur Francisci!" Pertz, xviii. 695.

<sup>b</sup> The French were discovered by the application of a shibboleth.

<sup>c</sup> W. Nang. in Bouq. xx. 516; Martin IV., in Mansi, xxiv. 392; J. Auriæ, in Pertz, xviii. 294; G. Malasp., in Murat. viii. 209; Jordan, 1013; Chron. Sicul. i. 8, in Murat. x.; Rayn. 1283. 15,

seqq.; Barthol. de Neocastro, cc. 15, 18, 21, seqq. (who tells his story with abominable affectation). Amari, i. 130-7.

<sup>d</sup> G. Malasp. 211; Amari, i. 147-8. John Villani says that he answered them only by thrice repeating the text, "'Ave, Rex Judæorum!' et dabant ei alapam." vii. 62.

<sup>e</sup> G. Malasp. 210; G. Villani, vii. 61.

<sup>f</sup> Nic. Special. i. 4, seqq.; Barth. de Neocast. 31; W. Nang. 518. The French writer thinks that Charles was too lenient.



On receiving this answer, the Messinese resolved to stand on their defence, protesting that they would rather die with their families in their home than languish in foreign prisons; even the women, in the general enthusiasm, carried stones, wood, and other materials to help in the fortification of the city.<sup>g</sup> The people of Palermo, on the return of their envoys from the papal court, declared that, since St. Peter refused to protect them, they would seek the aid of another Peter;<sup>h</sup> and an embassy was despatched to the King of Aragon, with the offer of the Sicilian crown. Peter, whose arms had not achieved any great successes in Africa, was delighted to find himself thus summoned to the island on which his eyes had long been fixed, and, in disregard of all the monitions which the pope interposed by letters or by the mouth of a legate, he was crowned at Monreale by the bishop of Cefalù.<sup>i</sup>

Aug. 10.

Peter formally announced his arrival to Charles, and desired him to withdraw from Sicily; to which Charles replied by defying him as a traitor.<sup>k</sup> But the approach of the Aragonese force compelled Charles to raise the siege of Messina, after he had carried it on for two months, and had almost reduced the inhabitants to despair; and Roger de Loria, a Calabrian who had entered into the service of Aragon, and was regarded as the greatest naval commander of the age, soon after inflicted a total defeat on the Provençal fleet.<sup>m</sup> The firmness of Charles' mind appeared to be unnerved by his late calamities; he gnawed his ivory-headed staff in impotent rage,<sup>n</sup> and his ancient prudence gave way to wildness and extravagance in forming schemes for the recovery of his power. The pope had anathematized the people of Palermo on Ascension-day, 1282; and by later documents he included Peter in the sentence, declared him to be deprived of his hereditary dominions, which he affected to bestow on Charles of Valois, a son of the King of France, and proclaimed a crusade for the recovery of Sicily.<sup>o</sup> The tenths which had been collected from several kingdoms for the holy

Oct. 2.

<sup>g</sup> G. Malasp. 211; Nic. Special. i. 7; Gibbon, vi. 104.

<sup>h</sup> Amari says that this expression was really in a letter written to the pope after the king of Aragon's arrival in Sicily. i. 186.

<sup>i</sup> G. Malasp. 212; Chron. Sicul. 40; W. Nang. 518; G. Special. i. 8-13; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 5-6; G. Villani, vii. 68. Amari, however, questions the corona-

tion. i. 185-6.

<sup>k</sup> Rymer, i. 820.

<sup>m</sup> Mut. Mod. 575. Roger, as a boy, had accompanied Queen Constance to Aragon. Amari, i. 89, 194-7.

<sup>n</sup> G. Malasp. 212; G. Villani, vii. 74.

<sup>o</sup> Mansi, xxiv. 475-90; Jac. Aurisæ, in Pertz, xviii. 294; Dacher. iii. 684-9; Rayn. 1283. 2, 22; 1284. 1-5; Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1294-7; W. Nang. 520; G. Villani, vii. 86.

war of the east were to be made over to Charles as a loan;<sup>p</sup> and many French knights, animated by a desire to avenge the blood of their countrymen, took arms and crossed the Alps.<sup>q</sup> But a more summary method of deciding the quarrel was proposed—that it should be referred to the judgment of God by a combat to be fought between the rival kings, each with a hundred companions. The place named for this combat was Bordeaux, in the territory of the English king, who was to be invited to preside, either in person or by proxy.<sup>r</sup> The challenge was accepted, and although Edward declined to take any part in the affair, while the pope strongly denounced and forbade it,<sup>s</sup> the chiefs on either side enlisted knights of renown to share with them in the intended fight. But the expectations which had been raised were disappointed by the result. Peter, who is said to have made his way to Bordeaux in disguise, as his rival had treacherous designs against him,<sup>t</sup> appeared in the lists, and, after having ridden up and down, obtained from the English king's seneschal a certificate of his appearance, and that Charles had failed to meet him. Charles on another day went through a somewhat similar farce, and each declared the other a dastard and dishonoured.<sup>u</sup>

Charles on his return to Italy had the mortification of hearing  
 June 5, that his son Charles the Lamé, prince of Salerno,  
 1284. having allowed himself to be enticed into a sea-fight by Roger de Loria, in neglect of his father's injunction, and in defiance of the papal legate's warnings, had been defeated and taken; that two hundred of his companions had been put to death, and that there were cries for the blood of the prince himself, in revenge for the death of Conradin.<sup>x</sup> The king in his anger affected to make light of the loss, and, leaving his son a prisoner, to make over the succession to his grandson, in whose honour he celebrated a tournament.<sup>y</sup> At Naples, where he had

<sup>p</sup> Rayn. 1283. 41. <sup>q</sup> Martin, iv. 374.  
<sup>r</sup> Rymer, i. 621-4; Murat. x. 905; Salimbene, 295; Rayn. 1283. 6; G. Malasp. 217-8; Murat. Antiq. iii. 649, 655, seqq. Some writers make Charles the challenger; others, as William of Nangis (522), Mutius of Monza (575), and John Villani (vii. 85), represent the challenge as coming from Peter.

<sup>s</sup> Rymer, i. 626-8; Rayn. 1283. 7, 8; Salimb. 296; W. Nang. 522.

<sup>t</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 8; Chron. Sicul. 44; Sism. R. I., iii. 83. See Murat. Ann. VII., ii. 260-1.

<sup>u</sup> Jac. Auriae, 299; Nic. Special. i. 25; Salimb. 297; Mut. Mod. 576; Barthol. de Neocastro, 68; Amari, i. 242-8.

<sup>x</sup> J. Auriae, 310; W. Nang. 526; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 11; R. Malasp. 222; Mut. Modoet. 578; Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. i. 1216; Martin, iv. 378-9; Amari, i. 265-271; Barth. de Neoc. 77-8; G. Villani, vii. 92. Amari says that about this time Queen Constance went into Sicily, and that the first authentic notice of John of Procida as visiting the island is in connexion with her visit. i. 221.

<sup>y</sup> Salimb. 298; Jordan. 1014.



reason to suspect that many were disaffected to his government, he allowed his soldiers to commit much slaughter, and hanged upwards of a hundred and fifty of the principal citizens, as partisans of the king of Aragon.<sup>z</sup> The agitations which he had lately undergone produced a serious illness; and on the 7th of January, 1285, he died at the age of sixty-seven, having seen the successes of many prosperous years almost cancelled by a just retribution for his grievous offences against humanity.<sup>a</sup> On the 29th of March in the same year, pope Martin died at Perugia, to which he had been driven from Orvieto, and the Sicilian crusade which he had organised with the king came to nothing.<sup>b</sup>

After a vacancy of only four days, the papal chair was filled by Honorius IV. of the family of Savelli, April 2. an old man, who, although he retained the full possession of his mental faculties, and is described as very eloquent and persuasive in speech, was crippled by gout to such a degree that in his great public functions he was obliged to make use of a machine which raised and turned him as was required.<sup>c</sup> Between the Guelf and Ghibelline factions of Italy, Honorius endeavoured to hold the balance evenly;<sup>d</sup> in other respects his policy was the same as that of his predecessors.

Philip of France carried the holy war which had been proclaimed by pope Martin into the territories of Aragon. A legate had preached the sacred cause in France with offers of indulgences even more ample than usual; and the Crusaders exhibited their confidence in their privileges by excesses of cruelty, profanity, and lust.<sup>e</sup> At Elne they slew all who had taken refuge in the cathedral, without regard to age or sex or to the holiness of the place.<sup>f</sup> Girona was besieged until the defenders

<sup>z</sup> Jordan. 1014; G. Villani, vii. 93; *mergi in vino* (F. Pipin. iv. 21). Amari, i. 273.

<sup>a</sup> Jordan. 1014. Salimbene's remarks on the reverses of the French are in a different strain—"Quod dignum et justum fuit, superbissimi enim sunt...et stultissimi, et homines pene maledicti, et qui omnes nationes mundi contemnunt, et specialiter Anglicos et Lombardos, et inter Lombardos includunt omnes Italicos et Cismontanos, et ipsi revera contemnendi sunt, et ab omnibus contemnuntur" (398-9). John Villani eulogises Charles, vii. 94.

<sup>b</sup> W. Nang. 528; Salimb. 330-2; Schröckh, xxvi. 507. Martin is said to have died of eating eels too freely. "Nutriri quidem faciebat eas in lacte, et sub-

"Quella faccia  
Di là da lui, più che l'altre trapunta,  
Ebbe la santa chiesa in le sue braccia:  
Dal Torso fu, e purga per digiuno  
L'anguille di Bolsena in la vernaccia."  
(Dante, *Purgat.* xxiv. 20-4.)

See Benven. Imol. 1224-5.—"Gallici sunt omnes amici gulæ et vini."

<sup>c</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 13; F. Pipin. iv. 22. The Franciscan Salimbene, in anger at the pope's discountenancing the mendicant orders, calls him "homo podagricus et parvi valoris, homo Romanus, avarus et miser." 371.

<sup>d</sup> G. Villani, vii. 112.

<sup>e</sup> Martin, iv. 377, 380-1.

<sup>f</sup> W. Nang. 530 (the name in this

were compelled by hunger to surrender ; but within a week it was recovered by Peter, and the French had suffered so severely from scarcity of provisions and from excessive heat that Philip felt it necessary to begin his retreat. The French king died at Perpignan on the 3rd of October ; and on the 11th of November the king of Aragon also died—whether from a wound or in consequence of a chill is uncertain.<sup>g</sup>

Philip the Bold—an epithet for which historians have in vain endeavoured to find a reason—was succeeded by his son Philip the Fair, a youth of seventeen. Aragon fell to Alfonso, the eldest son of the late king, and Sicily to his second son, James, against whom, and his mother Constance, Honorius denounced his excommunication, while Alfonso was only able to escape a like sentence by frequent missions to deprecate the papal displeasure.<sup>h</sup>

On the death of Honorius, which took place on the 3rd of April, 1287, there was great difficulty as to the choice of a successor.<sup>i</sup> Sixteen of the nineteen cardinals were shut up at St. Sabina's on the Aventine, which had been the late pope's usual residence.<sup>k</sup> Six of them died, while Jerome of Ascoli, general of the Franciscans, and cardinal of Palestrina, warded off the malaria which was fatal to his brethren by keeping up fires through the hottest weather in all the rooms which he used.<sup>m</sup> That vacancy was ended by the election of Jerome as pope on the 22nd of February, 1288, and in remembrance of the pope to whom he owed his cardinalate he took the name of Nicolas IV.<sup>n</sup>

Edward of England, who was connected with the royal families both of France and of Aragon, had attempted to mediate between them, and to procure the liberation of Charles the Lamé, by proposing that the Spaniards should renounce their pretensions to Sicily on condition of being left in unmolested possession of Aragon ; and, although Honorius had objected to this compromise, as derogatory to the church, which

writer is *Janua*, which is supposed to mean Elne, as being the gate of the Pyrenees. N. in Bouq. xx. 531 ; Chron. Anon. in Bouq. xxi. 100-2.

<sup>g</sup> W. Nang. 534-8 ; Ger. de Fracheto, in Bouq. xxi. 6-7 ; Jac. Auriae, 314 ; Martin, iv. 380-3. See G. Villani, vii. 102.

<sup>h</sup> Jac. Auriae, 314 ; Schröckh, xxvi. 312. There is a long document of regulations for Sicily by Honorius in Rayn.

1285. 29, seqq.

<sup>i</sup> "Cum per frivolum et derisibilem inter cardinales discordiam, pro eo forsitan quod singuli singulatim ad papatus celsitudinem aspirabant, jam fere per biennium vacasset sedes apostolica," says Wikes, 116.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. ; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 13, 19.

<sup>m</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 20 ; Rayn. 1288. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Rayn. l. c.



had unreservedly espoused the French interest, the English king had renewed his mediation during the vacancy of the papal chair.<sup>o</sup> In consequence of his intervention, Charles was at length set free on condition that he should return to captivity unless he fulfilled certain stipulations, and his three sons were given up as hostages for the performance of this engagement.<sup>p</sup> Nicolas declared his oath to be null, on the ground that his captivity had originally been unjust<sup>q</sup>—a pretext which would have allowed the pope to release men from all the obligations of faith and honour; he declared that the kingdom of Sicily, having been conferred by the holy see, could not be alienated in exchange for the sovereign's personal freedom: and on Whitsunday, 1289, he crowned Charles as king of all that the house of Anjou had acquired. He granted a tithe of ecclesiastical revenues to Charles for the recovery of Sicily, and to Philip of France for the conquest of Aragon; he denounced Alfonso for the hard terms which he had exacted, and even threatened Edward if, as guardian of the treaty, he should attempt to enforce it.<sup>r</sup> On the other hand, Charles, in return for the favours of Rome, granted all that was required of him as to the relations of the church with the state, and acknowledged that he held his kingdom solely through the pope's gift.<sup>s</sup> It would seem, however, that he scrupled to avail himself of the release from his oath; but he had recourse to an evasion which, while it was without the pretext of a religious sanction, was in nowise more respectable than that which the pope had approved. He appeared on the frontier of Aragon, announcing his readiness to give himself up on account of the non-fulfilment of his engagement; and, as no one attempted to arrest him, he caused his appearance and his offer to be recorded, professed to consider himself discharged from his obligations, and demanded the restoration of his hostages.<sup>t</sup> The war of Sicily continued. Charles was not strong enough to recover the island, while James, although his fleet, under Roger de Loria, was master of the sea,<sup>u</sup> was not strong enough to expel the Aragonese from their possessions on the Italian mainland. Alfonso died in

<sup>o</sup> Rayn. 1287. 4; Pauli, iv. 40; Martin, iv. 385-6.

<sup>p</sup> Jordan, 1017; Rymer, i. 677, 687, seqq.; Ger. de Fracheto, contin. in Bouq. xxi. 7; Jac. Aurisæ, 325; Martin, iv. 386.

<sup>q</sup> Rymer, i. 681-3.

<sup>r</sup> Rayn. 1288. 12-17; 1289. 1, 2; Ger.

de Frach., contin. 7; Schröckh, xxi. 1, 514; Milm. iv. 480-1. There are many documents as to these affairs in Rymer.

<sup>s</sup> Rayn. 1289. 9, 10.

<sup>t</sup> Rymer, i. 715, 722-3, 730; Milm. iv. 481.

<sup>u</sup> Annal. Parm. 702; Gibbon, vi. 104.

1291, having made his peace with the pope;<sup>x</sup> and James succeeded to the kingdom of Aragon, while the government of Sicily devolved on a younger brother, Frederick.

From time to time the popes, although chiefly engrossed by the affairs of the west, had urged the sovereigns of Europe to take the cross for the recovery of the Holy Land. Edward of England, especially, had met with indulgence in many things which might have brought him into collision with the church, because it was hoped that his renowned and experienced valour would again be displayed on the soil of Palestine.<sup>y</sup> But both Edward and Philip the Bold regarded the crusade rather as a pretext for getting into their own hands the tithes which the clergy contributed for it than in any other light.<sup>z</sup> The possessions of the Franks in the East had been continually diminishing. Tripoli was wrested from them in 1289, and, partly in revenge for the treacherous execution of some Arab merchants, Acre, the last remnant of the Frankish kingdom, was again besieged in 1291, and fell into the hands of the infidels. The grand-master of the Templars was killed, the patriarch of Jerusalem and the grand-master of the Hospitallers were drowned in the attempt to embark on board ship, and the total loss in slain and wounded is reckoned at 60,000.<sup>a</sup> Nicolas endeavoured by earnest exhortations to stir up the West to a new crusade;<sup>b</sup> but the day for such enterprises was over. Even the clergy showed no zeal in the cause; those of France and England declared that peace must be made between the princes of Christendom before a crusade could be preached with any hope of success.<sup>c</sup> The association of nations was at an end, and the spell which for two hundred years had given the popes so great a power of control over them had lost its efficacy.

Rudolf had continued to administer the affairs of Germany with an honesty of purpose and a vigour which amply justified the hopes of those who had chosen him; but he had never found

<sup>x</sup> Art de Vérif. les Dates, vi. 530.

<sup>y</sup> Rayn. 1289. 70, seqq.; Pauli, iv. 52.

<sup>z</sup> Hemingb. ii. 26-7; Theiner, Monum. 146-8. Edward promises to repay all the money thus gotten, if he should fail through his own fault (Rayn. 1290. 16). The pope demands from Philip the Fair the tithes which had been misappropriated by his father (ib. 17).

<sup>a</sup> De Excidio Urbis Accon., in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 759; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 23; Jordan. 1017; Ger. de Frachet., contin.

in Bouq. xxi. 10; Chron. Anon. ib. 132; Annal. Parm. 709; Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thes. iii. 769-772; Rayn. 1291. 1, seqq.; Wilken, vii. 760-9.

<sup>b</sup> Hemingb. 37; Barth. Cotton, 183, seqq.; Rayn. 1291. 1, 20, 23, 29, 31-2, 93; Rymer, i. 744-7.

<sup>c</sup> G. de Frachet. contin. 10; Barth. Cotton, 206, 210. The author of the tract, 'De Excidio Urbis Acconensis' inveighs against prelates for indulging in luxury while the Holy Land is neglected. 783.



leisure or inclination to seek the imperial crown at Rome.<sup>d</sup> At a diet held at Frankfort, in 1291, he expressed a desire that his son Albert might be elected as king of the Romans. But, although this had usually been granted to reigning sovereigns of Germany,<sup>e</sup> the electors were plied with representations that by a compliance with Rudolf's desire they would admit the principle of hereditary succession, and forego their electoral rights. These representations, although really made in the interest of the papacy by decretalists who were imbued with the doctrines of Gregory IX., had their effect for the time; and on Rudolf's death, which followed within two months, although Albert was acceptable to most of the electors, he was set aside, chiefly through the influence of his own brother-in-law, Wenceslaus of Bohemia, and Adolphus of Nassau was chosen king. The electors, after the example which the popes had given in their compacts with the emperors, encumbered the election with a number of stipulations which greatly weakened the crown.<sup>f</sup>

Nicolas had incurred a charge of Ghibellinism, partly on account of having made peace with the house of Aragon, but more truly on account of his close alliance with the family of Colonna,<sup>g</sup> for which he had deserted the rival party of the Orsini. In 1290 a member of this family was chosen lord of Rome, and was carried about the city in an imperial chariot, while the people hailed him as Cæsar.<sup>h</sup> Under the protection of the Colonnas, Nicolas ventured to remove from Rieti, where he had at first lived, to Rome; and his devotion to the family was symbolised by a caricature, in which he was represented as imprisoned in a column, so that only his mitred head could be seen above it, and with two other columns before him, denoting the two Colonnas who had been admitted into the college of cardinals.<sup>i</sup> Nicolas

<sup>d</sup> See his correspondence with Honorius IV., Rayn. 1285. 22. Dante says of Rudolf's shade in purgatory—

"ha sembianti  
D'aver negletto ciò che far dovea."

(*Purgat.* vii. 91-2.)

which Benvenuto supposes to mean that, out of the desire to increase his power in Germany, he neglected to receive the imperial crown and to fulfil his crusading engagement (*Comment.* in loc.). It would, however, seem that he really wished to make an expedition to Rome, but was

hindered by the state of Germany. See Böhm. 54, 91; Gregorov. v. 470.

<sup>e</sup> Schmidt, iii. 416.

<sup>f</sup> Schmidt, iii. 417-424, 429; Böhmer, 156, 162.

<sup>g</sup> "Quod nimis uni generi adhærebat." Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 22; G. Villani, vii. 118; Gregorov. v. 561-2.

<sup>h</sup> Annal. Parm. 1290, in Pertz, xviii. 708. See Gregorov. v. 504.

<sup>i</sup> "In quarum una est caput avis, rostro sustinens nidum, in quo est caput senis clerici." F. Pipin, iv. 23.

died in April, 1292. He had, it is said, confirmed the letters of John XXI. by which the Lyons canon as to the election of popes was revoked ;<sup>k</sup> and, whether thus formally abrogated or not, the decree was treated as of no force in the vacancy which ensued.

<sup>k</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 27; Rayn. 1289. 49. See Schröckh, xxvi. 517.



## CHAPTER V.

## CELESTINE V. AND BONIFACE VIII.

A.D. 1292-1303.

AT the death of Nicolas IV., the college of cardinals consisted of twelve members, who were divided into two parties—the French or Neapolitan and the Italian. These met in a palace which the late pope had built on the Esquiline; but the heats of June compelled them to separate without coming to any agreement in the choice of a successor. The attempt at an election was vainly renewed in one place after another; and in the mean time the factions of the Colonnas and Orsinis fought in the streets for the senatorship, until at length it was arranged that each party should nominate a senator of its own.<sup>a</sup>

The papacy had been vacant two years and three months, when the cardinals met at Perugia in the beginning of July, 1294. The most eminent among them were Latino Malebranica, bishop of Ostia, a member of the Dominican order, who stood in high repute for piety,<sup>b</sup> and Benedict Gaetani, cardinal of SS. Sylvester and Martin. Gaetani was a native of Anagni, which within a century had given to the papal chair Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Alexander IV., and he was great-nephew of the last of these.<sup>c</sup> He had probably studied in youth at the university of Paris, and is described as very learned in the Scriptures;<sup>d</sup> he was regarded as unequalled in the knowledge of ecclesiastical law and in experience of affairs, and had been employed on important missions to England, France, Germany, and Portugal. It is said that the consciousness of his abilities and acquirements affected his manners and bearing—that he was arrogant, assuming, and scornful; and to these faults of character it is added that he was very rapacious as to money, “making no conscience of gain.”<sup>e</sup> His labours in the service of successive

<sup>a</sup> Card. S. Georg. i. 3, in Murat. iii.; of female attire. 222.  
Tosti, i. 52.

<sup>c</sup> Tosti, i. 34.

<sup>b</sup> Some have supposed him the author of the ‘*Dies Iræ*’ (Quétif, i. 437; Tosti, i. 55). Salimbene mentions that, while legate in the Romagna, he had got into trouble by venturing to assail the fashion

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 31; G. Villani, viii. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 36; Jordan, 1019; Card. S. Georg. de Bonif. i. 70, seqq. “Non facendo coscienza di guadagno.” G. Villani, viii. 6.

popes had been rewarded with valuable preferments, and Martin IV. had promoted him to the dignity of cardinal.<sup>f</sup> When Charles II. of Naples ventured to intrude on the deliberations of the cardinals at Perugia, and to exhort them to a speedy choice, Gaetani boldly rebuked him for interfering with the office of the Holy Spirit.<sup>g</sup>

One day, as the cardinals were assembled, Latino spoke to his brethren of a hermit named Peter of Murrone, whose sanctity was the object of unbounded popular reverence. It was believed that he had been born in a monastic frock, and that every night he was roused for prayer by a celestial bell in tones of incomparable sweetness.<sup>h</sup> Peter had formerly been a Benedictine monk, but had adopted the life of a hermit, and had founded an austere brotherhood of hermits, for which he obtained the sanction of Gregory X., after having walked from Apulia to Lyons in order to solicit it at the general council of 1274.<sup>i</sup> His dwelling was a narrow cell on the rock of Murrone, near Sulmona, in the Abruzzi. He kept six Lents in the year, and imposed the same observance on his hermits, although to them he allowed mitigations as to diet which he denied himself.<sup>k</sup> A few days later, Latino announced to the cardinals that a holy man had had a vision, threatening heavy judgments unless a pope were elected within a certain time. "I suppose," said Gaetani, "that this is some vision of your Peter of Murrone." Latino answered that it was even so; the idea of choosing the hermit himself was suddenly suggested, was caught up as offering an escape from the difficulties occasioned by the party connexions of other candidates, and was acted on as if proceeding from inspiration.<sup>m</sup>

The cardinals, however, appear to have soon felt some misgivings as to their choice; for they devolved the duty of announcing it to the new pope on some prelates who were not members of the sacred college.<sup>n</sup> These, as they toiled up the rock of Fumone, were joined by Cardinal Peter Colonna, who had under-

<sup>f</sup> Tosti. i. 32, 36.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 33-4.

<sup>h</sup> Card. S. Georg. ii. 1, 362-3, 425, seqq., 502.

<sup>i</sup> Holst. ed. Brockie, iv. 478. They were known as hermits of St. Peter Damiani, or of Murrone, until, when the founder took the name of Celestine, they were called after him (Holst. 475). His remains are in vol. xxv. of the Biblioth.

Patrum.

<sup>k</sup> Holst. iv. 477.

<sup>m</sup> Jac. de Vorag. in Murat. ix. 54; Card. S. Geo. Præf. 11; Ger. de Frachet. contin. 12; Tosti, i. 55-6. The act of election is in Rayn. 1294. 6; the letter to the pope-elect, ib. 7.

<sup>n</sup> "Deerat tamen his scarletta galeri." Card. S. Geo. ii. 176.



taken the journey on his own account;<sup>o</sup> and they found the elect pope, an old man of seventy-two, roughly dressed, with a long white beard, and emaciated by austerities. When they produced the act of election, and threw themselves at his feet, the astonished hermit knelt to them in return; he said that, before answering, he must consult God by prayer; but, as the result of this was favourable, he accepted the dignity which was offered to him.<sup>p</sup>

From almost the moment of his acceptance, it was clear that the new pope was utterly unfit for his office. He knew nothing of men or of affairs; he could speak no language but the vulgar tongue;<sup>q</sup> his only qualification was an ascetic piety, if indeed a piety of so very narrow a character were not rather to be regarded as disqualifying him. Charles of Naples speedily discovered that, by professing humble obedience to the successor of St. Peter, he might be able to use him as a tool. When requested by the cardinals to join them at Perugia, Peter wrote to them, under the influence of Charles, excusing himself on account of his age and of the heat, and summoned them to Aquila, within the Neapolitan territory.<sup>r</sup> There a vast multitude—it is said 200,000 persons— assembled to witness the consecration and coronation of the famous hermit, who took the name of Celestine V.<sup>s</sup> He entered the town riding on an ass, whose reins were held by the king of Naples and his son, Charles, titular king of Hungary;<sup>t</sup> and it is said that, after he had dismounted from the animal, a lame boy was healed by being placed on it.<sup>u</sup> The king's influence soon became visible in many ways. Celestine released him from an oath which the cardinals had exacted at Perugia, that, if the pope should die in the Neapolitan territory, Charles would not force them to hold their conclave for a fresh election within his dominions.<sup>w</sup> At his instance, thirteen new cardinals were created—a number sufficient to overpower the older members of the college; and of these seven were Frenchmen, while all were devoted to Charles with the exception of

<sup>o</sup> Ib. 217, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> Card. S. Geo. ii. 250, seqq., 280, seqq.; Tosti, i. 57-8.

<sup>q</sup> Card. S. Geo. 205.

<sup>r</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 30; Card. S. Geo. iii. 1, seqq., 84, seqq. He got for the people of Aquila forgiveness for some offences which they had committed against the king. See the Italian metrical history of Aquila in Murat. Antiq.

vi. 556-560, and the notes.

<sup>s</sup> Ptol. Lucens. (who was present), xxiv. 29, 31; Card. S. Geo. iii. 155-190.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. Aquil. 558; Card. S. Geo. iii. 54, seqq. Charles assumed this title in right of his mother, a daughter of the late king. Conc. Zantfl. in Mart., Coll. Ampl. v. 108. See Rayn. 1291. 48.

<sup>u</sup> Card. S. Geo. iii. 542, seqq.

<sup>w</sup> Tosti, i. 63.

John Gaetani, whose promotion was intended to conciliate his uncle, Cardinal Benedict.<sup>x</sup> And, when the cardinals urged Celestine to take up his abode at Rome, he preferred to comply with the king's suggestion by settling at Naples,<sup>y</sup> which under the Angevine sovereigns had superseded Palermo as the capital of the Sicilian kingdom.<sup>z</sup>

But Celestine was also subject to other mischievous influences. He listened to the hermits of the brotherhood which he had founded, and, not content with bestowing privileges on their order,<sup>a</sup> he preferred some of them to offices for which their rudeness and ignorance made them altogether unfit. He was a passive tool of the curialists and lawyers. His patronage was badly bestowed, and his secretaries took advantage of his weakness to practise shameless tricks, so that he was induced to put his name to blank bulls, and in some cases to sign several presentations to the same benefice, while these officials pocketed the fees.<sup>b</sup> He endeavoured to keep up his old manner of life by causing a cell like that on the rock of Murrone to be built in his palace; and into this he sometimes withdrew for days, leaving all business in the hands of some cardinals who had gained his confidence.<sup>c</sup> He wished to make the cardinals imitate his own fashion of sanctity by riding on asses, and to force the peculiar garb of the Celestines on the whole Benedictine order.<sup>d</sup> The pope longed for his old seclusion, while it daily became more and more evident that his tenure of the papacy was likely to produce serious disasters.<sup>e</sup>

Cardinal Benedict Gaetani was supposed to have withstood the election of Celestine, and remained behind the other cardinals at Perugia.<sup>f</sup> But after a time he waited on the pope at Aquila, and he speedily established an ascendancy over his feeble mind. It is said that he even practised on Celestine's credulity by counterfeiting through a pipe a heavenly voice which charged the pope to resign his office on peril of losing his soul;<sup>g</sup> and,

<sup>x</sup> Card. S. Geo. iii. 224, seqq.; Tosti, i. 63.

<sup>y</sup> Card. S. Geo. iii. 250, seqq.; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 32.

<sup>z</sup> Giannone, iii. 353.

<sup>a</sup> Holsten-Brockie, iv. 480.

<sup>b</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 31; Jordan. 1018; Card. S. Geo. iii. 267, seqq.; Annal. Dunstap. 384; Tosti, i. 58.

<sup>c</sup> Card. S. Geo. iii. 329, seqq.; Benven. Imol. 1028; Tosti, i. 65.

<sup>d</sup> See as to the archbishop of Bene-

vento, who ingratiated himself by changing his dress, Card. S. Geo. iii. 275-9; Tosti, i. 62; Planck, v. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. Florian. in Pertz, ix. 750.

<sup>f</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 31.

<sup>g</sup> Ferret. Vicent. in Murat. ix. 966; Henr. de Hervordia, 215. This last writer tells other stories as to the cardinal's acts—as, that he set his brethren against Celestine, saying, "Asinemus nunc; iterum fortassis aliquando equitabimus." 214.



although this tale seems incredible, there can be little doubt that Gaetani was active and subtle in recommending the idea of a resignation.<sup>h</sup> Urged by him and by others, the pope eagerly listened to counsels which opened the hope of a return to his hermitage. He found, from a collection of canons which was placed in his way, that an ecclesiastic might resign with the permission of his superior; but how could this principle be applied to the head of Christendom? The question was proposed to Gaetani, who replied that there was a precedent for resignation in the case of the apostolical father St. Clement; for Clement, he said, after having been appointed to the papacy by St. Peter, resigned it, lest it might seem that a pope might nominate his successor.<sup>i</sup> Suspicions of the pope's intention began to circulate, and a mob of Neapolitans, stirred up by the fanatical Celestine hermits, appeared under the windows of his palace, and loudly entreated him to retain his office. For the time he pacified them with equivocal promises; but preparations were made for carrying out his intention, and, at the suggestion of the cardinals, prayers were put up for the discovery of the will of heaven in the matter.<sup>k</sup>

On the 13th of December, the pope, attired in his robes of office, appeared before the consistory of cardinals, and produced an act of resignation, which he read aloud. At the suggestion of a cardinal, a decree sanctioning the resignation of popes was drawn up, which Celestine confirmed by his authority.<sup>m</sup> The pope then put off his robes, resumed the rough attire which he had worn as a hermit, and withdrew, while the cardinals entreated his prayers for the church which his act had left without a shepherd.<sup>n</sup> Those who were devoted to Celestine—the members of his hermit brotherhood, and the Franciscan “fraticelli”<sup>o</sup> with whom they had become connected—while they strongly regretted the resignation, viewed it as an act of transcendent humility, which enhanced the glory of his saintly character.<sup>p</sup> But the more general opinion of his time is probably expressed in the terrible scorn of Dante, who places

<sup>h</sup> Milin. v. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Card. S. Geo. iii. 371; G. Villani, viii. 15; Rayn. 1294. 19; Schröckh, xxvi. 521; Tosti, i. 66-7. In his decree as to the election of popes, Celestine had spoken of vacancies produced by resignation, as well as by death; as if he had already entertained the idea. Ib. 64.

<sup>k</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 32; Card. S. Geo.

iii. 444, seqq.; Tosti, i. 67-8.

<sup>m</sup> Card. S. Geo. iii. 525, seqq.; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 33; Annal. Dunstap. 383; Tosti, i. 69. Boniface VIII. embodied this in his Decretals. l. I. tit. vii. c. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Tosti, i. 69.

<sup>o</sup> See below, c. viii., sect. 2; Tosti, i. 185, 189.

<sup>p</sup> See Benven. Imol. i. 1039.

Celestine immediately within the portals of hell, among those who had lived without either praise or infamy, and whom the poet's guide desires him to pass without bestowing on them the notice of a word.<sup>q</sup>

Ten days after the vacancy of the see, the cardinals held their conclave in the "New Castle" of Naples, and on the same day their choice fell on cardinal Benedict Gaetani, who took the name of Boniface VIII.<sup>r</sup> By what means this result was brought about is not known;<sup>s</sup> but rumour charged the new pope with having made use of much artifice for the purpose. It is said that he secured Charles' interest with the cardinals of the French party by going to him at night, and telling him that Celestine had been unable to serve him in the Sicilian war for want of knowledge; but that if the king would help Gaetani to the papacy, he would serve him with understanding, and to the uttermost of his power.<sup>t</sup>

In so far as regarded Sicily, this promise was amply fulfilled; for to Boniface it was due that the struggle there was kept up when Charles, must, but for the pope's support, have yielded. But in other things Boniface was determined to be his own master, and in opposition to the king's wishes he set out for Rome.<sup>u</sup> His progress was a triumph, and the most remarkable scene in it was at his native Anagni, where he was received with enthusiasm. On the 23rd of January, his coronation was celebrated with a magnificence beyond all example.<sup>w</sup> To the crown with which Alexander III. is supposed to have enriched the tiara, a second crown was now added, in token of the union of secular with spiritual power; and the kings of Naples and

<sup>q</sup> Inferno, iii. 30, seqq. Benvenuto of Imola argues (but seemingly without being able to convince even himself) that by

"l'ombra di colui  
che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto"

Dante does not mean the pope who abdicated his dignity, but Esau who sold his birthright! (1029). To Dante's "levity" Raynaldus opposes the "gravity" of Petrarch, who in his book, 'De Vita Solitaria,' extols Celestine's resignation very highly (1294. 21; comp. Miln. iv. 495; Gregorov. v. 517). See too, Jacopone of Todi's poem,

"Che farai, Pier da Morrone?"

in Ozanam, 'Poètes Franciscains,' 188.

<sup>r</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 34; Card. S. Geo. de Bonif. i. 24, seqq. Boniface VII. had been an antipope. See vol. ii. 419

(392). Cardinal Latino had died since the election of Celestine. Quétif, i. 437.

<sup>s</sup> See Brit. and Foreign Quarterly Review, xiii. 423 (in answer to Cardinal Wiseman's article on Boniface in the 'Dublin Review').

<sup>t</sup> G. Villani, viii. 6; Benv. Imol. 1075. Tosti rejects this story (i. 74). See other tales in Annal. Lubec., ap. Pertz, xvi. 416.

<sup>u</sup> Mr. Gregorovius quotes from the Neapolitan archives a letter of Charles, in which it is said that, five days after the pope's departure, a report of his death caused general joy. The king orders those who had spread it to be punished. v. 521.

<sup>w</sup> Card. S. Geo. l. ii.; Gregorov. v. 521-3. The day is variously given. Böhmer does not pretend to fix it. 339.



of Hungary held the reins of the pope's white horse, and stood behind his chair at the coronation banquet.<sup>x</sup>

Boniface, although five years older than the effete pope whom he had superseded, was in full possession of his mental vigour. He was strong of will, crafty, rapacious, and filled with the highest ideas of hierarchical domination—with a resolution to recover for the papacy all that it had lost under any of his predecessors, and to exalt it more than ever. But in thinking to renew the triumphs of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., he overlooked the adverse circumstances which had arisen since their time—the increase of the royal power in France, the English impatience of Roman rule and aspirations after civil and spiritual liberty, the growth of independent thought in the universities; above all, the great influence of the civil lawyers who had been trained in the principles of the old imperial jurisprudence of Rome, and opposed to the pretensions of the hierarchy a rival system, supported by a rival learning, and grounded on a rival authority.<sup>y</sup>

Boniface began his pontificate<sup>z</sup> by revoking the privileges—provisions, dispensations, commendams, and the like<sup>a</sup>—which Celestine had granted, “not in the plenitude of power,” says a contemporary, “but in the plenitude of simplicity.”<sup>b</sup> But as to Celestine himself there was a difficulty. Men were shocked that a choice which was supposed to have been specially directed by the Holy Spirit should be unceremoniously set aside as mistaken.<sup>c</sup> There were many who questioned the validity of his resignation<sup>d</sup>—the Fraticelli, the Celestines, and others who, although free from the fanaticism of these, might be disposed, from whatever motives, to set up the hermit afresh as a claimant of the papal chair; and it was very possible that he might be weak enough to become the tool of such malcontents. Boniface at first committed him to the care of the abbot of Monte Cassino; but Celestine soon contrived to escape from the monastery, and made for his old abode on the Majella. The pope heard with uneasiness that at Sulmona he had been

<sup>x</sup> Card. S. Geo. iii. 117; Tosti, i. 83, seqq. The third crown was added by Urban V., in 1362.

<sup>y</sup> Milm. v. 11.

<sup>z</sup> His letter announcing his election is in Rayn. 1295. 7-9.

<sup>a</sup> Rymer, i. 833; Ger. de Frachet. contin. 12; Barth. Cotton, 258-9, 265, seqq., 279-281; Tosti, i. 79. He says

that Celestine himself, after his resignation, had begged him to revoke what he had been deceived into granting. Barth. Cotton, 266.

<sup>b</sup> See Jac. de Vorag. in Murat. ix. 54 (speaking of an appointment of a cardinal). Cf. G. Villani, viii. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Milm. iv. 494.

<sup>d</sup> Rayn. 1297. 34.

received as a worker of miracles, and that a general enthusiasm in his favour was aroused among the multitude.<sup>e</sup> An order was therefore issued for his arrest; and Peter, after having attempted to escape by embarking on the Adriatic, was seized by some Neapolitan soldiers, and was carried into the presence of his successor. Boniface received him sternly, and ordered him to be conveyed to the rock of Fumone, where a cell was constructed for him like that which he had occupied in earlier days. The treatment which he received in this place is variously reported, according to the prepossessions of the narrators;<sup>f</sup> by some it is said to have been respectful, by others, harsh and strict. The tales which were circulated of his sufferings and of his voluntary mortifications increased the reputation for sanctity which he already possessed, while Boniface was regarded as his oppressor; and when, after ten months of seclusion, Peter died, it was popularly believed that the pope had caused a nail to be driven into his head.<sup>g</sup> Immediately after the hermit's death, a disciple saw his soul borne up to heaven.<sup>h</sup> His body was carried off by the people of Aquila from its burial-place at Ferentino; and it was only by the assurance that his heart was still among them that the men of Ferentino could be restrained from entering into a deadly feud with their neighbours.<sup>i</sup>

Now that Boniface had gained possession of the highest dignity in Christendom, his imperious pride appeared to get the mastery over the prudence and address for which he had before been noted, and his measures were carried on with a violence which could not fail to exasperate those with whom he was brought into collision. Like most of his family, he had hitherto been a Ghibelline; but he now espoused the Guelf interest as being bound up with that of the papacy.<sup>k</sup> He mixed in the envenomed feuds of the Italian cities with the design of crushing the Ghibellines; and by calling in Charles of Valois as pacificator of Tuscany he has earned the denunciation of the  
A.D. 1301. great Florentine poet, whose exile, with that of his

<sup>e</sup> Tosti, i. 108.

<sup>f</sup> See Rayn. 1295. 13; G. Villani, viii. 5; Annal. Veron. ap. Pertz, ix. 718; Annal. Parm. ib. xviii. 715; Tosti, i. 109-110 and Append. I.; Miln, v. 8; Schröckh, xxvi. 523-4.

<sup>g</sup> This was affirmed in an inscription under his skull in the church of St. Mary of the Majella. (Tosti, i. 111.) See against it, ib. 250; Drumann, i. 17. Muratori calmly remarks that Boniface

would more probably have got rid of him by poison than in "si barbara maniera" (Annali, VII., ii. 352).

<sup>h</sup> Benv. Imol. 1039.

<sup>i</sup> Miln. v. 8. John Villani says that the body was buried at a depth of ten yards (*braccia*), that it might not be found (viii. 5). In 1313, Peter of Murrone was canonized by Clement V., at the instance of Philip the Fair. Drumann, i. 18.

<sup>k</sup> G. Villani, viii. 6.



party, was among the results of the French prince's intervention.<sup>m</sup>

Boniface required Charles of Naples to renew the oath of homage to the papal see which his father had taken for Sicily,<sup>n</sup> and he devised a plan by which he hoped to secure that kingdom for the Anjou family. According to this scheme, Charles of Valois was to withdraw the pretension to Aragon and Valencia which was founded on the grant of pope Martin;<sup>o</sup> the pope, assuming a right to dispose of these territories, was to regrant them to the hereditary sovereign, James; and in consideration of this favour, the princes of Aragon were to give up all claim to Sicily.<sup>p</sup> But, although James was willing to agree to the arrangement, his brother Frederick, who was the actual governor of Sicily, was implored by the people to save them from a renewal of the French tyranny, and, in company with John of Procida and Roger de Loria, he waited on the pope at Velletri, in order to represent the wishes of the Sicilians. "Art thou," said Boniface to Roger, "that enemy of the church who has made such slaughter of my people?" "Father," answered the admiral sternly, "the popes would have me so."<sup>q</sup> Frederick was tempted with brilliant but shadowy offers, such as a marriage with a daughter of the dispossessed emperor of Constantinople, which would give him a title to the throne of the East. But his companions persuaded him to defer his answer until after he should have returned to Sicily; and, finding that the islanders were determined not to submit to French rule, he was crowned king at Palermo on Easter-day, 1296.<sup>r</sup> It was in vain that the pope denounced him, and aided his rival with money. Frederick's fleets, under Roger de Loria, were victorious over the naval forces of Charles, and part of the mainland was wrested from the French. In 1299, however, the fortune of war was changed. James of Aragon had been appointed standard-bearer of the church and admiral of the papal fleets, and had been invested in Corsica and Sardinia, on undertaking to reduce his former subjects.<sup>s</sup> Roger de Loria, provoked by an

<sup>m</sup> G. Villani, viii. 42, 48; ix. 134; Annal. Parm. 725; Rayn. 1300. 20-1; 1301. 12-4; Sism. R. I., iii. 129-138; Tosti, i. 124-5; Dante, Inf. xix. 52, seqq.; xxvii. 85, seqq. Dom Tosti's dedication of his Life of Boniface to Dante is a curiosity.

<sup>n</sup> Rayn. 1195. 17.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 491.

<sup>p</sup> Rayn. 1294. 21, and note, vol. iv.,

p. 178; Tosti, i. 113.

<sup>q</sup> Nic. Special. ii. 21; Rayn. 1296. 7, seqq.; Tosti, i. 119; Amari, ii. 65.

<sup>r</sup> Nic. Special. iii. 1; Chron. Sicul. 54, ap. Murat. x.; Rayn. 1296. 14; Tosti, i. 146-158; Amari, ii. 78.

<sup>s</sup> Ptol. Luc. col. 1220; Rayn. 1296. 13; 1297. 1, seqq., 19, seqq.; Milm. v. 15; Sism. R. I., iii. 117.

unjust suspicion of treason, turned against Frederick, and for a time the Sicilian king had great difficulty in holding his ground.<sup>t</sup> But at length it would seem that James became ashamed of the part which he had taken; and on his leaving Sicily, Frederick's fortunes began to recover. In 1302, Charles of Valois, leaving the Florentine factions more embittered against each other than when he had undertaken to appease them, passed into Sicily; but Frederick wore him out in an irregular warfare, and compelled him to sue for peace.<sup>u</sup> The misfortunes which had attended the French arms in Flanders<sup>x</sup> induced Charles to submit to terms which he might otherwise have refused,<sup>y</sup> and in 1303 the pope was obliged to agree to a treaty by which Frederick was to be released from all ecclesiastical censures, to June 12, 1303. marry a daughter of his rival, and to hold the kingdom of "Trinacria" for life, with the provision that at his death it should fall, not to Naples, but to Aragon.<sup>z</sup>

A contest which touched Boniface more nearly than the affairs of Sicily, was his feud with the Colonnas. This family, which was connected with the ancient counts of Tusculum,<sup>a</sup> appears for the first time in history about the beginning of the twelfth century, when one of them held the fortress of Columna among the Alban hills, with other places in the neighbourhood.<sup>b</sup> On the extinction of the Tusculan family, the Colonnas had succeeded to a part of its possessions, and they now held many fortresses in the neighbourhood of Rome,<sup>c</sup> and exercised a powerful influence in public affairs. The devotion of Nicolas IV. to this family has been already mentioned, and it may well be supposed that they were not disposed to acquiesce in changes which would destroy their influence. Two of the Colonnas, James and his nephew Peter,<sup>d</sup> were cardinals; they had opposed the resignation

<sup>t</sup> Nic. Special. iii. 8, 19, 20; Gir. de Frach. contin. in Bouq. xxi. 18; Chron. Sicil. 56, seqq.; Rayn. 1300. 11, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Rayn. 1302. 1; Nic. Special. vi. 7; Dante, Inf. vi. 49, seqq.; Purgat. xx. 71, seqq.; G. Villani, viii. 49; Sism. R. I., iii. 138-9; Amari, c. xix. It was said that Charles had come into Tuscany to make peace, and left it in war; that he had gone into Sicily to make war, and concluded a disgraceful peace (G. Vill. l. c.). As to Dante's treatment of Frederick — first praising, and then denouncing him — see Amari, ii. 234.

<sup>x</sup> See below, p. 534.

<sup>y</sup> W. Nang. contin., in Dachery, iii. 55.

<sup>z</sup> Rayn. 1302. 3-6; Nic. Special. vi.

18; Chron. Sicil. 71; Ptol. Luc., in Murat. xi. 1222.

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii., p. 439 (409).

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 1101. P. Pisan., Vita Paschal. II. 8 (Patrol. clxiii.); Litta, 'Famiglie Illustri.' It was from the fortress of Colonna (supposed to be on the site of the ancient Labicum) rather than from the Column of Trajan, which figures in their arms and stands near their Roman palace, that the Colonnas derived their name. See Gregorovius, ii. 120; Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 38; Quart. Rev. cxiv. 218.

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, vi. 364. See Tosti, i. 199.

<sup>d</sup> Peter had been married, and was made a cardinal on his wife's entering



of Celestine, and, although they had been tricked into consenting to the election of Boniface, it is said that they had opposed his coronation.<sup>e</sup> Various petty causes occurred to increase the differences between the pope and this powerful family, but it is hardly necessary to look for such motives.<sup>f</sup> To Boniface's new politics the Ghibellinism of the Colonnas made them obnoxious; and it was perhaps the apprehension of consequences from his political conversion that led them to ally themselves with the Aragonese party in Sicily.<sup>g</sup> Boniface, in great exasperation on this account, launched against them a bull in which the whole family were denounced with extraordinary vehemence as enemies of the Holy Church. The two cardinals were declared to be deposed and excommunicated. Their benefices were taken from them; any ecclesiastic who should acknowledge them in their dignity was to be deprived of all his preferments; any castles or towns which should admit them were to be interdicted; and their nephews<sup>h</sup> to the fourth generation were to be excluded from holy orders.

To this the cardinals replied by a document which was posted on the doors of churches and was laid on the high altar of St. Peter's, denying the validity of Celestine's resignation, arguing that, even if the resignation were valid, the election of Boniface was irregular, and appealing against the pope to a general council.<sup>i</sup> This daring protest drew forth from Boniface a bull even more violent than the former.<sup>k</sup> The penalties denounced against the cardinals were extended to the whole Colonna family. Their palace at Rome was demolished; all their property was confiscated; they were required to give up all their fortresses, and, on their refusal to do so, a papal army, under the command of cardinal Matthew of Acquasparta, took the field against them

a nunnery. (Ciacon. ii. 268.) The elder cardinal is highly praised by some writers. *ib.* 267.

<sup>e</sup> See Schröckh, xxvi. 528.

<sup>f</sup> Tosti conjectures that Boniface offended the Colonnas by interfering in their internal quarrels as to inheritance (i. 201-2). Ptolemy of Lucca says that Stephen Colonna began the quarrel by plundering a convoy of treasure belonging to the pope. Murat. xi. 1301.

<sup>g</sup> Rayn. 1297. 26; Sism. R. I., iii. 142.

<sup>h</sup> Rayn. 1297. 27, seqq.; Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1219; Gir. de Frach., contin. 14. A few of the pope's epithets may be quoted—"Columnensium domus exasperans, amara domesticis, molesta vi-

cinis, Romanorum reipublicæ impugnatrix, sanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ rebellis, Urbis et patriæ perturbatrix, consortis impatiens, ingrata beneficiis, subesse nolens, præesse nesciens, humilitatis ignara, plena furoribus, Deum non metuens nec volens homines revereri, habens de Urbis et orbis turbatione pruritum." Yet Dom Tosti attempts to gloss over this fury. i. 205.

<sup>i</sup> Dupuy, 34; Rayn. 1297. 34. As to the opinions of canonists on the resignation, see Rayn. *ib.* (pp. 228-230); Schröckh, xxvi. 530; Drumann, i. 12-3. The majority are against the Colonna view.

<sup>k</sup> Rayn. 1297. 35.

with the character of Crusaders and the promise of the indulgences granted for a holy war.<sup>m</sup> One after another their castles were reduced, until Palestrina alone held out. As its strength seemed likely to defy all assault, the pope summoned to his counsel Count Guy of Montefeltro, who, after a long life of warfare as a Ghibelline commander, during which he had often incurred and defied the heaviest censures of the church,<sup>n</sup> had lately made his peace with it, and had withdrawn into a Franciscan cloister at Ancona.<sup>o</sup> The old warrior, after having surveyed the walls of Palestrina, declared that he could not suggest any means of taking it save by the commission of a great sin. The

Sept. 1298. pope eagerly promised absolution for any sin that he might commit by giving his advice; whereupon Guy told him to "promise much, but perform little." Boniface, it is said, acted without scruple on this hint. The Colonnas were deluded by a promise that mercy should be shown to them if they would submit. The two cardinals, and two of their kinsmen, Agapetus and James, commonly called Sciarra, waited on the pope at Rieti, arrayed in penitential garb, threw themselves at his feet, implored his pardon, and received an assurance of forgiveness; but when the impregnable fortress had been surrendered into his hands, Boniface ordered that it should be razed to the ground, that the site should be ploughed up and sown with salt, and that, in order to maintain unimpaired the number of the cardinal bishopricks, a new "papal city" should be built in the neighbourhood.<sup>p</sup> And, while Boniface thus gratified his love of vengeance, the spoils of the dispossessed Colonnas enabled him to carry out his plans for the aggrandisement of his family by establishing his nephews as princes, and endowing them largely with territories.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Ib. 1297. 41-2; Gir. de Frach., contin. 15; Benv. Imol. 1111; Ptol. Luc. col. 1302.

<sup>n</sup> See Rayn. 1281. 12; 1282. 29; Sallimb. 288-9; W. Nang. 516; Tosti, i. 127, 163.

<sup>o</sup> Rayn. 1294. 15; Wadding, v. 349; Cf. G. Villani, vii. 107.

<sup>p</sup> Dante, Inf. xxvii.; Benven. Imol. 1110, seqq.; F. Pipin. in Murat. ix. 741; Ferrett. Vicent. ib. 970; Ptol. Luc., col. 1302; G. Villani, viii. 23; Murat. Ann. VII., ii. 355; Sism. R. I., iii. 144; Milim. v. 20-1. Wadding (v. 350-1) and others deny the truth of the story as to the pope and Guy of Montefeltro. Tosti argues that it is impossible, because Guy

died at Assisi in the same month in which Palestrina was surrendered (ii. Append. B). But, as Dean Milman observes, although the authorities for the story are Ghibellines, "Dante writes as of a notorious fact" (v. 22). See too, Drumann, ii. 200-2. Mr. Gregorovius supposes that the Colonnas were deceived by hopes held out in the name of Boniface, but not with the pope's own authority (v. 524-5). For the destruction of Palestrina, in which Boniface followed the example of Sylla as to the ancient Præneste, see Gregorov. v. 541-3. In 1300, he again destroyed the new town.

<sup>q</sup> See Gregorov. v. 569-575. It was



The Colonnas dispersed, some to Sicily, some to France, where King Philip was already embroiled with Boniface, and had entered into communications with them.<sup>r</sup> The two cardinals of the family found a refuge at Genoa; and it is said that, when the archbishop of that city appeared at Rome in the solemnities of Ash Wednesday, the pope showed his indignation on account of the shelter given to his enemies by throwing ashes into his eyes, and by addressing him in words altered from the form of the Church—"Remember, Ghibelline, that thou art ashes, and that with the other Ghibellines to ashes thou shalt return!"<sup>s</sup>

Towards princes beyond the Alps Boniface displayed the same imperious temper which had been shown in the affairs of Italy and Sicily. When Adolphus of Nassau, king of Germany, in consequence of wrongs done to him by Philip of France with regard to the imperial kingdom of Arles, had allied himself with England against France, and had received a subsidy of English money, the pope reproved him for having degraded the imperial dignity by lightly engaging in war.<sup>t</sup> Adolphus had never been able to make good his position. The ecclesiastical electors, headed by Gerard of Mentz, were dissatisfied with him for having failed to fulfil the promises extorted at his election; and in June, 1297, when a great number of princes were assembled at Prague for the coronation of Wenceslaus of Bohemia, Albert of Austria, the son of Rudolf, was able by large promises to win over Gerard and other electors to his interest.<sup>u</sup> A meeting of electors was held at Mentz on the eve of St. John the Baptist, 1298, when Adolphus was declared to be deposed for various misdeeds,<sup>x</sup> and Albert was chosen in his

June 23.

thus that the Gaetani acquired the duchy of Sermoneta, &c.

<sup>r</sup> See Ozanam, 'Poètes Franciscains,' 192. Among the prisoners taken at Palestrina was the Franciscan Jacopone of Todi, whose powerful though rough poetry did much to swell the general dislike of Boniface. The pope kept him in prison, and refused to release him from excommunication; it is even said that he insulted him by barbarous mockery. He was at length absolved by Benedict XI., when reversing the sentences against the Colonnas. His poems against Boniface are given by Tosti, *Append. R.* See Ozanam, 'Poètes Franciscains,' 195-203; Gregorov. v. 545; Drumann, i. 203; and below,

c. viii. sect. 3.

<sup>s</sup> Flav. Blondus, *Decad. II. l. ix. p. 335*, ed. Basil. 1559. It has been supposed that the archbishop was James de Voragine, the author of the 'Golden Legend;' but it was his successor, if the scene ever took place at all. Schröckh, xxviii. 193; Br. and For. *Quart. Rev.* xiii. 422.

<sup>t</sup> Rayn. 1295. 43; 1296. 20; Pauli, iv. 88.

<sup>u</sup> Sifrid. in *Pistor. i.* 1051; Schmidt, iii. 438-440; Böhm. 369.

<sup>x</sup> One charge was that he had degraded the empire by taking pay from his inferior, the king of England; another, that, having lessened the empire, he could not be the Augustus—a title which, although the Romans of the

stead. Adolphus, after having disregarded three citations to appear before this assembly, was pronounced contumacious; and on the 2nd of July, 1288, he lost his life in battle.<sup>y</sup> A more formal election of Albert was then carried at Frankfort, July 27, 1298. in a more numerous assembly of princes; and on the 24th of August he received the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from the hands of the archbishop of Cologne.<sup>z</sup> Both the secular and the ecclesiastical electors took the opportunity to make the new king pay for their support, by grants of lands, privileges, and royalties, in diminution of the rights of the crown. The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne got for their own vassals and for the clergy exemptions from the secular courts, similar to those exemptions which Becket had asserted in England and St. Louis had denied in France; and Albert was afterwards involved in a quarrel with the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne on account of the tolls of the Rhine, which had been granted to them, but were so exacted as to be an intolerable burden to the people.<sup>a</sup>

The electors, in notifying their choice to the pope, stated that Albert had been chosen to the vacancy caused by the death of Adolphus.<sup>b</sup> But although the precedent of deposing a king of Germany had been sanctioned, and even suggested, by Gregory VII.,<sup>c</sup> this was the first time that the German princes had taken it upon themselves to act in such a matter without the papal sanction; and Boniface, who had already denounced Albert, and was especially bitter against him for having connected himself by marriage with the detested Hohenstaufens,<sup>d</sup> now rejected all his overtures, styled him usurper of the kingdom and murderer of his sovereign, and required him to send envoys to clear his innocence, if they could, before the papal tribunal.<sup>e</sup> But, as we shall see hereafter, a more violent enmity in another quarter soon produced a change of tone towards the king of the Romans.

imperial times appear to have been uncertain as to its derivation (Sueton. de Augusto, c. 7), was interpreted in the middle ages as meaning "Increaser of the Empire," *Mehrer des Reichs*. See Sifrid, in Pistor. i. 1051; Annal. Lubic. 1291 (Pertz, xvi.); Böhmer, 158-9.

<sup>y</sup> Stero Altah. A.D. 1298; Rayn. 1298. 12-3; Schmidt, iii. 440-1; Böhmer, 192-3.

<sup>z</sup> Pertz, Leges, ii. 467-471; Rayn. 1298. 14; Schmidt, iii. 443; Böhmer,

200.

<sup>a</sup> Böhm. 231-2; Pertz, Leges, ii. 474, 477-9; Schmidt, iii. 443-7, 450.

<sup>b</sup> Schmidt, iii. 443.

<sup>c</sup> See vol. ii. 622, 626, 637, 643 (578, 581, 591, 597).

<sup>d</sup> He declared that Albert should not be king, "vivente ista Isabel [*i. e.* Jezebel] denotans Elizabet reginam, quæ ex matre soror extitit Conradini." Albert. Argentin. in Urstis, ii. 111.

<sup>e</sup> Rayn. 1301. 2; Schröckh, xxvi. 536.



England and France were now matched against each other under able, vigorous, and ambitious sovereigns—Edward I. and Philip IV., who, on account of his personal beauty, is distinguished by the epithet of “the Fair.”<sup>f</sup> But Edward, although often involved in continental wars, gradually concentrated his ambition more and more on the object of making all Britain his own by the acquisition of Wales and Scotland. The English clergy were disposed to second their king in this enterprise, and did not remonstrate against any acts either of injustice or of cruelty which he committed in order to accomplish it. But whereas in the late reign the clergy had incessantly complained of the oppressions which they suffered from the Roman court, while the king had usually endeavoured to use the influence of Rome as a counterbalance to the power and pretensions of his own ecclesiastical subjects, the position of things was now changed. The rapid succession of popes had told unfavourably for Rome; and, now that the papacy was less formidable, the English clergy were reconciled with it, so that in any struggle they were likely to take part with the pope against the king.<sup>g</sup>

In France, on the other hand, an antipapal spirit had been growing even among the clergy.<sup>h</sup> While the influence of the English crown had been sinking throughout the reigns of John and Henry III.—a period of more than seventy years—the royalty of France, under Philip Augustus and St. Louis, had greatly increased in strength. And Philip the Fair—a man singularly hard, cold, unscrupulous and selfish, thoroughly imbued with the principles of the civil lawyers as to the absolute rights of sovereignty, although without any wider or more generous feeling of care for the general good of his people<sup>i</sup>—was determined to carry it yet further, by asserting its claims both over the great feudatories who interfered with the completeness of his despotism at home, and against any pretensions of the hierarchy which might conflict with it. His hostility to the clergy had, indeed, been manifested early in his reign by an ordinance which excluded them from all share in the administration of the laws, and forbade them to appear in courts as advocates, except for chapters and convents.<sup>k</sup> Although many canons of the church might have been produced to the same

<sup>f</sup> See Chron. Anon. in Bouq. xxii. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Milm. v. 33.

<sup>h</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 185-6.

<sup>i</sup> Guizot, iii. 267; Martin, iv. 390.

<sup>k</sup> A.D. 1287. Martin, iv. 393.

effect, it was an alarming circumstance that the prohibition now came from the side of the secular power.

Both Edward and Philip were reduced to great difficulties for the means of paying the expenses of their wars. Edward had appropriated to his own use the tenths collected for a crusade.<sup>1</sup> In 1290, he had expelled all Jews from England, and, in consideration of this harshness against a detested people, had got a large subsidy from both laity and clergy.<sup>m</sup> In the following year, when a new levy of a tenth for the Holy Land had been sanctioned by Nicolas IV., the king had taken the opportunity of making a fresh assessment of property at a higher rate than

before;<sup>n</sup> and he seized the money collected in cathedrals

A.D. 1294. and monasteries, under pretence of a loan, although much of it was never restored.<sup>o</sup> After this, he demanded of the clergy one-half of their income. It was in vain that they offered a double tenth, or that, in yielding to his full demand, they begged for a repeal of the statute which had been passed early in the reign for the purpose of checking bequests to the church;<sup>p</sup> the king replied that he could not repeal a law which had been enacted by the consent of his parliament, and the clergy were obliged to be content with a redress of some minor grievances.<sup>q</sup> Moreover, to the great annoyance of the Roman court, he had always disowned the obligation to pay the ignominious tribute which had been exacted from his grandfather, John.<sup>r</sup>

In matters of finance Philip relied greatly on two Florentine bankers who were settled in France, Musciatto and Biccio dei Francesi, and by their advice he had recourse to various arts for raising money. He tampered with the coinage; he got the plate belonging to his nobles into his hands, under colour of a sumptuary law. In 1291, he imprisoned all foreign traders, and compelled them to pay for ransom. He expelled the Jews in 1301; but in five years they had returned, and had become so wealthy as to draw on themselves a fresh confiscation and expulsion.<sup>s</sup> But more money was still wanted, and Philip resolved

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1283. See p. 496. Flor. Vig. contin., p. 229; Rayn. 1283. 62; Wilkins, ii. 94, 97-8; Rymer, i. 560-1, 608, 631, 642, 705; Flor. Vigorn. contin. 229.

<sup>m</sup> Hemingb. ii. 20.

<sup>n</sup> The 'Taxatio P. Nicolai IV.' was published by the Record Commission in 1802.

<sup>o</sup> Hemingb. ii. 55; Flor. Vigorn. contin. 271-3.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 274. For the statute of Mort-

main, see below, c. viii., sect. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Hemingb. ii. 55. For other grievances, see Wilkins, ii. 115-9; Hemingb. ii. 63-9. "Nulla tunc temporis fiebat justitia clero, et passi sunt clerici injurias multas." Ib. 119.

<sup>r</sup> Rymer, i. 597, 931; Raynald. 1301. 22.

<sup>s</sup> Trivet. 316; Drumann, i. 165; Miln. v. 42-3; Sismondi, ix. 48, 175, &c.



to lay heavy taxes on the clergy, whose wealth had long been increasing in proportion to the increased security of property which had been a result of the late reigns.<sup>t</sup> In requiring the clergy to pay taxes, Philip could plead the example of popes, who had always taxed them for their own purposes, and had often allowed princes engaging in crusades to levy ecclesiastical tenths.<sup>u</sup> But the impost required by Philip, which bore the name of *maltôte*,<sup>x</sup> was new in form, as well as excessive in amount—at first a hundredth, and then a fiftieth, part of the whole property.<sup>y</sup>

By these exactions of the French and English kings, Boniface was roused to issue on the 24th of February, 1296, a bull which from its first words is known by the name of "*Clericis Laicos*"<sup>z</sup>—not naming the sovereigns against whom it was directed, but indicating them in a manner which could not be mistaken. In this document—which was indeed founded on a canon of the fourth Lateran council, but in which Boniface carried his prohibitions out more rigidly than Innocent III. had ventured to do<sup>a</sup>—it is complained that the laity are apt to encroach on the church, and that some prelates pusillanimously acquiesce in their encroachments without having obtained the license of the apostolic see. The pope, therefore, decrees that all who without such license shall have paid or promised any portion of their revenues to laymen, under whatever name or pretext, and all sovereigns who shall have imposed or received such payments, or shall have seized the money deposited in churches, shall *ipso facto* incur excommunication, from which they shall not be released except on their death-beds but by the special authority and license of the apostolic see.

<sup>t</sup> Martin, iv. 411.

<sup>u</sup> Boniface, in 1297, allowed Philip such tenths for five years. Bouq. xxi. 134.

<sup>x</sup> "Male tolta." Gir. de Frach., contin., in Bouq. xxi. 14. The word, however, was older. See Ducange, vi. 601, col. 3.

<sup>y</sup> The Cistercians stoutly refused to pay in 1294, and again in 1296; but they were compelled to pay largely afterwards. Kervyn de Lettenhove, in Patrol. clxxxv. 1840-1, 1851-2.

<sup>z</sup> "*Clericis laicos infestos oppido tradit antiquitas, &c.*" Rymer, i. 836.

<sup>a</sup> The Lateran canon seems to have been especially (if not exclusively) directed against the magistrates of the Italian

republics—"Adversus consules et rectores civitatum vel alios qui ecclesias et viros ecclesiasticos talliis seu collectis et exactionibus aliis aggravare nituntur." The council declares that the clergy are exempt; if a bishop and his clergy should be disposed to aid the necessities of the laity by contributing to some public purpose, the laity are to receive this "humbly and devoutly, with thanksgiving;" but, "because of the imprudence of some," such contributions are not to be made until after consulting the pope. (C. 46.) Boniface's bull seems to have been really meant against extraordinary taxation only. See Planck, v. 38-9; Tosti, i. 175; Herzog, ii. 300.

Neither in England nor in France was the sovereign disposed tamely to submit to this. Edward held a parliament at Bury St. Edmund's in the end of November, when the laity contributed a subsidy of a twelfth towards the Scottish war, but the clergy, on being asked for a tenth, pleaded that they were exhausted by the taxation of the preceding year, and produced the pope's late bull as exempting them. In this they were headed by the primate, Robert Winchelsey, a man of high ecclesiastical reputation,<sup>b</sup> of strong hierarchical principles, and of very resolute character, who had been on his journey to Rome for the pall when the exaction of one half was enforced in the preceding year.<sup>c</sup> The parliament was adjourned until the middle of January, when the clergy met in St. Paul's, London. There the tenth was again demanded, with the addition of a fine for the late contumacy; and when the bull "*Clericis Laicos*" was produced on the part of the clergy, it was met by a letter from the king, charging them to refrain from doing anything to the prejudice of the crown.<sup>d</sup> The primate proposed to refer the question to Rome; and Edward, on being informed of this, burst into fury. The chief justice, Roger le Brabazon, told the clergy that, by refusing to contribute towards the expenses of the government, they excluded themselves from its protection and from civil privileges. After some further but useless negotiation, all lay fees of ecclesiastics were ordered to be confiscated.<sup>e</sup> The property of Christchurch, Canterbury, and even the archbishop's riding-horses, were seized; and the monks of the cathedral were reduced to submission by want of the necessaries of life.<sup>f</sup> At this crisis two lawyers and two Dominicans excited some attention by offering at a council held in St. Paul's to maintain that the clergy were entitled to aid the crown with money in time of war notwithstanding the pope's prohibition.<sup>g</sup> The archbishop of York and others offered to compound by paying a fourth of their income, in order to pacify the king; most of the clergy

<sup>b</sup> Steph. Birchington, in Wharton, i. 12-3; Celestin. V., in Rymer, i. 810. Winchelsey was unpopular on account of his pride (Hook iii. 399). Under him the quarrel between the see of Canterbury and the monastery of St. Augustine's was renewed with great violence; and in a difference about the patronage of a church, the abbot pronounced excommunication against the archbishop. Thorn, 1986, seqq. (who is very angry with

Boniface, 2002-3).

<sup>c</sup> Trivet, 352; Milm. v. 45.

<sup>d</sup> Annal. Dunstap. 405; Wilkins, ii. 224-5.

<sup>e</sup> Barth. Cotton. 318-9; Annal. Dunstap. 405.

<sup>f</sup> Cotton. 320-2; Thorn, 965; Pauli, iv. 111-2; Hook, iii. 413.

<sup>g</sup> Matth. Westm. 430, who says, "regalem et temporalem favorem aucupantes."



followed the example, and the bishop of Lincoln, although he refused to pay, acquiesced in allowing some of his friends to pay for him.<sup>h</sup> The primate Winchelsey alone continued to hold out; he declared his brethren excommunicate, and withdrew to the parish of Chartham, near Canterbury, where he lived in the simplest fashion with the attendance of a single chaplain.<sup>i</sup>

But at this time the Scots not only repelled the English invaders of their country, but in their turn carried fire and sword into the northern counties of England,<sup>k</sup> while the king was obliged by the threatening aspect of France to resolve on going in person to the war in Flanders. By these common dangers all orders of the English were drawn together, and the stubborn spirit of the primate was brought to accept a compromise. He attended a parliament at Westminster, where a reconciliation was effected between Edward and the various orders of his subjects. But in consideration of this, the king had to make important concessions; the Magna Charta and the Forest charter were confirmed with new securities; and the privilege was secured both for the clergy and for the laity that they should not be taxed except with their own consent.<sup>m</sup> In the following year the archbishop denounced an excommunication against all who should invade ecclesiastical property, infringe July, 1298. the great charter, lay violent hands on clerks or imprison them, and against the Scots who should invade England, or commit acts of waste and violence, with all who should abet them.<sup>n</sup>

In France the king met the papal bull by publishing an ordinance which forbade the exportation of all gold Aug. 17, and silver, jewels, arms, horses, or other munitions of 1296. war from the realm.<sup>o</sup> By this ordinance, not only were many Italian ecclesiastics deprived of their revenues from benefices which they held in France, but the pope himself was cut off from the sources of income which he had enjoyed in that country. Boniface replied to this measure by a bull known by the title of "Ineffabilis," in which the full assertion of papal Sept. 21. and priestly authority is remarkably blended with professions of meekness, and of fatherly care for the king. Blandishments and threats, arguments from spiritual and from temporal considera-

<sup>h</sup> Trivet, 353; Annal. Dunstap. 405-6; Pauli, iv. 112.

<sup>i</sup> S. Birchington, 14-5; Hemingb. ii. 118; Thorn, 1966.

<sup>k</sup> Chron. Lanercost, 190.

<sup>m</sup> Statutum de Tallag., in 'Statutes of

the Realm,' i. 125; Barth. Cotton. 327; Pauli, iv. 129; Milm. v. 47; Cf. Wilkins, ii. 229, 232, as to collections in aid of the Crown.

<sup>n</sup> Wilkins, ii. 240-2; Cf. Stat. of the Realm, i. 126.

<sup>o</sup> Dupuy, 13.

tions, are mixed in a style which, if it may strike us as incongruous, faithfully reflects the various influences of Boniface's position and of his personal character, of the secular and the spiritual pretensions which were now combined in the papacy. He affects to doubt the reports which had reached him as to the king's late edict and the intention of it; if it aimed at an invasion of the church's rights, it was to be described as nothing less than insane, and as having brought the author within the sentence of excommunication. He attributes it to the influence of evil counsellors. He tells Philip that by his oppressive taxation he has chilled the affection of his subjects; that by his aggressions he has provoked the hostility of his neighbours the kings of the Romans, of England, and of Spain; what, then, could be expected, if when already beset by such perils, he should make the apostolic see also his enemy? The pope dwells pathetically on his long, anxious, watchful care for Philip—his arduous labours before he had attained the papacy, the sleepless nights which he had spent in thinking for the king's good; he speaks of the process which was then going on for the canonization of Louis IX., and of the melancholy degeneracy of that saintly prince's grandson. If the ordinance was meant as a retaliation for the "*Clericis Laicos*," that document had been quite misunderstood. It was only a re-enactment of former canons, with the specification of a penalty; it did not forbid ecclesiastics to contribute towards the public service, but merely ordered that this should not be done without the pope's special permission—a provision justified by the late exorbitant taxation of France. To say that the clergy were not now at liberty to give anything to the king was a quibbling misinterpretation of it. The pope declares that he and his brethren were prepared to suffer any extremities for the cause of the church; but that, rather than see the kingdom of France, so dear (yea, so exceedingly dear) to the holy see, in danger, he would not only allow the king to raise money from the clergy, but would give up the crucifixes and sacred vessels of churches. And he concludes by saying that he sends the bishop of Viviers to treat with Philip as his representative.<sup>p</sup>

The king replied in a document which strongly betrays the hand of his legist advisers, and enunciates doctrines which clash violently against those laid down by Boniface as to the relations

<sup>p</sup> Dupuy, 15, seqq.; Rayn. 1296. 24-32.



of the spiritual and the secular powers. Before there were any clergy, he ventures to assert, the kings of France possessed the guardianship of their kingdom, and the right of legislation. The church consists, not of clergy alone, but of laity also; and all those whom the Saviour by his death has freed are alike entitled to liberty. The pontiffs of Rome enjoy many special liberties; but this is through the grant of secular princes, and such liberties cannot do away with the rights of sovereigns, inasmuch as the things which are Cæsar's are by Divine command to be rendered to Cæsar. No member of a commonwealth may refuse to contribute its share for the government and defence of the whole; and since the property of the clergy is liable to be attacked, it is astounding that the vicar of Christ should contradict the Saviour's words by forbidding clerks, under pain of anathema, to give their fair proportion, while they are freely allowed to spend their money on luxury and revelry. The justice of the national cause is asserted as against the sovereigns whom the pope had spoken of; and the explanation which Boniface had given of his prohibition to pay taxes is retorted on him by a similar explanation of the prohibition to export money and other valuable things from France.<sup>a</sup>

The pope was now in the heat of his struggle with the Colonnas, and was therefore not disposed to provoke the French king. In February, 1297, he wrote both to Philip and to the French clergy, declaring afresh that his bull had been perverted by malicious misinterpretation, and that he allowed the clergy to help their king by their contributions.<sup>r</sup> And in another letter to the king, after laying down the principle that the legislator is the best interpreter of his own law, he declares that ecclesiastics may pay taxes if they do so without compulsion; that a requisition on the part of the government does not interfere with the freedom of the payment, and that in case of necessity the king may at once levy taxes without asking the papal permission; nor did the pope pretend to interfere with the feudal obligations of the clergy.<sup>s</sup> But at the same time he ordered his legates to denounce the king's officials, or even the king himself, as excommunicate, if he or they should interfere with the transmission of the papal revenue from France.<sup>t</sup> The pope became aware

<sup>a</sup> Dupuy, 21-3. See Giesel. II., ii. 188-9; Milin. v. 53-4.

<sup>r</sup> Dupuy, 24; Rayn. 1297. 43-7, 49; Mart. Thes. i. 1288.

<sup>s</sup> "Noveritis," &c., dated at Orvieto, 2 Kal. Aug. 1297. Dupuy, 39.

<sup>t</sup> Rayn. 1297. 48.

that he could not reckon on the French clergy as his allies; for the archbishop of Reims and his suffragans addressed to him a supplication that he would not continue an interference which disturbed the peace between them and their sovereign.<sup>u</sup> A good understanding appeared to be again established. The pope felt the importance of retaining as his ally that power which had always been the chief supporter of the papacy. He granted Philip the ecclesiastical tenth for three years; he promised to help the king's brother, Charles of Valois, to the throne of Germany and to the imperial crown;<sup>x</sup> and he published a bull for the canonization of the king's grandfather, Louis IX., which the kings of France had for twenty years been endeavouring to obtain, but which had been hitherto prevented by the frequent vacancies in the papacy.<sup>y</sup> It is remarkable that Boniface, in his later references to this canonization, always speaks of it as if it were not so much a tribute due to the merits of Louis, as a favour for which his descendants ought to be grateful to the holy see.<sup>z</sup>

Boniface, in the beginning of his pontificate, had assumed the power of arbitrating between the kings of France and England by sending two cardinals, who were authorised to treat with them, and to release them from any oaths or engagements.<sup>a</sup> But the kings had not been willing to admit such a claim—more especially Philip, who, before the papal letters were read, required the legates to acknowledge the king's exclusive sovereignty over France;<sup>b</sup> and the legates were unable to effect anything. The pope now again urged his mediation on the kings through the generals of the two great mendicant orders;<sup>c</sup> but although Edward, hard pressed in the Flemish war, welcomed, and even solicited, his interference, Philip would only admit it on condition that the arbiter should not act as pope, but as a private person. Boniface accepted this condition, and on the 30th of June, 1298, he issued his award—"as a private person, and Master Benedict Gaetani." But notwithstanding this profession, the document was in the form of a bull,<sup>d</sup> and it ordered that the territories which were to be given up on either side should be committed to the keeping of the pope's officers. Philip was very indignant, both because the substance of the

<sup>u</sup> Dupuy, 26.

<sup>x</sup> G. Villani, viii. 62.

<sup>y</sup> Wadding, v. 98-100; 365-371. See W. Nang. 520; Rayn. 1278.; 1281. 19; Annal. S. Rudb. Salisb. A.D. 1282 (Pertz,

ix.); Salimb. 351-2.

<sup>z</sup> Sismondi, ix. 28.

<sup>a</sup> Trivet, 353; Milin. v. 36.

<sup>b</sup> Dupuy, 28. <sup>c</sup> Trivet, 369.

<sup>d</sup> Rymer, i. 894; Rayn. 1298. 2, 6.



judgment was in his opinion too favourable to Edward, and because Boniface had foisted into it that official character which had been expressly excluded by the terms of the arbitration.<sup>e</sup> When the bull was read by a bishop before the king and his council, Count Robert of Artois, Philip's brother, snatched it from the reader's hand, and threw it into the fire, swearing that he would not allow the pope to treat the king and the kingdom so ill; and such was the general feeling of the French nobles.<sup>f</sup>

Philip saw that a severe contest with Boniface was at hand, and began to make preparations for it. He entered into close relations with the banished Colonnas,<sup>g</sup> and entertained in his court two members of the family—Stephen, a nephew of the elder cardinal, and James, who was known by the name of Sciarra—a man who carried to an extreme the rude lawlessness for which the race was noted, and whom it is said that Philip had redeemed from captivity among pirates.<sup>h</sup> The king also concluded a formal alliance with Albert of Austria, whom the pope had steadily refused to acknowledge as king of the Romans. This alliance was “against every man”—a phrase which clearly included the pope, if it was not even intended expressly to point at him; and the announcement of it which Philip sent to Boniface—stating that the treaty set him at liberty A.D. 1299. for a crusade (which Boniface well knew that he did not seriously intend to undertake)—was rather alarming than assuring.<sup>i</sup>

But at this time Boniface was engaged in a celebration which in great measure diverted his thoughts from other affairs, and which displayed the papacy in its greatest splendour. In the beginning of the year 1299, expectations began to be vaguely current at Rome that the last year of the century would be distinguished by extraordinary spiritual privileges; and on Christmas-day St. Peter's was filled by crowds, all eagerly expecting something, although not knowing what.<sup>k</sup> How these

<sup>e</sup> See his letter of Nov. 1, 1302. Planck, who is strangely favourable to Boniface, says that he gave his judgment the form of a bull, because he was sure that it would satisfy all parties! (v. 65-6). On the misstatements of some French writers as to the substance of the judgment, which, in Mr. Hallam's opinion, “is very equitable,” see Hallam, *M. A.*, ii. 28.

<sup>f</sup> G. Villani, viii. 62.

<sup>g</sup> See Ozanam, *Poètes Français*. 192.

<sup>h</sup> He appears to have been a brother

of the younger cardinal. See Litta, ‘*Famiglie Illustri*.’

<sup>i</sup> Milman, v. 76. Some say that William de Nogaret, on carrying this announcement, had high words with the pope. But the story is said to be unsupported by any old authority. Schröckh, xxvi. 550; Planck, v. 74.

<sup>k</sup> Card. S. Geo., c. 1. [An account of the Jubilee by James, cardinal of St. George in the Velabro, and nephew of Boniface] in *Bibl. Patr.* xxv.; G. Villani, viii. 36.

expectations were suggested, does not appear; for the assertion on which they rested, that every previous centenary year had been distinguished in like manner, was utterly groundless.<sup>m</sup> But the craving for indulgences, which had been excited by the crusades, was as strong as ever, although the crusades were at an end; and it turned not unnaturally towards Rome for that satisfaction which was no longer to be sought in the Holy Land. At length, it is said, the report of the general agitation reached the ears of the pope, who thereupon caused an inquiry to be made; and, although the written documents did not give such testimony as was desired, the defect was readily accounted for by ascribing it to the supposed loss of records, and to the troubles of former times.<sup>n</sup> Boniface, easily satisfied on this point, took up the matter with an energetic zeal which has led some writers to suppose that the first suggestion of the jubilee was his own; and after a time living evidence was produced in favour of the general belief. One very aged man declared that, as a boy of seven, he had attended the jubilee a hundred years before, and gave testimony as to the indulgences then bestowed.<sup>o</sup> Another old impostor, a Savoyard of respectable station, appeared at Rome, carried by his sons, and told a similar story; <sup>p</sup> and it was said that other survivors of the last jubilee were still to be found in France.<sup>q</sup>

On the 22nd of February, a bull was issued, promising indulgences of extraordinary fullness <sup>r</sup> to all who within the current year should with due penitence and devotion visit the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul—Romans for thirty successive days, and strangers for fifteen—and directing that the jubilee should in future be celebrated every hundredth year.<sup>s</sup> But from the benefits of this indulgence the enemies of the church were to be excluded—and among these were expressly named Frederick of Sicily, the Colonnas, and those who should receive them—a description which included Philip of France. From every part of Latin Christendom crowds of persons of all ranks <sup>t</sup> began to pour towards Rome. The chronicler John Villani, who was present, says that there were always 200,000 strangers in the city;<sup>u</sup>

<sup>m</sup> See Schröckh, xxviii. 169. Perhaps there may have been some remembrance of the ancient secular games, Milm. v. 62.

<sup>n</sup> Card. S. Geo., 1.

<sup>o</sup> Card. S. Geo., 2.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. c. 2.

<sup>r</sup> "Non solum plenam et largiorem,

imo plenissimam, omnium suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum."

<sup>s</sup> Bibl. Patr. xxv. 943; Card. S. Geo., 3. Cf. Baillet, 332.

<sup>t</sup> It was, however, remarked that the only king who attended was the titular Charles Martel, of Hungary. Gregorov. v. 555.

<sup>u</sup> viii. 36.



another chronicler tells us that it seemed as if an army were marching each way at all hours along a certain street;<sup>x</sup> and a more illustrious eye-witness, Dante, draws a simile from the multitudes who passed to and from St. Peter's along the bridge of St. Angelo, which in order to avoid confusion, was divided by a partition.<sup>y</sup> The Ghibelline poet was not conciliated either towards the papacy or towards the pope by the scenes which he witnessed at the jubilee.<sup>z</sup>

The measures taken for the sustenance of the vast multitude were so successful that Boniface's eulogists find in them a parallel to the multiplication of the loaves and fishes in the Gospel.<sup>a</sup> Rents were indeed high, and, in consequence of the great number of horses which were brought together, the price of fodder was increased;<sup>b</sup> but by taking timely advantage of an unusually copious harvest, the pope was able to provide such stores of food that the pilgrims found it both plentiful and cheap.<sup>c</sup> At Christmas, when the year of jubilee naturally ended, the time of indulgence was extended by a papal letter to the following Easter, and a share of its privileges was declared to be bestowed on such pilgrims as died on their journey.<sup>d</sup> The wealth which flowed into the papal coffers from the jubilee was enormous. Offerings were heaped up on the altars of the two great churches which contained the tombs of the Apostles. A chronicler tells us that at St. Paul's he saw two of the clergy with rakes in their hands, employed day and night in "raking together infinite money;" and, although Boniface bestowed a portion of the receipts in adding to the property of the basilicas, there can be no reasonable doubt that much remained in his own hands.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 724.

<sup>y</sup> Inferno, xviii. 28-33. See Benven. Imol. 1070.

<sup>z</sup> Yet Dom Tosti supposes that the judicial grandeur of Boniface's position gave Dante the idea of his poem (ii. 75). John Villani tells us that the sight of Rome, and the perusal of its ancient history, set him on writing the history of Florence, which he began on returning from the Jubilee (viii. 36). Tosti supposes Giotto to have been drawn to Rome by Boniface's patronage, and probably in the year of the Jubilee (ii. 71). But this is doubted, although he painted the pope proclaiming the Jubilee. See the engraving in Ciacon. ii. 304, from the painting in the church of St. John Lateran.

<sup>a</sup> Card. S. Geo. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 5; Annal. Parm. 724; Ventura, Chron. Astens. 16 (Mon. Hist. Patriæ, iii. 735); G. Villani, l. c.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Patr. xxv. 944.

<sup>e</sup> Ventura, 16. Ptolemy of Lucca reckons the offerings at 1000 Perugian pounds a day. (Murat. xi. 1220.) Tosti is very desirous to reduce Boniface's gains. The money (he says) looked infinite, because it was in small coin; and the pope spent it partly in purchasing lands for the two great churches, and partly in cheapening provisions (ii. Append. E.). See, however, Drumann, ii. 253; Gregorovius, v. 551-2. It would seem that the cheapness of provisions was really due rather to the pope's foresight than to

It is said that Boniface, after having appeared in pontifical robes at the opening of the jubilee, showed himself next day in the attire of an emperor, with a sword in his hand, quoting the text "Behold here are two swords;" and that when ambassadors from Albert appeared for the purpose of entreating that he would relent towards their master, and bestow on him the imperial crown, he received them sitting on his throne with a sword at his side, and the "crown of Constantine" on his head, and, laying his hand on the hilt of the sword, answered that he himself was Cæsar and emperor, as well as successor of St. Peter.<sup>f</sup> The pope was now at the height of his greatness. Although some of his pretensions had not passed without question, he had never yet been foiled in any considerable matter; and, while the enthusiasm of the jubilee filled his treasury, the veneration of the congregated multitudes waited on him as uniting the highest spiritual and temporal dominion.

It would be out of place to relate here in detail the course of affairs in Scotland after the death of Alexander III.;—how

A.D. 1292. Edward, acting as arbiter between the rival claimants of the crown, had set up the weak John Balliol, who, at his coronation, did homage to the king of England as his suzerain;<sup>g</sup> how Balliol, on displaying some feeling of the independent rights of his kingdom, was ignominiously compelled by his patron to resign,<sup>h</sup> and, while Edward pro-

his munificence. A rhyming chronicler, in Bouquet, xxii. 89, has such verses as these—

"Tel i ala en bèle guise  
Qui s'en revint en sa chemise.  
Chevaliers, barons, clers, prouvoires,  
Y aloient com folz à foires.  
Ainsi nous a pris au lardon,  
Boniface par sa pardon.

\* \* \*  
Dont le pape en fut plus riche," &c.

<sup>f</sup> F. Pipin. iii. 47 (Murat. ix.); Ferret. Vicent. ib. 995. Perhaps there is exaggeration in this story (which Drumann disbelieves, ii. 254) but it can hardly be without some foundation. See Cave, ii. 338; Giesel. II. ii. 194; Milm. vi. 77; Martin, iv. 423; Patrol. clxxxv. 1900-1902. Dante has been supposed to refer to the scene in Purg. xvi. 106, seqq. :—

"Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo,  
Due Soli aver, che l'una e l'altra strada  
Facèn vedere, e del mondo e di Deo.  
L'un l'altro ha spento; ed è giunta la spada  
Col pastorale; e l'uno e l'altro insieme  
Per viva forza mal convien che vada;  
Perocchè, giunti, l'un l'altro non teme."

<sup>g</sup> There is, of course, much dispute as to the English claim of suzerainty over Scotland. In so far as it rested on the homage done by William the Lion to Henry II. (see p. 149) it had been annulled by a charter of Richard I., so that nothing was now due except the homage which had been anciently performed by the Scottish kings (E. W. Robertson, ii. 405); and it seems pretty clear that this was for their territories in England and in Normandy only, although Edward had endeavoured to draw Alexander III. into an acknowledgment which might be more largely understood. See Trivet, 299, and the editor's note; Rishanger, i. 135; Hemingb. ii. 38; Flor. Vigorn. contin. ii. 245, seqq. 266; Lingard, ii. 398-400 (who is strong for the English claim); Tytler, i. 46-7, 76-85; Mackintosh, i. 257-8; Pauli, iv. 53-4, 64.

<sup>h</sup> Annal. Dunstapl. 204; Tytler, i. 104; Lingard, ii. 449-450. The Lanercost chronicler traces Balliol's loss both of the kingdom and of his lands in



ceeded to treat Scotland as a fief which had become vacant, and so was at the disposal of the over-lord, a national resistance was organised under William Wallace, a private gentleman, who, although the great nobles of the country in A.D. 1297. general stood aloof from him, for a time heroically made head against the English, and even carried the war into the enemy's land.<sup>1</sup> But the overthrow of the Scots at the battle of July 22, Falkirk<sup>k</sup> had compelled Wallace to seek a refuge in 1298. France, and Edward required the Scots to do homage to him as suzerain. On this, the Scottish regency, acting in Balliol's name, appealed to Boniface, claiming the pope as the immediate suzerain of the kingdom—a connexion of which traces had not been wanting in earlier times, and which may indeed have naturally arisen out of a wish to provide against the encroachments of a powerful neighbour, by admitting a subjection which other nations also acknowledged, and in which there was not necessarily anything degrading.<sup>m</sup> To such an appeal Boniface was not likely to turn a deaf ear; and, having been in England with cardinal Ottobuoni in his legation, thirty years before, he was able to discuss the matter with some knowledge of the circumstances. He wrote to Edward that Scotland, as an June 27, ancient catholic country, had always been immediately 1299. subject to the holy see; that her kings had owned no feudal subjection to the English crown except for such lands as they held within the English border; that the independence of Scotland appeared from the fact that a legate commissioned to England could not without a fresh commission enter the more northern kingdom. The king was desired to release the Scotch bishops and ecclesiastics whom he held in prison, and, if he still supposed himself to have any title to Scotland, he was required to send representatives, with evidence in behalf of his claim,

England to his descent from Hugh de Morville, one of Becket's murderers—that, as Hugh wounded the martyr in the head [which he did not], “sic deinceps nullus de ejus progenie exstittit a quo non fuerit translata aut capitis discretio aut terrarum possessio,” 179.

<sup>1</sup> Rishang. i. 152, 158, 165, 171, 180, seqq.; Tytler, ii. 109, seqq. The author of the ‘*Annales Angliæ et Scotiæ*’ (ib. 383) describes Wallace as a man of ignoble birth, “qui arcu et pharetra victum quærebat.” The Lanercost chronicler styles him “virum sanguineum, qui prius fuerat in Scotia princeps latronum” (p. 100). In truth, he was driven by fear of the ven-

geance of the English for what he had done in opposition to them to betake himself to the life of an outlaw. Much is also said by English chroniclers (*e. g.* Matth. Westm. 451) of the cruelties which Wallace committed, and for which even the oppressions of his country are but an imperfect excuse. But, although in our own time some English writers have vehemently assailed the memory of the national Scottish hero, it has less to fear from them than from his indiscreet eulogists.

<sup>k</sup> Rishang. i. 187; Tytler, i. 143-6.

<sup>m</sup> See Lingard, ii. 560; Milm. v. 58.

within six months to the papal court, to which Boniface professed to reserve all such questions.<sup>n</sup>

This document was entrusted to the archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>o</sup> who, not without some serious peril, conveyed it to Edward, whom he found besieging Caerlaverock Castle.<sup>p</sup> On hearing the contents of the bull, with some words of the archbishop about Jerusalem and Sion protecting their people,<sup>q</sup> Edward is said to have burst out, "By God's blood, for Sion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, so long as breath is in my nostrils, from defending with all my might what all the world knows to be my right!"<sup>r</sup> He deferred his formal answer;<sup>s</sup> but he practically showed his regard for the papal mandate by proceeding to require the homage of a new bishop of Glasgow, and he took measures for putting his pretensions into the most imposing shape. Letters were addressed to abbots and deans, desiring them to search the archives of their churches for evidence on the subject, and to send it to a parliament which was to be held at Lincoln; and with a like object each of the universities was desired to send some of its learned men to the same parliament.<sup>t</sup> The parliament met accordingly; five representatives from each of the universities asserted the legality of his claims over Scotland, and a hundred

Jan. 20, and four nobles, headed by Bigod earl of Norfolk and 1301. Bohun earl of Hereford (usually opponents of the crown), subscribed a document in which it was declared that the pope's claim was a novelty; that England had always held the superiority over Scotland, without being responsible to any one; that, even if the king were disposed to argue the question before the pope, they would not allow him to stoop so low; and

<sup>n</sup> Rymer, i. 907; Rayn. 1299. 14; Rishang. 198; Hemingb. ii. 189, seqq.; Wilkins, ii. 257-9; Tytler, i. 367-9; Pauli, iv. 148. There are many documents of this time in Rymer, and some in Theiner's 'Monumenta,' 170, seqq.

<sup>o</sup> M. Westm. 435.

<sup>p</sup> See his report to the pope in Matth. Westm. 437. The bull and the letter to the archbishop which accompanied it, are dated in the end of June, 1299; yet the delivery to the king was not until August 26, 1300. This delay is styled by Dr. Lingard "unaccountable" (ii. 562); Tosti supposes the archbishop to have been in fault (ii. 26); and Dean Milman, although he reminds us that the jubilee may have engrossed the papal court, to

the neglect of all other business, thinks, from "the haughty tone, and almost menace, of the papal letters" (MS. Brit. Mus.) "that there seems to have been some timid reluctance or delay on the part of the primate" (v. 61). Yet from the statement in Walsingham (i. 81-2, ed. Riley) that a Lombard was sent by the pope to the archbishop, and accompanied him into Scotland, it would seem as if the delay had been mainly chargeable on some one other than Winchelsey.

<sup>q</sup> For "confoderet," read "confoveret."

<sup>r</sup> Walsingh. i. 82, ed. Riley (Chron. ad Win.).

<sup>s</sup> M. Westm. 439.

<sup>t</sup> Rymer, i. 923-4.



they beg the pope to leave him undisturbed in the enjoyment of his rights.<sup>u</sup> Edward himself wrote to beg that Boniface would not be misled by false information; and (in order, as he professed, to explain the truth of the case, not as acknowledging the pope's jurisdiction) he entered into a statement of his claims, in which the suzerainty of England was deduced from the fabulous history of Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>x</sup> May 7.  
Boniface was too deeply engaged in his quarrel with France to reply to these representations. But he put the English case into the hands of the Scotch ambassador, Baldred Bisset, and in due time the claim derived from Brute the Trojan and other such legendary worthies was confronted by one which rested on the equally authentic history of the Princess Scota, daughter of King Pharaoh of Egypt, while the papal suzerainty was deduced from Constantine's Donation, which bestowed all islands on Pope Sylvester and his successors.<sup>y</sup>

The differences with Philip had become more complicated and more serious. In 1299 the pope had suspended two bishops in the south of France, and Philip had attempted to exercise the *regale* by seizing the incomes of their sees as in a case of vacancy. But the pope objected on the ground that suspension did not vacate a see, and, with a view to this and other affairs, he sent as legate into France Bernard de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers. The see of Pamiers—a city which was formerly subject to the counts of Foix, and, in consequence of the Albigensian war, had passed first to the elder Simon de Montfort, and afterwards to the crown—had been created by Boniface in 1296, without asking the king's consent;<sup>z</sup> and it had been bestowed on Bernard, who was abbot of a monastery, and in that character lord of the city—an arrogant, violent, and turbulent man.<sup>a</sup> The choice of such an envoy seems to indicate an intention to irritate the king; and when the legate remonstrated as to the treatment of the count of Flanders, whom Philip had treacherously imprisoned, with his wife and daughter,<sup>b</sup> the king

<sup>u</sup> Rymer, i. 924; Rishang. i. 200-8; Trivet, 381; Pauli, iv. 150. See Hume; Hemingb. ii. 209, seqq.; Trivet, 392, ii. 221-2.

seqq.; Pauli, iv. 150-1; Miln. v. 69-70. See also the letter of the commons in Rishanger, 208, seqq. Lingard quotes the letter of the barons as showing "how accurately our ancestors could distinguish between the spiritual and temporal authority of the pontiff," ii. 563.

<sup>x</sup> Rymer, i. 932-3; Hemingb. ii. 196;

<sup>y</sup> Lingard, ii. 565-6 (from Fordun).

<sup>z</sup> Rayn. 1295. 53. See Tosti, i. 170-2.

<sup>a</sup> Bonif. in Dupuy, 625; Schröckh, xxvi. 550-1.

<sup>b</sup> The count had been enticed by a promise made to him by Charles of Valois, which the king disavowed. Sismondi, ix. 52-3, 73; Planck, v. 88.

reminded him that he was his subject. The legate replied that, although Pamiers was in France, he acknowledged no lord but the pope; whereupon the king in anger dismissed him, and sent him back to Rome. Boniface, however, took no other notice of his offence than by sending him home to his diocese.<sup>c</sup>

Philip, provoked by this, caused information to be collected against Bernard—some of it, it is said, by torturing his servants—and the bishop was brought to trial before a parliament at Senlis, where Peter Flotte, one of the ablest of the king's legal Oct. 24, counsellors,<sup>d</sup> brought forward a monstrous set of charges 1301. against him—that he had spoken in gross disparagement of the king, both as to his descent and as to his personal character; that he had abused the French nation as compared with the men of the South; that he had entered into treacherous correspondence with the king of England; that he had denied that Pamiers was in the kingdom of France, and had attempted to stir up the count of Foix and others to revolt; that he had declared, on the authority of a pretended prophecy of St. Louis, that the kingdom of France was to come to an end under the reigning sovereign.<sup>e</sup> Of these charges some are utterly incredible, and their character throws suspicion over the rest.<sup>f</sup> But the bishop, notwithstanding his denials, was condemned, and the king made him over to his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, for degradation. The archbishop, however, who was under special obligations to the pope for having supported him against Philip on a former occasion,<sup>g</sup> insisted that the bishop should not be treated as a prisoner, although he ordered him to be watched; and the pope required that he should be sent to Rome for judgment.<sup>h</sup> The chancellor, Peter Flotte, was sent to urge the king's suit against the bishop, and with him was William de Nogaret, a lawyer of acute mind and daring spirit, who is said to have been animated by the remembrance that his grandfather had been burnt at Toulouse as a heretic.<sup>i</sup> These envoys were instructed to charge the bishop, among other things, with having spoken violently, not only against the king, but against the pope himself.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Gir. de Fracheto, contin. in Bouq. xxi. 19.

<sup>d</sup> A Ghent annalist describes him as "vir astutus, et potens in consilio regis," A.D. 1302 (Pertz, xvi.).

<sup>e</sup> Dupuy, 653-6; Cf. 627, 651; Murat. Thes. i. 1330.

<sup>f</sup> "The prosecution against the

bishop of Pamiers," says M. Guizot, "is a pattern of iniquity and violence," iii. 281. Cf. Tosti, ii. 127; Milman, v. 80.

<sup>g</sup> Milman, ib. <sup>h</sup> Mart. Thes. i. 1325-8, 1336; Rayn. 1301. 28; Dupuy, 657-662.

<sup>i</sup> Schröckh, xxvi. 552. See below, p. 541.

<sup>k</sup> Dupuy, 632-3; Milman, v. 81.



The mission served only to bring out more distinctly the irreconcilable difference between the parties. At the last interview, it is said that Boniface angrily declared that he possessed the temporal power as well as the spiritual; to which Peter Flotte replied, "Your power is only in words; but ours is real."<sup>m</sup>

The pope, greatly incensed, issued four documents which bear date on the same day. In one of these, he desired Philip to release the bishop of Pamiers, to allow him to go freely to Rome, and to give up his confiscated property.<sup>n</sup> By another, he summoned the prelates and other representatives of the French clergy to a council which was to be held at Rome in the following November, with a view to the redress of the French church's grievances<sup>o</sup>—a daring and unprecedented assumption of power over a prince's ecclesiastical subjects. A third document, known by the title of *Salvator mundi*, suspended all privileges which had been granted to Philip or to his predecessors.<sup>p</sup> But the most noted of the four was a long letter addressed to Philip, and beginning with the words "Ausculta fili."<sup>q</sup> In this, affecting a tone of parental solicitude, Boniface solemnly reminds the king of his Christian profession. He lays down that God had set the pope over kings and kingdoms, "to pluck down, destroy, scatter, rebuild, and plant." He reproves Philip for the faults of his government—that he had oppressed his people, falsified the coinage, invaded the patronage of ecclesiastical dignities, seized the income of vacant sees, prevented intercourse with the Roman court, interfered with the immunities of the clergy, both as to taxation and as to jurisdiction; and that, although already often admonished as to these faults, he had not corrected them. The pope contrasts Philip's apathy as to the cause of the Holy Land, with the zeal of his crusading ancestors; he warns him against the deceits of evil counsellors, who "like false prophets" lead him astray; and he invites him to appear in person or by proxy before the council which was about to assemble at Rome.

Philip, instead of allowing this manifesto to provoke him to any rash action, proceeded to meet it with calculating coolness.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Rishanger, i. 197; M. Westmon. 434. Drumann disbelieves the story of this mission (ii. 13-4); but see Milman, v. 80. <sup>n</sup> Rayn. 1301. 28. <sup>o</sup> Ib. 29; Dupuy, 53-4. <sup>p</sup> Dupuy, 42. The substance only is given by Rayn. 1301. 33. <sup>q</sup> This is given by Raynaldus partly under the year 1301. 31; partly under 1311. 23-8, but more fully by Dupuy, 48, seqq. <sup>r</sup> Planck, v. 102.

After deep consideration with his counsellors, he resolved to drop the affair of the bishop of Pamiers, lest other bishops of his kingdom should be alienated from him, and to concentrate all his energies on a direct opposition to the pope. Bernard de Saisset was allowed to accompany the envoy who had brought the papal letters, on his return to Rome; the bull *Ausculda* was read before a crowd of nobles and knights assembled in the royal court, when the king declared that he would not acknowledge his own sons for his heirs if they admitted any authority over the kingdom of France, save that of God alone:<sup>s</sup> and a general feeling of indignation was aroused.<sup>t</sup>

About the same time another document was circulated, which is known by the name of the Short Letter or Lesser Bull.<sup>u</sup> In substance, this contained nothing but what was in the *Ausculda fili*; but it is a question whether it really proceeded from the pope, or whether—with its peremptory shortness, its neglect of the usual greetings, its abrupt and rude manner of stating the most offensive Roman claims, its omission of those charges which, as stated in the *Ausculda*, might have excited Philip's subjects against him—it ought not to be considered as an abridgment, drawn up by some of the king's legal counsellors for the purpose of rendering the pope odious to the commonalty of France.<sup>x</sup> And with this letter was circulated an answer, in the king's name, of equal brevity, meeting the pope's assertions with direct contradiction in a tone of coarse and even vulgar insolence.<sup>y</sup> From these

<sup>s</sup> "Si advoharent ab aliquo vivente, nisi solummodo a Deo, regnum Franciæ."

<sup>t</sup> Dupuy, 59.

<sup>u</sup> "Bonifacius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Philippo Francorum regi. Deum time, et mandata ejus observa. Scire te volumus quod in spiritualibus et temporalibus nobis subes. Beneficiorum et præbendarum ad te collatio nulla spectat; et si aliquorum vacantium custodiam habeas, fructus eorum successoribus reserves; et si qua contulisti, collationem hujusmodi irritam decernimus, et quantum de facto processerit, revocamus. Aliud autem credentes, hæreticos reputamus. Datum Laterani Non. Dec." &c. (The same date as the other documents.) Dupuy, 44.

<sup>x</sup> Planck (v. 96), Martin (iv. 429), and Drumann (ii. 24-5), think the letter spurious. On the other side, see Neand. ix. 9. Gieseler (II., ii. 199, 200, 203) supposes it to have been given to the nuccio, for the purpose of being used in extremity, and to have been sent back by

him after he had set out on his return. Sismondi (ix. 85-8) and Dean Milman (v. 83) hesitate.

<sup>y</sup> "Philippus D. G. Francorum rex Bonifacio se gerenti pro summo pontifice salutem modicam, seu nullam. Sciat tua maxima fatuitas, in temporalibus nos alicui non subesse; ecclesiarum ac præbendarum vacantium collationem ad nos jure regio pertinere; fructus earum nostros facere; collationes a nobis hactenus factas et in posterum faciendas fore validas in præteritum et futurum; et earum possessores contra omnes viriliter nos tueri; secus autem credentes, fatuos et dementes reputamus. Datum Parisiis" (Dupuy, 44; Giesel. II. ii. 200. This letter was doubtless, as Sismondi (ix. 88) Drumann (ii. 30) and M. Martin say, intended chiefly for circulation among the French (430). But that it was also actually sent to the pope, appears likely from the circumstance that Ste. Palaye found it in a Vatican MS. (Schröckh, xxvi. 556.)



short documents, the popular opinion as to the contents of the larger bull, and as to the merits of the quarrel between the pope and the king, was derived; and, trusting to the impression thus produced, Philip, a fortnight after the reading of the *Ausculda* before his nobles, caused it to be burnt in his own presence, and the burning to be proclaimed with the sound of the trumpet through the streets of Paris.<sup>z</sup>

Philip had now assured himself that, notwithstanding all the reasons for dissatisfaction which he might have given his subjects, he could rely on them in a contest with the pope; and on the 10th of April, 1302, an assembly of the estates of the realm met in the cathedral of Paris. It was the first time that the representatives of the towns—the “third estate”—had been summoned to sit with the clergy and nobles; and it has been remarked that, whereas in England the representation of the commons had been instituted by the barons in their contest with the crown, in France it was the most despotic of her mediæval sovereigns that called them in as allies in a struggle for national independence against the pope.<sup>a</sup>

The proceedings were opened by the chancellor, Peter Flotte, in a speech which was intended to conciliate all the orders by enlarging on the encroachments which each of them had suffered at the hands of the papacy. To the clergy he pointed out that the pope bestowed all churches of France on foreigners who did not reside on their preferments; that he deprived the bishops of their patronage, interfered with the exercise of their duties, preyed on them by making it necessary that they should continually offer presents, and taxed the church enormously by exactions of all sorts. He asked the assembled representatives of France, whether the kingdom was to stand immediately under God, or to be subject to the pope. The impetuous count Robert of Artois declared that, if the king were disposed to submit to the pope, the nobles would not; and Peter du Bosc, a Norman lawyer, brought a written charge of heresy against Boniface, for having attempted to deprive the king of that which he held from God.<sup>b</sup> The clergy yielded to the general feeling—perhaps the more readily because the overwhelming force of the lay orders furnished an excuse which might be

Böhmer thinks it certainly spurious, and probably no older than the age of the Reformation! 341.

<sup>z</sup> Dupuy, 59; Milm. v. 86. Perhaps, says Martin, it was the short bull, and not

the *Ausculda* that was publicly burnt, 430.

<sup>a</sup> Martin, iv. 429. See Hallam, i. 169; Guizot, iii. 274.

<sup>b</sup> Dupuy, 45; Neand. ix. 10.

pleaded to the pope;° but they asked leave to attend the proposed council at Rome, and met with a refusal. Each of the orders drew up a letter—that of the clergy addressed to the pope; the others, to the cardinals. The clergy, while they approach the pope with a tone of deep respect, are careful to inform him of the hard things which had been spoken against him by the king and the nobles; they speak plainly of the many late encroachments of Rome on France; and they explain that they had been driven by the difficulties of their position to declare themselves bound by feudal duty to the king.<sup>d</sup> The barons and the third estate wrote in their native language. The nobles dwell on the violent and wrongful acts of the existing pope, which, they say, had disturbed the ancient friendship between the Roman church and the kingdom of France, and they declare that nothing could induce them to seek redress of any grievances which they might have from the pope, or from any other authority than their king.<sup>e</sup> The letter of the third estate is unfortunately lost.

To the letters of the lay orders the cardinals replied by denying the truth of some charges which had been brought  
 June 28. against the pope, and by justifying his proceedings as to other points. “We wish you,” they told the nobles, “to be assured that our lord, the chief pontiff, never wrote to the king that he was temporally subject to him in respect of his kingdom, and ought to hold it from him. . . . Wherefore, the proposition which Peter Flotte has advanced, had a sandy and false foundation, and, therefore, the superstructure must of necessity fall.”<sup>f</sup> The pope’s answer to the clergy (*Verba delirantis*) was in a more violent strain. The words of a daughter who is beside herself, he says, however monstrous they may be, cannot stain the purity of her mother, or change the mother’s love into hatred. Yet, while vehemently rebuking the French clergy for their weakness in yielding to secular force, and allowing themselves to be misled by “that Belial, Peter Flotte, half-seeing in body, and wholly blind in mind,” he, like the cardinals, declares that his former statement as to the relations of the papacy and the French kingdom had been misunderstood; that he had never claimed temporal suzerainty over France as over some other kingdoms. But, he said, no one could deny that the king was subject to him “in respect of sin;” the temporal

° Martin, iv. 431.

<sup>d</sup> Dupuy, 67-71.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 60.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 63-4. The answer to the commons is at p. 71.



power must be under the spiritual ; for to hold otherwise would be the error of believing in the existence of two independent principles.<sup>g</sup>

Soon after the date of this letter, a consistory was held at Rome, at which the same line was taken by the speakers. The cardinal of Porto, Matthew Acquasparta, denied that the pope had ever said that the king ought to consider himself as holding his crown under the church. There are, he said, two jurisdictions—the spiritual, which belongs to the pope as chief, and the temporal, which belongs to kings and emperors. The pope may take cognizance of all temporal matters, and may judge of them in respect of sin : and thus temporal jurisdiction belongs to him of right, as vicar of Christ and St. Peter. But it does not belong to him as to use and actual execution ; wherefore, it was said to St. Peter, “Put up thy sword into the sheath.”<sup>h</sup>

The cardinal’s speech was followed by one from the pope, who began in a conciliatory tone—setting out with the text “What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder,” and professing an earnest regard for the welfare of the king of France. But by degrees Boniface’s passion broke out. He spoke vehemently of the king’s offences against the church ; of his evil counsellors, especially Peter Flotte, “that Ahithophel, that man of the devil, whom God hath already punished in part—partly blind in body, wholly blind in mind—that man of vinegar and gall, a man to be accounted and condemned as an heretic”<sup>i</sup>—who had falsified his letter, or had given the king a false idea of it. He disavowed, as before, all intention of encroaching on the king’s rights, and repeated the distinction as to a jurisdiction “in respect of sin ;” he invidiously pointed out the dangers which threatened Philip from his neighbours, and applied to the French the words which St. Bernard had used of the Romans—“As you love no one, so no one loves you.” And he ended with a declaration that, as his predecessors had already deposed three kings of France, so now, in case of obstinacy, he would depose Philip “like a groom.”<sup>k</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Dupuy (65), Baillet (165), and Schröckh (xxvi. 564) suppose that Boniface here retracted a proposition advanced in his former letter. But Planck (v. 121) and Gieseler (II. ii. 203) point out that the distinction is rightly drawn, and that the two letters are consistent. Yet a control “in respect of sin” might be extended so as to include almost everything—not only the personal faults

of a sovereign, but his faults as a governor—(see De Marca, II. iii. 6; IV. xvi.). And if the letter was misunderstood, had not the pope intended that it should be so, while he left himself a way of retreating in case of failure?

<sup>h</sup> Dupuy, 75-6.

<sup>i</sup> P. 77.

<sup>k</sup> “Ita sicut unum gacionem.” Dupuy, 77-9.

The difficulties to which the pope had referred as encompassing Philip, were now very serious. At Bruges, which he had reduced to subjection, there had been an outbreak against the French; the spirit of insurrection spread rapidly among the Flemings, and at the battle of Courtray, on the 11th of July, 1302, a great defeat was inflicted by the despised burghers on the army of France—Robert of Artois and Peter Flotte, two of the most conspicuous enemies of the papacy, being among the slain.<sup>m</sup> The pope had encouraged the Flemings, and had even supplied them with money, while Philip had renewed, in more stringent terms than before, his order against the exportation of gold and silver from France.<sup>n</sup>

Encouraged by the sight of Philip's difficulties, forty-five prelates of various classes, and headed by the archbishop of Tours, defied the king's authority by setting out for the council which had been summoned to meet at Rome in November. Philip, in great indignation, summoned them to return.<sup>o</sup> At the council, excommunication was denounced against any one—even if he were a king or an emperor—who should hinder or molest persons going to or returning from the papal court; <sup>p</sup> and a constitution known by the name of "Unam sanctam," was issued, in which Boniface, while adhering to the limitations of his power which he had before laid down, declared very strongly its superiority over all temporal authority. When, he says, the apostles said "Behold here are two swords," the Lord did not answer "It is too much," but "It is enough;" therefore, the temporal as well as the spiritual power is in the church, and any one who denies that St. Peter has the temporal sword, misunderstands the words "Put up thy sword into the sheath." The spiritual sword is to be exercised by the church, the material sword, for the church; the one, by the hands of priests, the other, by the hands of kings and soldiers. The temporal must be subject to the spiritual power, as the lower to the higher; the spiritual power has the right to judge the other, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (i. 10)—"See, I have set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant." Earthly power is accountable to the spiritual power; but no spiritual

<sup>m</sup> W. Nang. contin. in D'Achery, iii. 55; Gir. de Fracheto, contin. in Bouq. xxi. 20; J. Desnouelles, ib. 191; Caron. de Flandre, ib. xxii.; Annal. Gandov. A.D. 1302 (Pertz, xvi.).

<sup>n</sup> Gir. de Frach., contin. 19.

<sup>o</sup> Dupuy, 83-6.

<sup>p</sup> Rayn. 1302. 16; Bern. Guidonis, in Bouq. xxi. 13.



power is accountable, except to a higher power of the same kind, and the highest is accountable to God alone.<sup>a</sup>

There was still on both sides an unwillingness to proceed to extremities. Philip declared himself willing to submit to the arbitration of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, while the pope sent as legate John le Moine, cardinal of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, a Frenchman by birth, and highly regarded by the king.<sup>r</sup> The legate was charged to restrain Philip from his evil courses, and to summon him to appear by proxy before the court of Rome in order to answer for having burnt the papal bull;<sup>s</sup> but there was reason to suspect that the real object of his mission was to obtain information for the pope, and to tamper with the clergy who adhered to the king.<sup>t</sup> Philip's answers were vague and unsatisfactory. He affected to suppose that the charge of having destroyed a bull referred to a document which concerned the church of Laon; and he declared that he had torn up that bull as being useless—not out of any disrespect to the pope.<sup>u</sup> The mission of Cardinal le Moine, therefore, came to nothing; and Boniface complained of the manner in which his charge had been met, and of the treatment which his legate had experienced.<sup>x</sup>

Each party now looked forward to a struggle for the sake of which all lesser differences must be sacrificed. Philip was fain to make peace with England, by ceding Aquitaine to Edward, and by abandoning his allies the Scots. Boniface, after all the indignation which he had expressed against Frederick of Sicily, and although he had lately refused to confirm a peace which Charles of Valois had made with his rival, acknowledged the Aragonese prince as king of Trinacria, and admitted him to fealty.<sup>y</sup> And now the pope was even glad to overlook all the defects on which he had before insisted in Albert's title as king of the Romans. He invited him to send ambassadors to the papal court; he dwelt on the merits of his father Rudolf April 30, 1303. towards the apostolic see; he annulled by a formal document all irregularities which might affect his claims;<sup>z</sup> he cried up the imperial dignity as a sort of secular papacy, to which

<sup>a</sup> Dupuy, 55; Rayn. 1302. 13.

<sup>r</sup> See Ciacon. ii. 287. Cardinal Le Moine founded a college at Paris.

<sup>s</sup> Dupuy, 14-5, 89.

<sup>t</sup> Schröckh, xxvi. 572; Planck, v. 135.

<sup>u</sup> Dupuy, 94.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 95-7, 184; Martin, iv. 443.

<sup>y</sup> Gir. de Frachet. contin. in Bouq. xxi. 21; Rayn. 1303. 23, seqq.; Martin. iv. 449; Giesel. II. ii. 205. See above, p. 508.

<sup>z</sup> Rayn. 1303. 2, seqq.; Anon. Lubic. in Pertz, xvi. 417.

all other princes ought to be subject, and through the abeyance of which it was that the king of France had presumed to claim independence of any superior.<sup>a</sup> The princes of the empire were charged to pay allegiance to Albert; and Albert, glad to obtain such countenance on any terms, subscribed to all that his father July 17, had conceded in favour of the papacy, acknowledged 1303. that Charlemagne had received the empire from the holy see, and promised to defend the pope against all injury.<sup>b</sup>

On the 13th of April, the pope, having received from the cardinal legate a report of his unsatisfactory negotiations with Philip, sent forth a brief by which it was declared that the king had incurred the penalty of excommunication by preventing the attendance of bishops at the late Roman council. Any ecclesiastic who might minister in his presence was likewise to be excommunicate; and the sentence was to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom.<sup>c</sup>

But a month before this Philip had held a great assembly of nobles, with two archbishops and three bishops, at the March 12. Louvre, where William of Nogaret, who had succeeded Peter Flotte in the chancellorship, stood forward to charge Boniface with invasion of the holy see, with being a heretic and a simoniac, "such as no one ever was from the beginning of the world," and with other grievous crimes. For these he required that the pope should be tried before a general council, which he maintained that the king was entitled to summon; and that in the mean time Benedict Gaetani should be kept in safe custody, while a vicar should be appointed for the performance of the papal functions.<sup>d</sup>

The messengers who conveyed the excommunication of Philip into France had probably allowed the nature of their errand to become known. They were seized and imprisoned. It was in vain that the legate desired that their papers should be given up to him; and he had to bear the insult of seeing on the door of his own lodging, in the convent of St. Martin at Tours, the proclamation by which the king summoned a second meeting of the national estates for the consideration of the pope's offences.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Gieseler II. ii. 203, (from a document in Böhmer's edition of *De Marca*). "*Eidem subjiens regnum Franciæ, sicut alia regna.*" (*Stero Altah. in Canis. iv. 212.*) Bernard Guidonis says that the pope subjected the kingdom of France ("*sicut et alia regna*") to the emperor. Bouq. xxi. 713.

<sup>b</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 483-5; Rayn. 1303. 9, seqq.; Giesel. II. ii. 207; Böhmer, 235; Gregorov. v. 567.

<sup>c</sup> Dupuy, 98-9.

<sup>d</sup> Dupuy, 6-9.

<sup>e</sup> Dupuy, 99; Baillet, 186. On the chronological difficulties, see Milman, iv. 101.



The property of the prelates who had attended the Roman council was confiscated.<sup>f</sup> The Inquisition was denounced as inhuman by the king in a letter to the bishop of Toulouse.<sup>g</sup> And, with a view to win all orders to his side, Philip set forth an ordinance of reformation, offering redress of grievances to every class of his subjects, and especially to the clergy, whose support he was desirous to secure in the struggle with Rome.<sup>h</sup>

On the 13th of June, the second assembly of the estates-general met at the Louvre. William of Nogaret was absent, but his place as accuser was taken by William of Plasian, a knight and counsellor of the parliament of Paris, with whom were associated the count of Evreux, brother of the king, and the counts of St. Pol and Dreux.<sup>i</sup> Plasian professed that he was not moved by any malice against Boniface, but solely by anxiety for the church; and he brought forward twenty-nine articles of accusation, to the truth of which he swore. Of these charges some related to the alleged irregularity of Boniface's promotion to the holy see; some, to faults of administration; some were imputations of the worst offences—heresy, unbelief, denial of the soul's immortality, cruelty, lust of the most execrable kinds, sorcery, murder; while some were intended to exasperate the hearers by representing him as an enemy of the French nation. He was said to have declared, before his elevation, that, if he were pope, he would rather upset<sup>k</sup> all Christendom and the world than refrain from destroying "the pride of France;" that his political intrigues had been directed to this object, which he had avowed by allying himself with Albert of Germany after having denounced him in unmeasured terms;<sup>m</sup> and the king was requested, as "champion of the church and defender of the faith," to procure the assembling of a general council. Philip, after professing that he would rather cover the faults of his spiritual father with his own mantle than display them, declared that he appealed against any sentence of excommunication and interdict to a general council and to a pope lawfully chosen; and he desired those who were present to join in this appeal. The bishops and abbots complied, although they expressed a hope that Boniface would be able to clear himself of the charges

<sup>f</sup> Dupuy, 83.

<sup>g</sup> Sismondi, ix. 107-9.

<sup>h</sup> Ordonnances des Rois de France, i. 357, seqq.

<sup>i</sup> Dupuy, 101; Gir. de Frachet. contin. in Bouq. xxi. 22; W. Nang. contin. in Dacher. iii. 56; Martin, iv. 447.

<sup>k</sup> "Præcipitare." <sup>m</sup> Dupuy, 101-106.

against him.<sup>n</sup> The archbishop of Narbonne, however, distinguished himself from his brethren by bringing forward ten articles against the pope; among others, that he denied the immortality of the soul, that he had aided the king of England against France, had instigated the Saracens to invade Sicily, and had become the father of children by two of his own married nieces.<sup>o</sup> In consequence of the proceedings of the states-general, about seven hundred memorials were drawn up,<sup>p</sup> all desiring a general council, but guarding their respect for the Roman see by joining with that object a lawfully-elected pope. Among the subscribers of these memorials were archbishops and bishops, nobles of all grades, the abbots of Cluny, Cîteaux, Fontevraud, and Prémontré, representatives of universities, members of religious orders, and even nine cardinals. It is said, however, that among the signatures some were forged—among them, that of the abbot of Cîteaux.<sup>q</sup> The clergy also signed an agreement for mutual defence with the king and the barons, “against whatsoever

person might be disposed to attack them,” and even  
 June 15. against Boniface by name.<sup>r</sup> William of Nogaret, who was already in Italy, was commissioned to present these documents to the pope, and all ecclesiastics were forbidden more strictly than before to leave the kingdom without permission.<sup>s</sup>

Boniface, partly from fear of the heats of summer, partly, perhaps, from apprehension of some danger, had withdrawn from Rome to his native Anagni, where on the 15th of August he held a consistory. Passing over (as he probably was entitled to do) the personal charges against him, as unworthy of his notice, he purged himself by oath of the charge of heresy,<sup>t</sup> and declared that he had provoked it only by endeavouring to heal the king's sins. He spoke with indignation of Philip's having received Stephen Colonna at his court. He asserted with his usual vehemence the superiority of the papacy over all earthly power, and he concluded his speech by announcing his intention

<sup>n</sup> Dupuy, 107-8.

<sup>o</sup> Baillet, 334.

<sup>p</sup> Dupuy, 111, who gives many of these memorials.

<sup>q</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove, in *Patrol.* clxxxv. 1907. The abbot of Cîteaux, John of Pontoise, was confined in the Châtelet for his resistance to the king's will and was rewarded by Boniface with privileges, among which was that of sealing with white wax, which was highly valued. Some monasteries, chiefly Cister-

cian, declared that they could not adhere to the appeal, but only to the proposal of a council. Dupuy, 171.

<sup>r</sup> Dupuy, 112-5.

<sup>s</sup> *Ib.* 131-3; Gir. de Fracheto, *contin.* 22.

<sup>t</sup> In a bull of Aug. 25, he says that not only was he clear of heresy, but no one of his kindred or even of his Campanian countrymen, was chargeable with any such offence. Dupuy, 156.



of issuing a bull of deposition against Philip.<sup>u</sup> Immediately after this, four bulls were despatched into France; by one of these the ecclesiastical bodies were forbidden to elect to any dignity or benefice, so long as the king should be at variance with the church; by another, the universities were suspended, during the continuance of the same circumstances, from teaching, and from conferring degrees in Divinity, canon law and civil law.<sup>x</sup>

The bull of deposition was prepared.<sup>y</sup> In this the pope began by declaring his authority, and setting forth his course of gentle dealing with Philip. The king had committed many offences, especially by hindering access to the apostolic see, by his proceedings as to the bishop of Pamiers, by seizing some papal envoys, by receiving the excommunicated Stephen Colonna and other members of the same family; and, as he had refused the pope's messengers, and at last his son, the cardinal of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, he had reason to dread that the vineyard might be let out to others. The pope, therefore, declares him to be deposed, absolves his subjects from their allegiance, and forbids all communion with him.<sup>z</sup> It was intended that this bull should be published at the cathedral of Anagni on Sunday the 8th of September, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin; but before that day the pope's enemies took effectual means to prevent the execution of his design.

William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, both so deeply committed against Boniface that their only hope of safety lay in his ruin, had appeared in Italy, and had taken up their abode with the king's Italian banker, Musciatto dei Francesi, at Stoggia, a castle belonging to him, between Florence and Siena. They were authorised to draw money from Philip's bankers at Florence, and by means of this they were able to secure to their interest many of the petty nobles of the Campagna, who were embittered against Boniface by the aggrandisement of his family at their expense, and to enlist a force of men who either were hostile to Boniface or were ready to serve in any cause for pay.<sup>a</sup> On the morning of the 7th of September this force, three hundred

<sup>u</sup> Dupuy, 101-116.      <sup>x</sup> Ib. 163-4.

<sup>y</sup> It is said that Boniface had already offered the kingdom of France to Albert of Germany, but was met by a reply that, when the empire was divided between the Carlovingians, the Franks of the east and of the west had agreed to abstain from intermeddling with each

other's territories. Schröckh, xxvi. 574 (referring to Trithemius, Chron. 1301, p. 36. I have not been able to find the passage).

<sup>z</sup> Dupuy, 181, seqq.; Baillet, 338, seqq.

<sup>a</sup> Dupuy, 175; G. Villani, viii. 63; Drumann, ii. 122-3; Gregorov. v. 375.

horsemen, with a considerable number of infantry, suddenly appeared at Anagni.<sup>b</sup> The citizens, roused by the tolling of the alarm-bell, assembled, and chose a nobleman of the Campagna, Adenulf, as their captain; but Adenulf, who entertained an old enmity against the pope, proved treacherous, and aided the assailants. These soon forced an entrance into the town, and beset the pope's palace, displaying French banners, and shouting "Death to Boniface! Long live the king of France!"<sup>c</sup> with the national battle-cry of "Montjoie!" A truce of some hours was agreed on, and the pope (who had neglected all warnings of the design against him)<sup>d</sup> sent to ask the leaders of the party with what terms they would be satisfied. The reply was, that he should resign his office, restore the Colonnas to their property and dignities, and should place himself in the hands of Sciarra. This proposal was necessarily refused, and on the expiration of the truce the assault was renewed. The assailants set fire to the doors of a church which adjoined the palace, and made their way through the flames. They overpowered and seized the pope's nephew, the Marquis Gaetani;<sup>e</sup> and the doors which separated them from the pope himself were one after another forced. Boniface, hearing the successive crashes, and finding himself deserted, resolved to end his life with dignity,—to "die like a pope." Putting on the papal mantle, and the imperial "crown of Constantine," with his pastoral cross in one hand and the symbolical keys of St. Peter in the other, he took his seat on the throne, and with stern resolution awaited the approach of his enemies.<sup>f</sup> As they entered, they were awed for a moment at the sight of the high-hearted old man, whom religion had invested with so venerable a character; but speedily angry words were exchanged. Sciarra Colonna peremptorily required the pope to resign. "Behold," he answered, "my neck and my head! If I have been betrayed like Christ, I am ready to die like Christ's vicar."<sup>g</sup> Sciarra dragged him from his throne; according to some accounts, he struck him in the face with his gauntlet; and he would probably have killed him, had not Nogaret interposed.<sup>h</sup> Nogaret, it is said, called the pope a most vile heretic,

<sup>b</sup> G. Villani, l. c.

<sup>c</sup> G. Villani, l. c.; I. Desnouelles, in Bouq. xxi. 195; Rayn., 1303. 41, seqq.; Ferrett. Vicent. in Murat. ix. 1003, seqq.; Walsingham, i. 101, ed. Riley.

<sup>d</sup> Geoffr. de Paris, in Bouq. xxii. 107.

<sup>e</sup> Walsingh. i. 102.

<sup>f</sup> Benven. Imol. 1219; G. Villani, viii.

63. See, as to various accounts, Drumann, ii. 128-9.

<sup>g</sup> Benv. Imol. l. c.; Rishanger, i. 216, seqq.

<sup>h</sup> Rishang. l. c. Yet Benvenuto of Imola says that Sciarra, out of reverence for his holy office, did not strike him (1219); and so John Villani says that it



and told him that he must appear before a general council—that, if he would not go voluntarily, he should be carried by force to Lyons; whereupon Boniface, reckless of the effect, exclaimed that he was no heretic, but was content to suffer at the hands of a Patarene, whose father and mother had been burnt as Patarenes.<sup>1</sup>

Boniface was put under a guard, and, after having been paraded through the town on a vicious horse, with his face towards the tail, was committed to prison, while the captors plundered the palaces and churches of Anagni of immense wealth which was contained in them.<sup>k</sup> But, whether from the want of a plan or from hesitation to carry it out, they took no further steps for the disposal of the prisoner until, on the morning of the second day, the people of Anagni with some of their neighbours, under cardinal Luke Fiesco, rose on them, surprised and killed the soldiers who had the care of the pope's person, and drove the rest of the force from the town.<sup>m</sup> Boniface was brought forth into the market-place, where a multitude crowded to see him. Since his capture, he had not tasted any food—perhaps he had refused it from fear of poison. After having thanked those around him, with a profusion of tears, he entreated that some good woman would charitably save him from dying of hunger, promising absolution from all sins to any one who should bring anything for his relief. The multitude responded by a shout of "Life to you, holy father!" women dispersed in all directions, to return with large supplies of bread, wine, and water; and, after having recruited himself with some refreshment, the pope talked familiarly with all who chose to approach him.<sup>n</sup> He pronounced a general absolution of all but the plunderers of the church; he declared himself willing to restore the Colonnas; and he announced an intention of going to Rome and summoning a general council. The Romans, alarmed by the reports which had reached them, sent some soldiers, who served as an

was God's pleasure to save the sacred office from outrage. l. c.

<sup>1</sup> G. Villani, viii. 63; Eberhard. Altah. in Böhmer, Fontes, ii. 551.

<sup>k</sup> "Et revera videtur, quod omnes reges mundi non possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit de papali palatio asportatum, et de palatiis trium cardinalium et marchionis." (Walsingh. i. 103.) See Geoffrey of Paris, a rhyming chronicler,

who produces a curious effect by making the pope talk Italianised French:—

"E! filioli my, qui esto?  
Que me faig tant de tempesto?  
Favelle à my, qui est ton sire," &c.

Bonq. xxii. 117-8.

<sup>m</sup> Ib.; Annali Parm. 730; G. Villani, viii. 63.

<sup>n</sup> "Et tunc potuit quisque ingredi, et cum papa loqui, sicut cum alio paupere, qui volebat." Walsingh. i. 104.

escort, and by them he was conducted to Rome, although not without encountering an attack by the Colonna party on the way.<sup>o</sup>

On reaching the city, he was placed under the care of the Orsini—the hereditary enemies of the Colonnas. But his late sufferings, both of body and of mind, had told strongly on a man of eighty-six; he appears to have fallen into a frenzy fever, which made it necessary to place him under restraint;<sup>p</sup> and on the 11th of October he was found dead in his chamber. By some writers his death is attributed to grief;<sup>q</sup> by some, to poison;<sup>r</sup> while others tell the story with horrible details—that he refused food, and, like a mad dog, bit his own flesh;<sup>s</sup> that he was found lying in bed, as if he had suffocated himself with the bed-clothes, his staff gnawn by him in his rage, his head wounded by having been dashed against the wall, and his white hair encrusted with blood.<sup>t</sup>

“He entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and went out like a dog.” Such was a description of Boniface’s career,<sup>u</sup> uttered, no doubt, after the event, but soon popularly changed into the form of a prophecy, which Celestine was supposed to have spoken when visited in his confinement at Fumone by his supplanter and persecutor.<sup>w</sup> The circumstances of his death produced a general horror, which was felt even by those who abhorred the man, while they revered the office which had been so atrociously outraged in him;<sup>x</sup> and tales of judgments denounced by him on his enemies, and of terrible fulfilments of

<sup>o</sup> Walsingh. i. 104; Rishanger. i. 220; G. Villani, viii. 63.

<sup>p</sup> Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 16.

<sup>q</sup> Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 729; Walsingh., i. 104.

<sup>r</sup> Annal. Sanceruc. in Pertz, ix. 733.

<sup>s</sup> Henr. de Hervord. 221.

<sup>t</sup> Ferrett. Vicent. in Murat. ix. 1007-8. See J. Desnouelles in Bouq. xxi. 2003; Sism. R. I. iii. 152, seqq. John Villani says that his sufferings threw him into an illness “che tutto si rodea come rabbioso, ed in questo stato passò di questa vita” (viii. 63). The Lübeck annalist gives another, and evidently fabulous, account of his end. (Pertz, xvi. 418.) Oldoin says that when his tomb was opened, 300 years later, the state of his head and hands disproved the story told by Ferretti (Ciacon. ii. 319). Tosti maintains that he died quietly and Christianly (ii. 196-7). See Drumann, ii. 139; Gregorov. v. 383-4.

<sup>u</sup> “Vulpes intravit, tanquam leo pontificavit, Exiit utque canis, de divite factus inanis.”

J. Desnouelles, l. c.; M. Westm. 447. Comp. Geoffr. Paris. in Bouq. xxii. 109-110.

<sup>w</sup> F. Pipin, in Murat. ix. 736, 741; Wikes, contin. in Gale, ii. 126. The prophecy “moriatur ut canis” seems to have been current in Boniface’s lifetime, since it is quoted as such by Nogaret (Dupuy, 249); and, as Planck (v. 149) observes, this is a proof that it was not ascribed to Celestine until later. Cf. Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 17; Giesel. II. ii. 210. For an omen of Boniface’s death, see Ptol. Lucens. in Murat. xi. 1223.

<sup>x</sup> E. g. Dante puts into Hugh Capet’s mouth the words—

“Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso  
E vel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.  
Veggiolo un’ altra volta esser deriso;  
Veggio rinnovellar l’aceto e il fele  
E tra nuovi ladroni essere anciso.  
Veggio il nuovo Pilato [i. e. Philip] sì crudele,” &c.—*Purgat.* xx. 86-91.

Elsewhere the poet represents Nicolas



his curses, were eagerly circulated and believed.<sup>y</sup> But the end of Boniface involved far more than his own ruin. He had attempted to strain the papal power too far, and after his failure it never recovered the ascendancy which he had rashly hazarded in the endeavour to gain a yet more absolute dominion.

### III. as expecting Boniface in hell—

"Se' tu già costi ritto, Bonifazio?" &c.

*Inferno*, xix. 53.

<sup>y</sup> Thus Jean Desnouëlles says that the pope cursed Philip and all his heirs to the seventh *lignie*, with all who were

concerned in the outrage, and soon after died "moult irés et moult despaisié;" and that Nogaret "mourut et esroga, le langue traite moult hideusement." (*Bouq.* xxi. 195). See Drumann, ii. 145-6.

## CHAPTER VI.

## PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

I. WE have seen that the Christian kingdom of which the sovereign was known in Europe as Prester John, was overthrown in 1202 by the Tartars under Genghis Khan, who reigned till 1226.<sup>a</sup> Yet it is said that the conqueror added to the number of his wives a daughter of the king whom he had dethroned, and that through her favour Christianity was still in some measure kept up in north-eastern Asia, although in connexion with the Nestorians.<sup>b</sup> The kingdom of Prester John, as it was withdrawn from the knowledge of the western Christians, became more and more a theme for fable; it was said in romances that the Holy Grail—the cup which the Saviour had consecrated at the Last Supper, and in which Joseph of Arimathea had caught the blood which flowed from His wounds on the cross—had been withdrawn to that mysterious land.<sup>c</sup> And vague rumours from time to time reached Europe—some representing the ancient line of the priestly kings as still in power; others, that the sovereigns of the nation by which they had been overthrown had been converted, and were eager for the propagation of the Gospel among their subjects.<sup>d</sup> In some cases, the persons who spread these stories were roving impostors, who wished to practise for their private advantage on the credulity of the western Christians, and perhaps on that of the Orientals in their turn;<sup>e</sup> in other cases, they were really commissioned by Tartar princes, who, in their desire to gain the alliance of the West against the Mussulmans, were fain to represent themselves as more favourable to the Gospel than they really were.<sup>f</sup> The Mongol system of doctrine appears to have been a vague monotheism, which, while admitting only one supreme God, left room for a popular religion consisting mainly in the worship of

<sup>a</sup> P. 142; Mosh. Hist. Eccl. Tart. 33. See Rog. Bacon, 'Opus Majus,' 232. Vinc. Bellov. xxix. 69 (who gives a curious account of the people). Purchas, iii. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Mosh. H. E. T. 34. See Neand. vii. 65.

<sup>c</sup> Giesel. II. ii. 660; Herzog, vi. 765.

<sup>d</sup> Mosh. H. E. T. 34-5. See, *e. g.* M. Paris, A.D. 1237, p. 444; Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thes. iii. 728-30; Nic. de Curbio, Vita Innoc. IV. c. 39.

<sup>e</sup> Neand. vii. 71.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 66-9.



idols and other inferior objects. The indifference to definite religion was found politically useful, as the Mongol sovereigns were thus enabled to conciliate their subjects of different creeds; and the sight of the toleration so enjoyed by Christians under the Tartar yoke was enough to convince sanguine and uncritical monkish observers that the rulers must have embraced the true faith.<sup>g</sup>

The invasion of Europe by the Tartars, about the year 1240,<sup>h</sup> appeared to the emperor Frederick to call for a league of all Christian nations against them, and, in a letter addressed to the princes of the West, he forcibly complained that the popes, instead of preaching a crusade against these enemies of Christianity and civilization, directed all their efforts against the emperor himself.<sup>i</sup> Innocent IV., however, preferred sending three parties of Dominican and Franciscan friars as missionaries respectively to the leader of the Tartars who had invaded Europe, to any chief of the nation whom they might first meet in Asia, and to the Great Khan himself.<sup>k</sup> The first of these parties found the invaders in Russia, but were unable to effect anything A.D. 1245- towards their conversion; nor were those who pro- 7. ceeded to the court of the Mongol sovereign more successful, although they were received and treated with courtesy.<sup>m</sup> The other party, which was under a Dominican named Anselm or Ascelin, appears by his own report to have failed chiefly through his assumption and want of tact. On reaching the camp of a Tartar general named Baiothnoi, in Persia, Ascelin required him to submit to the pope, as the highest in dignity among Christians, and revered by all as their father and lord. "Does the pope know," asked the Tartars, "that the khan is the son of God, and that Baiothnoi and Batho are his princes, whose names are everywhere spread abroad?" To which Ascelin replied that the pope knew nothing of the khan or his princes, and had never heard their names, but, having been informed that a barbarous people called Tartars were everywhere committing

<sup>g</sup> Mosh. 38; Schröckh, xxv. 202, 217; Neand. vii. 65; Giesel. II. ii. 662.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 408.

<sup>i</sup> M. Paris, 558-560. It is said that the Khan of the Tartars sent a bombastical letter to Frederick, dilating on his own greatness, and desiring the emperor to choose some office about his court, to which Frederick replied that he could undertake the duties of falconer. Alb.

Tr-Font. in Bouq. xxi. 622.

<sup>k</sup> Wadding, iii. 116; Rayn. 1245. 16, scqq.

<sup>m</sup> Wadd. iii. 118-121; Mosh. 7. 48; Nic. de Curbio, Vita Innoc. IV. 17. The report of one of these missionaries, John de Plano Carpini, is in Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Histor. xxxi. 3, seqq. Salimbene reports a conversation with him after his return.

cruelties, had sent him and his companions to them.<sup>n</sup> A discussion afterwards arose as to the ceremonies which should be observed at an audience of the general, when Ascelin refused to kneel, although one of his own brethren, who had already been in Asia, assured him that such was the custom of all ambassadors, and that no religious adoration was implied in it. This contumacy brought the missionaries into danger of their lives; but at last they were dismissed with letters from the general, as extravagant, at least, in their pretensions as those of the pope himself; and after an absence of three years and seven months, they returned to Europe without having effected anything.<sup>o</sup>

In 1248, Louis IX. of France, while in Cyprus, was visited by two persons who professed to be ambassadors from a general of the Great Khan, and reported that both the general and his master had been baptised.<sup>p</sup> In consequence of this, the pious king sent envoys and missionaries, charged with valuable gifts, into Asia; but they could nowhere discover the general, and found that the khan was already dead.<sup>q</sup> In 1253, the missionaries returned to Louis, who was then in Palestine, with a report which led him to request that the pope, Innocent IV., would send Christian teachers into Asia; and among those who were sent in consequence of this was William of Ruysbroek, or Rubruquis, a Franciscan, who seems to have been a sensible and observant man, and has left an account of his travels.<sup>r</sup> Rubruquis found that the reports which had been brought to the West as to the progress of Christianity among the Tartars were greatly exaggerated, and, on the other hand, that pretended missionaries from the West had endeavoured to secure their own objects by representing the pope and the sovereigns of Europe as ready to submit to the khan, if he would conform to their religion.<sup>s</sup> After many hardships, he reached the camp of Mangu Khan, the grandson of Genghis, who received him and his companions well, and afterwards took them in his company to his capital, Karakorum.<sup>t</sup> In many external respects, the religion of the Tartars bore so close a resemblance to the Christianity of the West as at first to impose on the missionaries.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Vinc. Bellov. xxxi. 40.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. 42; Mosh. 45-7.

<sup>p</sup> Joinv. p. 332-9, ed. Petitot; Vinc. Bellov. xxxi. 90; Giesel. II. ii. 661; Schröckh, xxv. 200.

<sup>q</sup> In this case there can be little doubt that there was some imposture. See p. 444.

<sup>r</sup> Innocent's letters are in Raynald. 1254. 1, seqq. Rubruquis is translated in Purchas, vol. iii., and in Pinkerton, vol. iii.

<sup>s</sup> Purchas, iii. 14-5, 21, 26, 29; Mosh. 55-6; Giesel. II. ii. 661.

<sup>t</sup> Purch. iii. 27-8.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. 21.



The principle of toleration was remarkably displayed at some festivals, where the ministers of Nestorian Christianity, of Mahometanism, and of Buddhist idolatry successively pronounced their benedictions, and the Tartar chiefs performed with impartial devotion the rites of the three religions.<sup>x</sup> The khan desired to hear the claims of the three religions argued before him; but when a disputation had been held, it was not followed by any conversions.<sup>y</sup> Rubruquis found that the Nestorian clergy had great influence at court; but he reports that they were illiterate, avaricious, and drunken, and in some cases imitated the barbarians around them by marrying several wives.<sup>z</sup> Christians, at confession, entreated that they might be excused in the practice of theft, on the ground that otherwise they could not live.<sup>a</sup> After having spent half a year at the court of Mangu, who had repeatedly told them that it was time for them to depart, the missionaries set out on their return. At a parting audience, the khan gave Rubruquis a letter for the king of France, but would not invite him to revisit the country. "If I had had power to do wonders, as Moses did," says the honest friar, "peradventure he had humbled himself."<sup>b</sup>

In 1256 Mangu's general overthrew the caliphate of Bagdad, and the conquerors favoured the Nestorians whom they found there above other Christians.<sup>c</sup> There were frequent overtures to the Christians of the West, with a view to a joint opposition to the Saracens in the Holy Land,<sup>d</sup> and, as we have seen, some envoys from the Great Khan appeared at the council of Lyons in 1274, soliciting an alliance, and were baptised.<sup>e</sup> But, in 1303, after various fortunes, the apostasy to Islam of a khan who had been brought up as a Christian put an end to such favour as the Tartar princes had until then showed to Christians, and to the hopes of converting his people.<sup>f</sup>

After the death of Mangu, the Tartars divided into two great bodies, and, while Kublai Khan gave up the West to Hulaku, he himself pushed his conquests as far as China. A.D. 1260.

Kublai reigned in great splendour at Cambalu (Pekin) from 1280 to 1294.<sup>g</sup> Among those who visited his court were two Venetians, Matthew and Nicolas Polo, who returned to Europe in 1269, bearing with them a letter in which the Great Khan

<sup>x</sup> Ib. 29; Cf. M. Polo, ed. Marsden, 274.

<sup>y</sup> Purchas, 41.

<sup>z</sup> Purchas, iii. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 41-6.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Mosh. 56-7.

<sup>d</sup> E. g. W. Nang. in Bouq. xx. 510.

<sup>e</sup> Mosh. 63, 66, 74-7. See above, p. 477.

<sup>f</sup> Mosh. 90.

<sup>g</sup> Art de Vérif. ix. 1-3.

requested the pope to send him some oil from the Holy Sepulchre, and a hundred learned men for the instruction of his people in Christianity.<sup>h</sup> In consequence of the death of Clement IV., and the long delay in the election of a successor, it was not until 1272 that this request was in some degree fulfilled by a mission of Dominicans from Gregory X.<sup>i</sup> With them were the brothers Polo, and Mark, the son of Nicolas, at that time in his seventeenth year.<sup>k</sup> Mark Polo, one of the most famous among mediæval travellers, resided at Cambalu many years;<sup>m</sup> but from his narrative it would seem that Kublai, in inviting Christian missionaries, had intended rather to improve his old religion by a mixture with the Christian system than to adopt the Gospel exclusively;<sup>n</sup> and, although the khan treated the missionaries with kindness and respect, he did not (as was fondly believed in the West<sup>o</sup>) himself receive baptism.<sup>p</sup>

At the head of this mission was a Franciscan, John, who was styled after his native place, Monte Corvino, near Salerno.<sup>q</sup> John laboured with zeal, judgment, and success. He converted the king of Keraït, a descendant of the family of Prester John,<sup>r</sup> conferred minor orders upon him, and was assisted by him in the services of the church.<sup>s</sup> It was even believed that the royal convert performed miracles after death.<sup>t</sup> John of Monte Corvino proved that he was not satisfied with such achievements as the conversion of barbaric princes to a nominal Christianity, by translating the New Testament and the Psalms into the language of the country, and by instructing the younger native converts in Latin and Greek.<sup>u</sup> For a time his labours were hindered by the arts of some Nestorians, who had established a patriarch of their sect at Cambalu;<sup>x</sup> but he succeeded in exposing the calumnies by which these rivals had endeavoured to raise a prejudice against him, so that the khan expelled many of them from the country, while others affected for a time to embrace the orthodoxy of Rome.<sup>y</sup> In 1307, John was appointed by Clement V. archbishop of Cambalu, with seven suffragans under

<sup>h</sup> M. Polo, transl. by Marsden, Lond. 1818, pp. 12-3; Joh. Iper. in Mart. iii. 746; Mosh. 89.

<sup>i</sup> M. Polo, 19.

<sup>k</sup> The wife of Nicolas had been pregnant with Mark when the brothers set out on their first journey. See Marsden, Pref. p. 5 and notes p. 18. On Marco Polo, see Tiraboschi, iv. 79.

<sup>m</sup> Some say twenty-seven. According to Mr. Marsden, he was at Cambalu till 1291, and then went on further travels,

returning to Venice in 1295, pp. 26, 33.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. 274-6.

<sup>o</sup> Nicol. III. in Rayn. 1278. 20, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> Joh. Iper. 746 7; Mosh. 89; Neand. vii. 76.

<sup>q</sup> Wadding, v. 194, seqq.

<sup>r</sup> Wadding and others confound this king with the Great Khan.

<sup>s</sup> Mosh. 94-5; Neand. vii. 77.

<sup>t</sup> Mosh. 95.

<sup>u</sup> Mosh. 95; Neand. vii. 78.

<sup>x</sup> Mosh. 68-70. <sup>y</sup> Ib. 94-5.



him;<sup>z</sup> and he continued his labours until 1330, when he died at the age of eighty-three.<sup>a</sup> During the same period many other members of the mendicant orders<sup>b</sup> laboured in central and north-eastern Asia; indeed those regions have never been so open as in that age to European visitors, and it is said that the grace of miracles, in which William of Rubruquis had lamented that he was wanting, was abundantly bestowed on his more favoured or less honest successors.<sup>c</sup>

II. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were frequent communications between the Nestorians and Jacobites of the East and the Latin Christians, with a view to union, which their common opposition to the Mussulmans pointed out as a desirable object.<sup>d</sup> But although in some cases these communications produced an approximation, or even a seeming union, they had no lasting result. The Latins, as was natural, were too ready to suppose the other parties more inclined than they really were to agree with them. Thus, they were ready to estimate any hyperbolical expressions of courtesy at far more than their real value; and on finding that the eastern sectaries stated their opinions in a manner different from the ordinary western representations of them, they were ready to believe that all heterodoxy and all differences had vanished. So, too, when the orientals allowed the pope of Rome a primacy among bishops, the Latins eagerly interpreted the words as admitting a supremacy to the fullest extent of the Roman claims. From such misunderstandings it is evident that no real reconciliation could be expected to follow.<sup>e</sup>

III. The same causes which led the Nestorians to desire the alliance of the western church extended to the Armenians also. Intermarriages took place between the royal family of Armenia and those of the crusading princes or leaders. In the end of the twelfth century, Leo, king of Armenia, received a new royal title from the emperor Henry VI., and was crowned by the archbishop of Mentz, when he acknowledged A.D. 1199.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 88-96.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. 111.

<sup>b</sup> *E. g.* Rayn. 1299. 39.

<sup>c</sup> Mosh. 102. Cf. M. Polo, 276.

<sup>d</sup> See, *e. g.* Rayn. 1227. 87-8; 1237. 68; 1247. 32, 36; Wadding, iii. 177, seqq.; Alberic. Tr-Font. in Bouq. xxi. 617-8; Schröckh, xxix. 362-6. It is said that in 1304 the Nestorian patriarch wrote to Benedict XI., styling him head

and chief of all Christians, and submitting to his authority. Mosheim thinks the letter a forgery of the person who brought it, and says that, if the patriarch submitted, he had no imitators. Hist. Tart. 92.

<sup>e</sup> Wadding, iii. 179; Mosh. 50-1; Schröckh, xxix. 364, 369, seqq.; Giesel. II. ii. 688, 692-3.

the papal claims in their fulness, and promised that the Catholic (or primate) of Armenia should submit to Rome.<sup>f</sup> In 1239, Gregory IX. sent the pall to the Catholic;<sup>g</sup> but both before and after this time the Armenians are found corresponding with the Greek church, although without any success in the attempt at union.<sup>h</sup> In 1292, under king Haithon II., the Armenian church was formally reconciled with that of Rome; but the movements which resulted in this appear to have proceeded throughout from a court party, whose acts, directed by political interests, were not supported by the general feeling of the nation.<sup>i</sup>

IV. During this time, the conversion of the people on the south-east of the Baltic was effected, although as much by force as by persuasion. Some merchants of Bremen had formed a settlement on the Dwina, in 1158,<sup>k</sup> and in 1186, Meinhard, an Augustinian canon of Segeberg, in Holstein, undertook the conversion of the Livonians, a rude and idolatrous nation, whose language he did not understand. Through the favour of Wladimir, the Russian prince to whom Livonia was subject, he was allowed to build a church at Ykeskola (Yxküll or Uexküll) on the Dwina, and he soon made some converts.<sup>m</sup> He also taught the people to fortify themselves against the attacks of their neighbours, and brought workmen from Gothland to aid in the labour.<sup>n</sup> But he found that he had to do with a faithless race of men, who, after having professed an eager desire for his continuance among them at times when any advantage was to be gained by it, turned on him with mockery and insult when their objects had been secured, and tried to wash off their baptism in the waters of the Dwina.<sup>o</sup> Dietrich, a Cistercian, who was his companion, was often in great danger. During an eclipse, his life was threatened because he was charged with having swallowed the sun.<sup>p</sup> At another time, he ran the risk of being sacrificed because his fields were in better condition than those of the natives. His fate was to be decided by the ordeal of the horse, which, as we have seen,<sup>q</sup> was also practised in Pomerania. The horse at first put forward the foot which would have saved the missionary's life; but the diviners objected

<sup>f</sup> Giesel. II. ii. 689-690.    <sup>g</sup> Ib. 690.    Strahl, i. 270.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. See Rayn. 1289. 57.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Livon. i. 4; Chron. Gemblac.

<sup>i</sup> Giesel. 691.

A.D. 1186 (Pistor. i.).

<sup>k</sup> Chronicon Livonicum Vetus (ed. Gruber, Francof. et Lips. 1740) i. 4;

<sup>n</sup> Chron. Livon. i. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. pp. 6-8.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 7.

<sup>q</sup> P. 165.



that the God of Christians was sitting on the animal's back, and guiding his motions. The back was therefore rubbed, in order to get rid of this influence; but the horse again stepped as before, and Dietrich was saved.<sup>r</sup> In 1170, Meinhard was consecrated as bishop by Hartwig of Bremen, who had taken no part in his original mission.<sup>s</sup> His labours were approved by Celestine III., who conferred a grant of privileges on him in 1193,<sup>t</sup> and he died in 1196.

The next bishop, Berthold, formerly abbot of Loccum, a Cistercian monastery on the Weser, tried with some success the effects of hospitality as a means of conversion.<sup>n</sup> But after a time the Livonians turned against him, and expelled him from their country. Berthold returned with a large force of soldiers, which he had gathered by the offer of crusading privileges from Celestine III., and a victory was gained over the natives; but the bishop, having been carried into the midst of the enemy by the impetuosity of his horse, was pierced by a lance, and was torn to pieces on his fall.<sup>x</sup> By a pretence of A.D. 1198. submission to the baptism, the Livonians persuaded the invading army to withdraw, leaving the clergy behind; but hardly had the last ship left the shore when they threw the crucifix into the sea, again washed off their baptism in the river, and persecuted the Christians cruelly, in some cases even to death.<sup>y</sup>

Albert of Apeldern, a man of sense, energy, and perseverance, succeeded Berthold as bishop. He obtained feudal rights over Livonia from Philip of Swabia, and was authorised by Innocent III. to associate any monks or clergy in his labours, and to raise an army for the northern crusade, which was allowed to reckon as a fulfilment of the vow for the holy war in the East; and by means of his high connections, he was able to enlist a large force.<sup>z</sup> In 1199 or 1200, the Crusaders founded the city of Riga,<sup>a</sup> to which the bishoprick was transferred from Yxküll. In 1202, Albert established a military order, to which pope Innocent gave the statutes of the Templars,<sup>b</sup> and by the help of these

<sup>r</sup> Ib. p. 7. Dietrich was said to do miracles. Schröckh, xxv. 284.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Livon. p. 8; Arnold. Lubec. vii. 8-9.

<sup>t</sup> Ep. 121<sup>7</sup> (Patrol. cevi.).

<sup>n</sup> Arn. Lub. vii. 9; Chron. Livon. 111.

<sup>x</sup> Chron. Liv. 11-3; Arn. Lub. vii. 9.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 13-4.

<sup>z</sup> Innoc. Ep. vii. 39; Supplem. 26;

Arn. Lub. vii. 9; Chron. Liv. 17-8; Schröckh, xxv. 292. There are many imperial grants as to those countries in M. Huillard-Bréholles' collection, e. g. i. 617; ii. 423, 447, 583.

<sup>a</sup> So called, says the chronicler Henry (19) "vel a Riga lacu, vel quasi irrigua."

<sup>b</sup> Arn. Lub. vii. 9; Chron. Liv. 22; Innoc. Ep. vii. 139. Their proper name was "Fratres militiæ Christi."

“Brethren of the Sword,” with the Crusaders whom Albert enlisted in Germany for each annual campaign, he carried on for many years the more forcible part of his mission.<sup>c</sup> As another means of conveying Scriptural knowledge to the Livonians, the bishop, in 1204, got up a “prophetic play,” which had among its personages Gideon, David, and Herod. Heathens as well as converts were invited to the performance, and the scenes were explained by an interpreter. But when Gideon and his warriors began to fight the Midianites on the stage, the heathen spectators, supposing that some treachery was designed against them, ran off in alarm, and were not easily persuaded to return.<sup>d</sup> During the following two years, A.D. 1205-6, most of the Livonians were baptised,<sup>e</sup> but from time to time they treacherously rose in insurrection whenever the force of the settlers appeared to be weaker than usual.<sup>f</sup>

Among the missionaries themselves, too, differences and jealousies broke out. The Brethren of the Sword quarrelled with the bishop as to the division of the conquered lands; and something like the old enmities between the Templars and the patriarchs of Jerusalem was re-enacted by knights and prelates on the shores of the Baltic.<sup>g</sup> In consequence of these disputes, bishop Albert, and Folcwin the second master of the order, went to Rome in 1210.<sup>h</sup> The pope, according to the usual Roman policy, was more favourable to the order than to the bishop;<sup>i</sup> but he refused in the following year to allow them a bishop of their own,<sup>k</sup> and in 1212 he exempted Riga from all metropolitical jurisdiction,<sup>m</sup> although it was not until 1246 that it was promoted to the dignity of an archbishoprick, which was confirmed to it in 1255 by Alexander IV.<sup>n</sup>

The labours of the military and of the ecclesiastical missionaries spread into Esthonia, where, at a somewhat earlier time, a bishop named Fulk, formerly a monk of La Celle, had preached.<sup>o</sup> Dietrich, who has been mentioned as a companion of Meinhard in Livonia, became bishop of Esthonia;<sup>p</sup> but after he had been

<sup>c</sup> Chron. Liv. 24, seqq.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. Liv. 34.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 43, 47.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 52, seqq.

<sup>g</sup> Chron. Liv. 47-8, 110; Arn. Lub. vii. 9.

<sup>h</sup> Chron. Liv. 74-5.

<sup>i</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 299.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. xiv. 149; Schröckh, xxv. 298.

<sup>m</sup> Ep. xvi. 182. Albert was well received by Innocent at the Lateran council of 1215. Chron. 106.

<sup>n</sup> Rayn. 1255. 64; Schröckh, xxv. 313. The bishop had, however, been authorised to consecrate bishops, “vice archiepiscopi,” in 1210. Chron. Liv. 78.

<sup>o</sup> Gruber, supplement to Chron. Livon. 332, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> Innocent III. recommends him for aid, and exempts him from metropolitical jurisdiction. Epp. xvi. 124-6, 129.



killed, in 1218, a conflict as to jurisdiction arose between the archbishop of Lund and the bishop of Riga, as the Danes claimed a share in the conversion and its results.<sup>a</sup> At length Reval was established by the pope as the seat of the Danish bishoprick, and the Germans had their see at Leal, from which it was afterwards transferred to Dorpat.<sup>r</sup>

In Lithuania also the Gospel made progress. Its advance was aided by the circumstance that a priest named Aldobrand was asked to arbitrate in a question of property, as those who had been robbed before their conversion felt themselves forbidden by their new religion to use violence for the recovery of what they had lost. The equity of his decision made a great impression on the heathens, who until then had known no other principle than the law of force; and for a time the clergy were overwhelmed with such business. But unhappily some laymen, who had a view only to their own interest, undertook the office of arbitration, and the popular confidence in the justice of Christians was destroyed.<sup>s</sup> In one Livonian province the people, being disposed to embrace the Gospel, cast lots in order to decide whether they should join the Latin Church, like their neighbours in the West, or the Greek Church, like the Russians; and the result was in favour of the Latin form of Christianity.<sup>t</sup>

Albert of Apeldern died in 1229.<sup>u</sup> In 1236 a junction took place between the Brethren of the Sword and the Teutonic order, who had many points in common with them—an origin from Bremen, a constitution on the model of the Templars, the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, the protection of the emperors, opposition to the Danish interest, and the duty of fighting for the cross in countries which bordered on each other.<sup>x</sup> The union was brought about partly through the agency of William, formerly bishop of Modena, who, after having been employed as a legate in those regions,<sup>y</sup> resigned his see in 1134, and received a fresh legatine commission from Gregory IX.<sup>z</sup> The countries in which the two orders were employed were thus

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Liv. 129, 130, 141-3, 147-8, 164; Greg. ix. ap. Rayn. 1236. 62; Schröckh, xxv. 299-303. See Dahlmann, i. 361, seqq.

<sup>r</sup> Chron. Liv. 172; Schröckh, xxv. 306; Dahlm. i. 371, 388.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Liv. 46, 48; Neand. vii. 55.

<sup>t</sup> Chron. Livon. 51.

<sup>u</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 308.

<sup>x</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 311.

<sup>y</sup> Raynaldus gives a letter of Honorius

IV. to him, 1224. 38. Cf. Ciacon. ii. 116.

<sup>z</sup> Chron. Livon. 171, seqq.; Alberic. Tr-Font. in Bouq. xxi. 597; Rayn. 1234. 45. Peter of Dusburg wrongly identifies William with Pope Alexander IV. See note on p. 68 of his chronicle in Hirsch's 'Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum,' Leipz. 1861, vol. 1. William learnt the language of the country, and translated Donatus' grammar into it. Alberic. l. c.

placed under a common authority, and the union was approved by Gregory IX. in 1237.<sup>a</sup> The order carried on the work of subjugation, and among the effects of the manner of conversion was the establishment of serfdom, which continued until our own time.

V.—The early attempts at the conversion of the Prussians by Adalbert of Prague and Bruno have been already noticed.<sup>b</sup> In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, some Polish kings, after having gained victories over their neighbours of Prussia, endeavoured to impose Christianity on them, but without any substantial or lasting success.<sup>c</sup> But in 1207, an attempt of a different kind was made by Godfrey, abbot of Lukna, a Cistercian monastery in Poland, who was accompanied by a monk named Philip. These missionaries converted the Duke Phiolet, and his brother King Sodrech;<sup>d</sup> but their labours were checked by the opposition of the Cistercian communities in the neighbourhood, who were inclined to treat them as irregular adventurers, and hence Innocent III. was induced to write to the Archbishop of Gnesen and to the Cistercians in 1212, desiring them to be on their guard against real “acephali,” but to show kindness and co-operation to Godfrey and his associates.<sup>e</sup> He also desired the King of Poland and the Duke of Pomerania to refrain from imposing servile labours on the converts, as this was found a hindrance to the Gospel.<sup>f</sup> In 1215, a Cistercian monk of Oliva near Danzig, named Christian, was consecrated as bishop,<sup>g</sup> and the work of conversion was then actively carried on. But the oppression of the king and the duke provoked an insurrection, in which there was a general massacre of Christians, accompanied by the destruction of some monasteries and of two hundred and fifty churches.<sup>h</sup> In order to guard against the recurrence of such disasters, the duke, by the bishop’s advice, endeavoured to form a military order, and Honorius III. in 1218 allowed Crusaders to serve against the heathens of Prussia instead of going to the Holy Land.<sup>i</sup> At the same time the pope endeavoured to forward the work of conversion by other means—such as the purchase of female children, whom the custom of the country would have doomed to death, and

<sup>a</sup> Rayn. 1237. 64.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 469, 525 (437, 487).

<sup>c</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 313-4.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 314; Neand. vii. 59; Roepell, note. i. 427.

<sup>e</sup> Ep. xv. 147.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. xv. 148.

<sup>g</sup> Pet. Dusburg. ii. 1; Roepell. i. 427.

<sup>h</sup> Pet. Dusburg. ii. 2. See the editor’s

<sup>i</sup> P. Dusb. ii. 4; Schröckh, xxv. 316.



the institution of schools for boys.<sup>k</sup> It was, however, found that the effect of the crusade lasted only so long as the soldiers remained in the country. In 1226, it was resolved to call in the aid of the Teutonic order, and terms were made with the grand master, the famous Herman of Salza.<sup>m</sup> In 1230, a hundred of the knights appeared in Prussia under Herman of Balka.<sup>n</sup> Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. invested them with the privileges of Crusaders,<sup>o</sup> and the emperor bestowed on them the sovereignty of such territories as they had acquired by gift, or might conquer by their swords.<sup>p</sup> The knights carried on the war with steady perseverance, recruiting their numbers and gathering followers from Germany, where the northern crusade now took the place of the longer and more perilous expeditions to Palestine. They founded fortresses which afterwards grew into towns—as Elbing, Thorn, and Königsberg—the last of these being so called in honour of King Ottocar of Bohemia, who in 1254 took part in one of their campaigns.<sup>q</sup> Like other military orders, they had serious differences with the bishops and clergy, to whom pope Gregory had assigned one-third of the conquered land.<sup>r</sup> They were also involved in contests with their neighbours; the dukes of Poland and Pomerania;<sup>s</sup> and in 1245 William of Modena, then cardinal-bishop of Sabino,<sup>t</sup> was once more sent into the north with a commission to settle these quarrels.<sup>u</sup> In 1249 an agreement was made, through the legate's mediation, by which important liberties were secured for the converts. They were to enjoy the Polish law, with the exception of its sanction of ordeals. They were not to burn their dead, or to bury men or horses with them, and were to give up all other heathenish customs. Those who had not yet been baptised were to receive baptism within a certain time, under pain of being driven out of the country with

<sup>k</sup> Rayn. 1218. 43-4; Roepell. i. 429-430.

<sup>m</sup> Pet. Dusburg. ii. 5, 14; Roepell. i. 434. See above, p. 256, and the article on him in Herzog.

<sup>n</sup> Pet. Dusb. ii. 11. <sup>o</sup> Ib. 6. 13.

<sup>p</sup> Roepell, i. 435, 648-9; Böhmer, 130-1. There are many other grants in Huillard-Bréholles and in Böhmer.

<sup>q</sup> P. Dusb. ii. 16, seqq.; iii. 72; Chron. Oliv. in Hirsch, 677; Cosm. Prag. contin. in Pertz, ix. 182.

<sup>r</sup> Rayn. 1240. 35; 1243. 32. We read with some surprise of a bishop (Albert of Cologne) being translated from Armagh to Prussia in 1246. Rayn. 1246.

28. Cf. Alb. Stad. A.D. 1229 (Pertz, xvi.).

<sup>s</sup> P. Dusb. 111. 32, seqq.; Roepell, i. 443. Peter tells us that the patroness of the order appeared to one of the brethren with a sad countenance; and, on his asking the reason, she told him that whereas they had formerly conversed only "de Filio meo, et de me, et de gestis sanctorum," their talk was now wholly of actions of kings and princes, and of worldly vanities, iii. 80.

<sup>t</sup> See Mabill. 'Analecta,' 483, for William's 'Epistola flebilis de sua assumptione in cardinalitiam dignitatem.'

<sup>u</sup> Rayn. 1245. 89.

only a single garment on them. Churches were to be built and endowed. Meat and milk were forbidden on Fridays and in Lent; and confession and communion were required once at least in the year.

But the severe rule of the knights produced a dangerous insurrection in 1260,<sup>x</sup> and it was not until 1283, after a warfare which, with some intervals, had lasted fifty-three years, that their sovereignty was fully established.<sup>y</sup> Baptism was enforced on the Prussians as a necessary condition of liberty;<sup>z</sup> and in this late conversion of a barbarous Slavonic people originated a kingdom which in later days has borne a very important part in the affairs of the world.

VI.—While the Gospel was propagated by the sword in some neighbouring countries, its progress in Russia was advanced by gentler means.<sup>a</sup> The attempt to bring over the Russians to the Latin Church was renewed by the legate William of Modena, but with no better success than before.<sup>b</sup> Russia suffered very severely from the great Mongol invasion. It is said that the barbarians, on reaching Kieff, were struck with astonishment by the beauty of the holy city, and offered to spare it if the inhabitants would submit to them. But the Russians were resolved to hold out, and fortified the cathedral and other churches, which were taken one by one after a long and obstinate resistance.<sup>c</sup> The buildings were destroyed, their treasures plundered, the monks and clergy were slaughtered or driven to flight. It is supposed that the metropolitan, a Greek named Joseph, perished in the siege; and after the office had been ten years vacant, Innocent IV., thinking to take advantage of the Russian church's distress, and of the removal of the Byzantine patriarch to Nicæa, sent ambassadors into Russia, with the offer of kingly crowns and titles for the princes, and with proposals for union with the Latin Church.<sup>d</sup> The prince of Novogorod, Alexander Newsky, one of the royal saints and heroes of Russia, refused to treat with the ambassadors; but David, prince of Galicia, took advantage of the proposals by accepting the crown and the royal title, while he deferred the question of reconciliation with Rome until a general

<sup>x</sup> Pet. Dusb. iii. 90.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 220-1.

<sup>v</sup> Russl. ii. 32; Kircheng. i. 236.

<sup>z</sup> See an essay in Hirsch, 254, seqq.

<sup>a</sup> Mouravieff, 43.

<sup>b</sup> Strahl, Kircheng. i. 217. See p. 324.

<sup>c</sup> Mourav. 42-3, 372; Strahl, Gesch. 43.

<sup>d</sup> Mourav. 46; Strahl. Kircheng. i. 222, 243; Gregory IX. had made overtures to Russia in 1231. Rayn. 1231.



council should meet. Finding, however, that his application for a crusade against the Tartars did not meet with immediate attention from Alexander IV., David broke off all communication with Rome, and he soon after obtained consecration for a metropolitan named Cyril from the patriarch at Nicæa.<sup>e</sup>

Cyril (the second patriarch of that name) held his dignity for thirty years, and laboured indefatigably for the restoration of the Russian Church. After his death, in 1280, another vacancy of two years occurred, in consequence of the unwillingness of the Russians to connect themselves with the Latinizing patriarch Veccus, who then occupied the see of Constantinople.<sup>f</sup> The next metropolitan, a Greek named Maximus, removed his see from Kieff to Vladimir in 1299; and in the earlier part of the following century, it was again transferred to Moscow, which has since continued to be the seat of the primate of Russia.<sup>g</sup>

VII.—While the conversion of rude Pagan nations employed the energies of zealous missionaries, attempts were also made to bring over converts from Judaism and Mahometanism, and many controversial treatises were written for this purpose. In each case there was the difficulty that the champions of the rival religion possessed an elaborate learning of their own, which had too little in common with Christian learning to be assailable on principles which both parties would have consented to acknowledge.<sup>h</sup> The most famous treatise produced in this time against the Jews and Mahometans is the ‘Pugio Fidei’ of Raymond Martini, a Spanish Dominican,<sup>i</sup> which even in our own day is consulted as a storehouse of rabbinical learning. A.D. 1278.

The preaching of St. Francis and his followers in Egypt and Morocco has been already noticed.<sup>k</sup> The characters of literary controversialist and of missionary preacher were united in Raymond Lully, who was born in the island of Majorca about 1235.<sup>l</sup> In his early years he frequented the court of his sovereign,

<sup>e</sup> Strahl (who calls him Daniel), Kg. i. 240, 245; Gesch. v. Russl. ii. 44, 52; Mourav. 47; Rayn. 1246. 20; 1248. 15. Raynaldus says that David's brother Vasilikus of Vladimir, also accepted the pope's terms, and that these princes were allowed to celebrate the eucharist in unleavened bread, and to use such other eastern rites as were not contrary to the catholic faith. 1247. 28.

<sup>f</sup> Mourav. 48.

<sup>g</sup> It seems to be uncertain whether the removal to Moscow was under the first or the second successor of Maximus. See Strahl, Kg. i. 247, 270, 306; Mourav. 50.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xxv. 4, 5.

<sup>i</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 28.

<sup>k</sup> P. 374; see, too, Wadding, iii. 148, seqq. <sup>l</sup> Acta SS. Jan. v. 644.

James of Aragon; and his life was free and licentious until a change was suddenly produced in him by some circumstance of which various accounts are given.<sup>a</sup> For a time Raymond meditated anxiously on the best way of devoting himself to the service of Christ; but it would seem that his zeal had begun to cool, when a sermon which he heard on the festival of St.

A.D. 1275. Francis made him resolve to give up all. He sold his property, except so much as was enough for the maintenance of his wife and children, and resolved to employ himself in the conversion of the Mussulmans, both by written argument and by preaching.<sup>o</sup> With a view to this, he bought a Saracen slave, from whom he learnt Arabic; and we are told that his knowledge of languages was increased by supernatural gift.<sup>p</sup>

He withdrew for some months into a solitude, and there, it is said, received by revelation his "Art of Arts" or "General Art," a method which would seem to have promised the acquisition of universal knowledge without the ordinary labours of study.<sup>q</sup> Through Raymond's influence, King James was persuaded to establish in Majorca a monastery where thirteen Franciscans

A.D. 1287. were to be trained for the work of preaching to the Mussulmans in their own language; but his attempts to procure from Honorius IV. and other popes a decree that such study should be general in monasteries were unsuccessful.<sup>r</sup>

In the winter of 1291-2, Raymond crossed the sea to Tunis, for the work to which he had devoted himself, taking with him an Arabic translation of his "Great Art," which he had executed at Genoa. He invited the Mussulman teachers to dispute with him; but his life was in danger, and he was put on board a ship bound for Naples, with threats of death if he should ever return

<sup>a</sup> According to one story, he went to see a lady whose affection he wished to gain, although he was already married; whereupon she bared her breast and displayed a hideous cancer. (Ib. 609; Wadding, iv. 422.) Another story is that, while engaged in writing an amatory poem, he saw a vision of the crucified Saviour; and that, when he resumed the same occupation on another night, the vision again appeared. Wadding, iv. 423; cf. *Acta SS.*, 654, 661.

<sup>o</sup> *Acta SS.*, 662.

<sup>p</sup> Ib.; Wadding, iv. 423. Having been informed that the slave had blasphemed, he chastised him severely. The infidel afterwards attempted to kill him, but Raymond got the better of

him, and the slave hanged himself in prison. *Acta SS.* l. c.

<sup>q</sup> *Acta SS.* 663. For an account of the "Lullian art," see Morhof, 'Polyhistor,' t. I. lib. ii. c. 5, who, from having despised it, came to think more highly of it p. 384, ed. Lübeck, 1708). Bacon speaks of it with great contempt,—"Hæc methodus ita scientiæ alicujus guttulas aspergit, ut quis sciulus speciei nonnulla eruditionis ad ostentamen possit abuti." (De Augm. Scientiarum, vi. 2, fin.) See Schröckh, xxiv. 561; Savigny, v. 542; Ritter, viii. 491; Haureau, ii. 237.

<sup>r</sup> *Acta SS.* 663; Wadding, v. 157; Neand. vii. 88.



to Africa.<sup>s</sup> For some years after this, he wandered about Italy and France, teaching his new art (although it was forbidden at Rome) and endeavouring to stir up popes, kings, and other persons of power and influence, to the general establishment of monastic schools for the study of eastern languages.<sup>t</sup> Raymond also made his way to Cyprus, and even to Armenia, everywhere disputing with such opponents of the orthodox faith as he met—Mussulmans, Jacobites, and Nestorians.<sup>u</sup> In 1306 or the following year, he made a second expedition to Africa, where he attempted to preach at Bougiah, and to confute the Mahometan doctors in disputation; but he was imprisoned and sentenced to death. This punishment, however, was commuted for expulsion from the country, but in his return to Europe he was shipwrecked on the Tuscan coast.<sup>x</sup>

The hopes which Raymond had conceived for his project of oriental schools from the election of Celestine V. were disappointed by Boniface, who regarded such objects with indifference. But at the Council of Vienne, in 1311, he obtained from Clement V. the concession that such schools should be established in any city where the pope should reside, and in the universities of Paris, Oxford, and Salerno.<sup>y</sup>

In 1314, Raymond (who throughout his life remained a layman) separated from his wife, became a tertiary of the Franciscan order, and sailed once more for Africa, with the resolution of enduring martyrdom. Again he reached Bougiah, and his preaching was heard with attention, until he declared the circumstances of his former visit and banishment, and threatened his hearers with the vengeance of heaven, unless they would forsake their misbelief. On this a furious tumult arose; stones were thrown at the old man, he was dragged out of the town, and, although he was able to reach a Genoese vessel, the injuries which he had received were so serious that he died when in sight of his native island.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Acta SS. 664-5; Wadding, v. 15, 16.

<sup>t</sup> Acta SS. 665-6; Schröckh, xxiv. 560. See *e. g.* letters to Philip the Fair, and to a member of the University of Paris, in Martene, Thes. i. 1315-9.

<sup>u</sup> Neand. 91-2.      <sup>x</sup> Neand. 92.

<sup>y</sup> Neand. vii 95.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 96. There was a school of "Lullianists," who styled their founder "Doctor Illuminatus" (Acta SS. 633). The Franciscans revered him as a saint, while the Dominicans found heresy in his writings (Savigny, v. 542). Gre-

gory XI. condemned many things in them, but rather (it would seem) for strangeness of expression than for heterodoxy (see D'Argentré, i. 246, seqq.); and his reputation was afterwards cleared (ib. 263; cf. Acta SS. 633-4). He is said to have written more than 120 books, many of them in Arabic. (Acta SS. 666.) The popular notion of his having been an alchemist is said to be quite groundless, inasmuch as he was not even a chemical experimentalist. (Ib. 657-60.)

## CHAPTER VII.

## SECTARIES.

I.—THE persecutions which were continually carried on against the Albigenses, Waldenses, and others, were not followed by the conversion which was desired and expected, but appeared rather to strengthen in the sectaries their dislike of the ecclesiastical doctrine and system. Thus, the Waldenses, who at their outset had varied so little from the Church that they might probably have been reconciled to it by moderate treatment, ran into new developments which had been foreign to the thoughts of the founders.<sup>a</sup> Everywhere we find the heretical parties spreading—the old sects gaining converts, and new sects arising, although the variety of names under which they were known considerably exceeds the varieties of opinion which existed among them.<sup>b</sup> We read of Cathari, not only in southern France and in Lombardy,<sup>c</sup> but at Rimini,<sup>d</sup> Florence, and Viterbo,<sup>e</sup> at Rome itself<sup>f</sup> and at Naples,<sup>g</sup> in Sicily, Spain,<sup>h</sup> Germany, Flanders,<sup>i</sup> and various parts of northern and eastern France;<sup>k</sup> and those who were discovered were burnt or otherwise severely dealt with. Frederick II. taunted the popes with allowing all sorts of heresy among their Milanese allies;<sup>m</sup> and, in consequence of their political connexion with Rome, the authorities of Milan found it necessary to vindicate their character for orthodoxy. “The Milanese,” says a chronicler, under the date of 1233, “began to burn heretics in the third year of the Lord Archbishop William

<sup>a</sup> Giesel. II. ii. 632-6, 639. In the 13th century the Waldenses appear in the valley of Piedmont. Ib. 641.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 611-2. There was a peculiar sect at the Swabian town of Hall. Among other things they would not pray for the pope, but prayed for the excommunicated Frederick and his son Conrad. “quia perfecti et justi sunt.” Alb. Stad. A.D. 1248, in Pertz, xvi.

<sup>c</sup> Rayn. 1225. 47; 1235. 15; Giesel. II., ii. 617. For Genoa, see Annal. Januenses, Pertz, xviii. 236. Raynaldus says that a Bishop of Mantua was murdered by heretics (1235. 16). But this seems to be a misunderstanding of Gre-

gory IX.'s words—that the murderers, “velut hæretica sorde infecti,” wished to hurt the church and the catholic faith.

<sup>d</sup> Wadding, ii. 224.

<sup>e</sup> Vita Greg. IX. in Murat. iii. 580.

<sup>f</sup> The first burnings at Rome were after Gregory IX.'s return from Perugia, in 1230. See Gregorov. v. 153-6.

<sup>g</sup> R. Sangerman. 1026.

<sup>h</sup> Rayn. 1236. 60.

<sup>i</sup> Patrol. clx. 352.

<sup>k</sup> Bouq. xxi. 166; Alberic. Tr. Font., ib. 615-8, 623; M. Paris, 429, 482; Chron. S. Medard. Suession., in Dacher. iii. 491; Henr. Hervord. 216.

<sup>m</sup> See pp. 396, 399.



of Ruzolo;"<sup>n</sup> and in 1233 a podestà of Milan recorded, in a verse which may still be read on a public palace of that city, the fact that he had not only erected the building, but, "as he ought," had burnt the Cathari.<sup>o</sup>

Such a view of duty, the clergy—who in the preceding century had themselves been usually opposed to the execution of heretics, but had now changed their system<sup>p</sup>—zealously tried to impress on the laity, in order that persons convicted of heresy might be dealt with by the "secular arm."<sup>q</sup> The principle of persecution for religious error was very decidedly laid down, and was justified by argument from the punishment of other offences. "He that taketh away the faith," says Innocent III., "stealeth the life; for the just shall live by faith."<sup>r</sup> So, the great theologian of the Dominican order argues that, if false coiners be punished with death, much more is such a doom deserved by heretics, forasmuch as a corruption of faith, whereby the soul has its life, is far worse than a falsification of money;<sup>s</sup> and as to this he distinguishes the case of heretics and apostates from that of Jews or others who have never been members of the Church, and therefore are not to be forcibly brought into it.<sup>t</sup> In like manner another eminent Dominican, Humbert de Romanis, inculcates the duty of punishing heretics, and declares that "even if the pope were a heretic," (a supposition which in that age was not supposed to be impossible<sup>u</sup>) "he should be punished."<sup>x</sup>

Even Frederick II., as we have seen, felt himself obliged to do something for his own reputation by publishing severe edicts against sectaries;<sup>y</sup> and these laws were gladly accepted by the popes,<sup>z</sup> and at a later time were renewed by Rudolf of Hapsburg.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>n</sup> *Memoriæ Mediol.* in Pertz, xviii. Matthew Paris mentions some burnings at Milan in 1240, as caused "rather by fear of punishment than by love of virtue," as the pope was then the only hope of the Milanese. 542.

<sup>o</sup> "Qui solum struxit, Catharos, ut debuit, uxit."

See Handbook for N. Italy, 190, ed. 8.

<sup>p</sup> See Giesel. II., ii. 601-2.

<sup>q</sup> Planck, V. 458-9. See Innoc. III. Ep. i. 94, &c.; Alberic. Tr.-Font. in Bouq. xxi. 604; Innoc. IV. and Alex. IV. ap. Wadding, iii. 333, iv. 123; Annal. Januens. in Pertz, xviii. 236; Mansi, xxiii. 569. <sup>r</sup> Ep. i. 94 (col. 83, B).

<sup>s</sup> Thom. Aquin., Summa Theol. 2da 2da, Qu. xi. 3. <sup>t</sup> Ib. x. 8; xii. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 145.

<sup>x</sup> De Erudit. Prædicatorum, ii. 62 (Bibl. Patr. xxv.). See Giesel. II., ii. 603-5.

<sup>y</sup> Frederick's enumeration runs thus—"Patarenos, Speronistas, Leonistas, Arnoldistas, Circumcisos, Pasaginos, Josephinos, Garrotenenses, Albanenses, Franciscos, Bagnarolos, Comistas, Waldenses, Runcarolos, Communellos, Warinos et Ortolenos, cum illis de Aqua nigra, et omnes utriusque sexus, quocunque nomine dicantur." Pertz, Leges, ii. 328; Huill.-Bréholles, v. 201, 215. See Giannone, iii. 191.

<sup>z</sup> Innoc. IV. Ep. 14, in Mansi, xxiii.; Nic. IV. ap. Rayn. 1288. 27.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. iii. 47 (Patrol. xcvi.).

In France, St. Louis,<sup>b</sup> and in Hungary King Ladislaus,<sup>c</sup> seconded the wishes of the popes by allowing their orders for the extirpation of heresy to be carried out. The Inquisition, which had been established in Languedoc by the council of Toulouse, in 1229,<sup>d</sup> was, with the consent of the pious king, committed to the Dominicans and Franciscans throughout France.<sup>e</sup> In 1232, the Inquisition was introduced into Aragon, and in 1248 it was fully established throughout Christian Spain.<sup>f</sup>

Frederick's persecuting laws were intended rather for Italy and Sicily than for his northern dominions.<sup>g</sup> But, in 1232, a priest named Conrad of Marburg—a man of coarse and uncultivated mind, but of much power as a preacher—appeared under papal sanction as inquisitor in Germany.<sup>h</sup> By some, he is described as a Dominican; by others, as a Franciscan; but in truth it would seem that no religious order can claim the credit or the infamy of reckoning him among its members.<sup>i</sup> His cruelty had been execrably displayed in the sway which he exercised over the saintly Elizabeth, daughter of the king of Hungary, and widow of Louis, landgrave of Thuringia, who had died at Brindisi on his way to the crusade.<sup>k</sup> The devout and submissive character of her mind provoked Conrad to indulge in outrageous excesses of tyranny. Having secured her compliance by a vow of obedience,<sup>m</sup> he persuaded her, under the name of religion, to renounce her children and relations, and to withdraw into a hospital, where she devoted herself to ascetic exercises and to ministering to the most loathsome forms of disease. He deprived her of the society of all whom she had known or loved—even of her nurse; he compelled her to live as a servant among her servants; he even carried his prohibition of all that could gratify her so far as to forbid an indulgence in almsgiving; he would allow her no other companion than some “austere” women, who treated her tyrannically, and told tales against her; whereupon he flogged her, and gave her blows on the face, “which, however,” says a biographer, “she had wished and

<sup>b</sup> Martin, iv. 285.

<sup>c</sup> Rayn. 1280. 9.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 437.

<sup>e</sup> Martin, l. c. See Alex. IV. in Rayn. 1255. 34-7. See, however, p. 441.

<sup>f</sup> Schröckh, xxix. 598-9.

<sup>g</sup> There is, however, one for the whole empire, and with special mention of Germany in some copies. Pertz, Leges, ii. 288-9 (A. D. 1232).

<sup>h</sup> Mansi, n. in Rayn. t. ii. 57. Theo-

doric, the biographer of St. Elizabeth, however, speaks of him as very learned. iii. 9.

<sup>i</sup> See Salimbene, 8; Wadding, iii. 157; Quétif, i. 487; Schröckh, xxix. 604-5; Giesel, II., ii. 618. The writer of the article on Conrad in Herzog, however, thinks him a Dominican.

<sup>k</sup> Vita S. Elis. by Theodoric, iv. 4-5, in Canisius, iii. <sup>m</sup> Ib. ii. 2; vi. 1.



longed to bear, in remembrance of the Lord's buffetings."<sup>n</sup> Under this system the saintly princess died in 1231, before she had completed her twenty-fourth year;<sup>o</sup> and the savage bigotry and cruelty which Conrad had shown as a spiritual director found an ampler field for their exercise in his new character of inquisitor. Beginning with the lowest classes, he gradually included persons of better station in his inquiries, until at length counts and marquises were marked out as victims.<sup>p</sup> Those who were accused were required to choose between two courses;—they were either to confess and be burnt (or, at least, to be shorn and shut up for life), or they were to be burnt for denial of the charges against them, although with the consolation of being assured by the inquisitor that any who might be put to death innocently would be rewarded with the bliss and glory of martyrs. The proceedings were very summary; the accusation, the sentence, and the execution of it were often the work of a single day.<sup>q</sup> Many in despair confessed offences of which they were guiltless, while others endured death rather than disavow their innocence. False accusations of heresy soon became common—prompted by private revenge, or by quarrels as to property.<sup>r</sup> All along the Rhine, the proceedings of Conrad spread terror, and aroused general execration. The archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne assembled diets to consider the matter, and, in accordance with the decision of these assemblies, reported Conrad's proceedings to Gregory IX.; and even Gregory expressed regret that he had intrusted the inquisitor with so much power, and astonishment that the Germans had endured so long.<sup>s</sup> But before an act of deprivation could be prepared, Conrad fell a victim to the vengeance which his tyranny had provoked. Gregory, although he eulogised the murdered inquisitor, did not exact severe punishment from those who had shared in his death.<sup>t</sup> And it is perhaps to the indigna-

July 30,  
1233.

<sup>n</sup> Vita, vi. 2; vii. 4, &c.; Chron. Lemov. iv. 31, in Dachser. ii. "Ce n'est pas," says St. Elizabeth's enthusiastic modern biographer, "que nous prétendons justifier tout ce que nous allons raconter sur la conduite de Conrad envers son illustre pénitente." Montalembert, ii. 164, ed. 7.

<sup>o</sup> Mart. Coll. Ampl. i. 1254; Rayn. 1231. 36. She was canonised in 1235. Wadding, ii. 387; Alberic. Tr.-Font. in Bouq. xxi. 615; Montalembert, c. 32. There is a sermon on St. Elizabeth by Bonaventura, t. iii. 289, ed. Magunt. 1609.

<sup>p</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 326, 333; Sifrid. Magunt. ap. Alberic. Tr.-Font. (Bouq. xxi. 608). Annal. Erphord. ap. Pertz, xvi. 28; Annal. Wormat., ib. xvii. 39.

<sup>q</sup> Annal. Colon. A.D. 1233.

<sup>r</sup> Sifrid. ap. Alb. Tr.-Font. l. c.; Annal. Erphord. l. c.; Schröckh, xxix. 608; Mansi, xxiii. 321-2.

<sup>s</sup> Alberic, 608-9; Raumer, iii. 364-5.

<sup>t</sup> Annal. Erphord. ap. Pertz, xvi. 29; Annal. Wormat., ib. xvii. 40; Böhm. 244-6; Mansi, xxiii. 343-6; Rayn. 1233. 48; Herzog, art. *Conrad*. It was supposed that a vision revealed the damna-

tion excited by Conrad that Germany owed its exemption from a permanent Inquisition.

In other cases also, the severity of inquisitors was avenged by lawless means. Thus, three Dominican inquisitors were murdered at Avignonnet, in Languedoc, in 1239;<sup>u</sup> and a more celebrated instance of this kind is the assassination of the  
A.D. 1252. Dominican Peter of Verona, which has furnished a theme for the genius of Titian and of Guido.<sup>x</sup>

It is said that some of the sectaries endeavoured to protect themselves against the questions of inquisitors by a remarkable system of equivocation. Thus we are told that at Treves, and at a place which is called Montwimer (possibly Monthermé), the Cathari had a pope and a bishop corresponding in names to the reigning pope of Rome and to the bishop of the diocese; while certain old women of the sect were spoken of as St. Mary, the Church, Baptism, the Eucharist, Marriage, and the like; so that the sectaries, when asked whether they acknowledged pope Gregory or the Blessed Virgin, Holy Church or the sacrament of marriage, might reply in the affirmative, with a mental reference to the persons who went by these names in their own communion.<sup>y</sup>

The crusades had had the effect of making the Cathari of the West and those of the East mutually known, and of bringing them into intercourse and correspondence with each other.<sup>z</sup> In consequence of the intercourse thus established, the doctrine of the Bogomiles made its way into the West, and with some of the Cathari of North Italy superseded the system of pure Dualism, which was still retained in the south of France.<sup>a</sup>

The general use of the Scriptures, and the translation of them into the vernacular languages, had been discouraged by Gregory

tion of Conrad (Alberic, 609), and even a bishop demanded that his body should be disinterred and burnt. Mansi, 334; Annal. Erphord. l. c.

<sup>u</sup> Bern. Guid., ap. Bouq. xxi. 737; Chron. Lemovic., ib. 765.

<sup>x</sup> "Virgo, doctor, et martyr, corona triplici laureatus." Bern. Guidonis, in Bouq. xxi. 697-8; Raynald. 1252. 10-2. "St. Peter Martyr" was canonised by Innocent IV. the same year.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. Trevir. A.D. 1231; Alberic. in Bouq. xxi. 623. It is said that a woman who was burnt at Treves "incredibili lamentatione lugebat Luciferum de cœlo injuste extrusum, quem

volebat denuo relocare in cœlum." At the other place, 183 were burnt at once (A.D. 1239). Their chief, who is styled "episcopus de Moranis," cried out, "Ye shall be saved through my absolution; I alone am condemned, because I have no superior to absolve me." It was said that the heresy had been planted in Champagne by Fortunatus, the opponent of St. Augustine, and kept up ever since his time! Alber. l. c.

<sup>z</sup> See references at p. 197, note c; Innoc. III. Epp. iii. 3; vi. 140; Greg. IX. ap. Rayn. 1238. 53.

<sup>a</sup> Gesch. II., ii. 619-625.



VII.,<sup>b</sup> and the circumstance that the Waldensian and other sectaries professed to ground their opposition to Rome on a free and unprejudiced study of Scripture, tended to make the authorities of the Church more unwilling to allow such study. We have already seen how the Waldensians of Metz were dealt with by Innocent III., who interprets the command "If a beast touch the mountain it shall be stoned,"<sup>c</sup> as meant to discourage presumptuous study of Scripture by persons who were not duly qualified as to ability or knowledge.<sup>d</sup> But the council of Toulouse, in 1229, went further, by forbidding lay persons to have the books of the Old or New Testament, "unless perchance one may of devotion wish to have a Psalter or a Breviary for divine offices, or the Hours of the Blessed Mary;" and even these it was "most strictly forbidden" to have in the vulgar tongue.<sup>e</sup> So a council at Tarragona, in 1234, prohibits the Scriptures "in the Romance tongue," and orders such translations to be burnt;<sup>f</sup> and a council at Béziers, in 1246, forbade laymen to have any theological books, even in Latin, while clergy and laity were alike forbidden to have them in the vernacular.<sup>g</sup> The popular knowledge of Scripture history, of which the sources were thus interdicted, was now derived from the compendium of Peter Comestor.<sup>h</sup>

II.—In the middle of the century, a whole people was destined to furnish an instance of the readiness with which charges of heresy were brought against persons who had offended their accusers in some other way. The Stedingers, a simple and hardy people of Frisian origin, occupied a country to the east of the Weser in its lower part, and appear to have acknowledged the counts of Oldenburg as their liegelords, but were immediately subject to the archbishops of Bremen, with whose officials, from about the year 1187, they were embroiled about questions of ecclesiastical dues.<sup>1</sup> They would seem, also, to have complained of the insolence and immorality of their priests,<sup>k</sup> and thus their differences with

<sup>b</sup> See vol. ii. 470 (438).

<sup>c</sup> Exod. xix. 12-3; Hebr. xii. 20.

<sup>d</sup> Epp. ii. 141-2. See above, pp. 343-4.

<sup>e</sup> C. 14.

<sup>f</sup> C. 2.

<sup>g</sup> C. 36.

<sup>h</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 606.

<sup>i</sup> Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 843; Schröckh, xxix. 638, seqq.; Raumer, iii. 365; Hefele, v. 907; Herzog, xv. 27. Albert of Stade has continual notices of

quarrels between the Stedingers and their neighbours. M. Huillard-Bréholles supposes a letter of Frederick II. "universis hominibus Stedigne," thanking them for their kindness to the Teutonic order, to be addressed to these people (iii. 497). But surely this is a mistake.

<sup>k</sup> Chron. Egmond. in Matthæi, ii. 501-3; Raumer, l. c. The Annales Erphesfordenses say that the quarrel

the clergy came to be misrepresented as originating in heresy. Strange fables—partly new, and partly borrowed from the traditional charges against Manichæan and other sectaries—were circulated. It was said that the Stedingers had relapsed into heathenism and practised magic;<sup>m</sup> that in their initiation they kissed the hinder parts of a toad, and allowed the reptile to spit into their mouths; that a man tall, fleshless, and of ghastly paleness, with piercing dark eyes, appeared among them; and that in the moment when they kissed him, and felt the icy chill of his touch, all remembrance of the catholic faith vanished from their minds. And to these charges were added the old tales of obscene reverence to a black cat, darkened rooms, and licentious orgies.<sup>n</sup>

In 1232, Gregory IX. wrote to King Henry, the son of the emperor Frederick, to the bishop of Minden and other prelates of the neighbourhood, and to the inquisitor Conrad of Marburg, stating these and other abominations which were imputed to the Stedingers, and urging that they should be punished.<sup>o</sup> A crusade against them was proclaimed, and a large army, under A.D. 1233- the duke of Brabant and the counts of Holland and 4.

Cleves, overwhelmed the unfortunate people, of whom in a second campaign 6000—men, women, and children—are said to have been slain.<sup>p</sup> After this calamity, even the pope appears to have found reason to doubt the truth of the information on the strength of which the Stedingers had been butchered as enemies to the faith; and he issued a decree which gave the strongest possible condemnation to his late policy, by omitting all mention of heresy among the charges against them, and by authorising their absolution on condition that they should promise to give no offence in time to come.<sup>q</sup>

### III. Among the sectaries of this age the names of Beghards

began in some outrage on the Stedinger women, Pertz, xvi. 28.

<sup>m</sup> Corn. Zanfiet, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 68. Tillemont says that in consequence of the archbishop's having withdrawn the clergy from the country on account of the quarrels as to dues, the Stedingers fell into irreligion; but he does not seem to believe the particular charges against them. Vie de St. Louis, ii. 234.

<sup>n</sup> Greg. IX. ad Henric. Germ. regem, ap. Mansi, xxiii. 324; Rayn. 1233. 46;

Alb. Stad. A.D. 1234.

<sup>o</sup> Mansi, xxiii. 321-6; Rayn. l. c.

<sup>p</sup> Alb. Stad. A.D. 1234; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1234; Sifrid. in Pistor. i. 1043; Corn. Zanfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 69; Annal. Theokesb. A.D. 1234. It was said that in battle there appeared among them a champion seated on a white horse, and followed everywhere by a black dog; and that the bodies of the slain did not bleed. Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thes. iii. 716.

<sup>q</sup> Rayn. 1234. 43; Hefele, v. 914.



and Beguines<sup>r</sup> often occur, while the same terms are also used to designate persons whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable according to the standard of the time. The derivation of the words has been much questioned. Some refer it to the old Saxon *beggen* or *begheren*, which means either *to beg* or *to pray*, but must here be understood in the second of these senses, as mendicancy was no part of the system.<sup>s</sup> Others trace it to the epithet *bègue* (or stammerer), attached to the name of one Lambert, a priest of Liège, who, about 1180, founded a society of Beguines there.<sup>t</sup> A third etymology is from the name of Begga, duchess of Brabant, and mother of Pepin of Heristal; but this, although it has in later times naturally found favour with the Flemish Béguines, is quite without foundation.<sup>u</sup>

The Beguines seem to have been originally women who lived in a society which had somewhat of a monastic character, although without vows or any special rule—retaining the liberty to marry, and being allowed to enjoy such property as they might possess, while they earned money by weaving, or similar works, and gave all that they could spare to the poor, the sick, and the strangers, for whom in some cases they provided hospitals.<sup>x</sup> It has been supposed that these communities originated in the excess of the female sex which resulted from the vast consumption of men in the crusades;<sup>y</sup> but the system was soon taken up by men, who were styled Beghards;<sup>z</sup> and from Liège the institution speedily made its way into other parts. Matthew Paris says that about 1243, there were 2000 Beghards and Beguines in and about

<sup>r</sup> For the various forms, see Mosheim, 'De Beghardis et Beguinabus,' Lips. 1780, p. 5.

<sup>s</sup> Mosh. 97-99; Ducange, s. y. *Beghardi*.

<sup>t</sup> *Ægid. Aurcæ-Vallis, Hist. Epp. Leod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 630.* Some documents connected with Vilvorde, which would carry the existence of Beguines back to an earlier date, are forgeries (Giesel. II. ii. 366). On the other hand, a passage of Thomas of Cantimpré, (Bon. Univers. II. li. 12) which would seem to date the foundation at Nivelles, in 1226, must be understood to apply to the Beguines of that place only—not to the system altogether, since there is mention of earlier beguinages elsewhere. (Gies. 365). For Lambert le Bègue, see *Ægidius*, l. c.; and *Hist. Litt. xiv. 402, seqq.* Mr. Algernon Herbert thinks that *Beghard* is derived from *beggen*, and *Beguine* from Lambert le *bègue*, and that the words were afterwards con-

founded on account of their likeness. (Brit. Mag. xviii. 131). Gieseler thinks the derivation from *bègue* the most likely (ii. 366). Hahn is in favour of *begheren* (ii. 423). C. Schmidt (in Herzog, i. 773) quotes a tract by Holtmann, and thinks with him, that, if the origin was from Lambert, *Bègue* must in his case have been probably a family name. William of St. Amour says that some derive the word *beguinæ* from *benignæ*, or *bono igne ignitæ*! See Mosheim, 30, 50, who gives other extravagant derivations, pp. 89, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Ducange, i. 638, col. 2; Mosh. 73-86.

<sup>x</sup> Mosh. 101-2, 117, 135-138; Giesel. II. ii. 364. Grossetête said "Quod Beginæ sunt perfectissimæ et sanctissimæ religionis, quia vivunt propriis laboribus, et non onerant exactionibus mundum." Mon. Francisc. 69. See above, p. 431.

<sup>y</sup> Mosh. 134.

<sup>z</sup> Sometimes, however, *Beguinî*. Mosh. 7.

Cologne—the women being more numerous than the men,<sup>a</sup> and about the same time a man who has already been mentioned as having passed himself off for a Catharist<sup>b</sup> in various countries, speaks of *Beguini* as a kind of “new religious,” whom he saw at Neustadt, in Austria.<sup>c</sup> The female societies were under the government of “mistresses,” of whom in the larger houses there were two or more; and the Beghards had in like manner their heads, who were sometimes called *masters*, but more commonly *ministers* (or servants).<sup>d</sup> The names of Beghards and Beguines came not unnaturally to be used for devotees who, without being members of any regular monastic society, made a profession of religious strictness;<sup>e</sup> and thus the application of these names to some kinds of sectaries was easy—more especially as many of these found it convenient to assume the outward appearance of Beghards, in the hope of concealing their differences from the church.<sup>f</sup> But on the other hand, this drew on the orthodox Beghards frequent persecutions,<sup>g</sup> and many of them, for the sake of safety, were glad to connect themselves as tertiaries with the great mendicant orders.<sup>h</sup> And between the orthodox and the sectaries who were confounded under these common names, they served also to designate persons whose opinions might perhaps be tinged with unconscious sectarianism, but who were chiefly noticeable for eccentricity in dress and manners, or for a religious zeal too little accompanied by knowledge or discretion.<sup>i</sup> In the fourteenth century the popes dealt hardly with the Beghards; yet orthodox societies under this name still remained in Germany;<sup>k</sup> and in Belgium, the country of their origin, female beguinages flourish to the present day.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>a</sup> “Quidam, in Alamannia præcipue, se asserentes religiosos, in utroque sexu, sed maxime in muliebri, habitum religionis, sed levem, susceperunt, continentiam et vitæ simplicitatem privato voto profitentes, sub nullius tamen Sancti regula coarctati, nec adhuc ullo claustro contenti.” M. Paris, 611; cf. 805.

<sup>b</sup> P. 197. <sup>c</sup> M. Paris, 609.

<sup>d</sup> Mosh. 150-1, 181.

<sup>e</sup> “*Beguini* vocabulum eodem sensu tum temporis usurpatum [fuit] quo, nostra ætate, nomina *Pietista* et *Rigorista*” (Mosh. 25). The name of Beguines was given, among other senses, to societies of noble but impoverished ladies, of which St. Louis founded several at Paris and elsewhere. Gaufr. de Belloloc. c. 19 (Bouq. xx.); Cf. Tillem. ‘Vie de S. Louis,’ v. 308, seqq.; Mosh. 44; Giesel. II. ii. 366.

<sup>f</sup> Giesel. II. ii. 369. Godfrey, the annalist of Cologne, habitually gives the name of *Beguini* to the Albigenses (Mosh. 55).

<sup>g</sup> Many were burnt at Paris as being Waldensians. Anon. Cartus. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. vi. 80.

<sup>h</sup> Mosh. 58, 62, 176, 187-195, &c.; Giesel. II. ii. 368.

<sup>i</sup> Hahn, ii. 421. See Conc. Trevir., A.D. 1227, c. 8; Conc. Mogunt. 1259. ap. Mansi, xxiii. 998 (where some Beghards are spoken of as crying out in the streets *Brodt durch Gott!*); Conc. Biterr. 1299. c. 4, in Mart. Thes. iv. 226; Conc. Leod., A.D. 1287, pt. 29; Mosh. 203.

<sup>k</sup> Innocent X. in 1650, subjected the Beghards to the authority of the Franciscan tertiaries. Mosh. 195.

<sup>m</sup> Mosh. Ch. Hist. ii. 583; Schröckh, xxix. 671. See also on this subject,



IV. Among those who were confounded with the Beghards—partly because, like them, they abounded along the Rhine—were the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit.<sup>n</sup> These appear in various places under various names, and in many points the system attributed to them reminds us of other sects, such as the followers of Amalric of Bena, although it is very doubtful whether they were directly connected with any of these.<sup>o</sup> Their doctrines and their practical system were of a highly enthusiastic kind. They wore a peculiarly simple dress, professed to give themselves to contemplation, and, holding that labour is a hindrance to contemplation and to the elevation of the soul to God, they lived by beggary.<sup>p</sup> These doctrines were mystical and almost pantheistic—that all things come from God, and will be absorbed into Him; that the soul is part of the Godhead, and may by contemplation become united with it in such wise that a man shall be Son of God in the same sense as the Saviour was; that when this perfection is attained, he is freed from all carnal appetites, and rises above all laws as being independent of them, so that he may look down on prayers, sacraments, and other rites as elements fit only for children.<sup>q</sup> These principles naturally led to fanaticism in practice. The brethren and sisters are said to have slept together,<sup>r</sup> for modesty and shame were regarded as proofs that the soul had not yet overcome its evil desires; and the statement may be believed, as the enemies of the sect allow that breaches of chastity were rare among them, and account for this by supposing that the devil produced in the sectaries a coldness which rendered them insensible to the temptations of the senses.<sup>s</sup> The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit were much persecuted, and probably formed a large proportion of those who were burnt under the name of Beghards. To this sect also perhaps belonged a woman of the name of Wilhelmina, who was revered at Milan as a saint

Helyot, viii. 1, seqq., and C. Schmidt, in Herzog.

<sup>n</sup> Giesel. II. ii. 645. The first traces of them are at Cologne, in the middle of the 13th century. Hahn, ii. 472.

<sup>o</sup> Mosh. (Ch. Hist. ii. 626) brings them from Italy; but the grounds of this opinion are very vague (Giesel. II. ii. 642-3). Gieseler connects them with Amalric, and with the Ordiborii or Ortlibenses, who are mentioned by Pseudo-Rainerius as a party at Strasburg, and probably get their name from a local chief named Ortlieb (ib.). But

Hahn is against this (ii. 471).

<sup>p</sup> Mosh. Ch. Hist. ii. 622. These seem to have been the people who begged for "bread through God" (p. 568, note <sup>i</sup>), and it is to them that William of St. Amour's description of the persons whom he calls *Beguini* and *Bonsvalets* (see Mosh. 27, 37) probably relates.

<sup>q</sup> Joh. Argentin. ap. Mosh. 255, seqq. (A.D. 1317); Mosh. Ch. Hist. ii. 623-5; Giesel. II. ii. 645; Hahn, ii. 474.

<sup>r</sup> Hence they were called *Schwes-triones*. <sup>s</sup> Mosheim, Ch. Hist. ii. 625.

for twenty years after her death in 1251, until an inquiry into her merits resulted in the demolition of her gorgeous tomb, and the burning of her bones as those of a heretic.<sup>t</sup>

V. The idea of evangelical poverty, which had given rise to the two great mendicant orders, was widely spread in this age, and influenced most of the new sects in a greater or less degree. Among the most remarkable of these was the party which claimed the title of Apostolicals, founded by Gerard Segarello, of Parma, a layman of humble birth and scanty education, about the year 1249.<sup>u</sup> Segarello attempted to gain admission into a Franciscan society, and having been refused, continued to hang about the convent, until a picture of the apostles in the cloister gave him the idea of adopting the dress in which they were represented—with long hair and beard, a long white coat of coarse cloth, and a rope by way of girdle—and of establishing a new brotherhood.<sup>x</sup> He sold his property, threw away the price in the market-place, and is said to have gone through a strange imitation of the Saviour's early life—submitting to circumcision, lying swathed in a cradle, and receiving nourishment like an infant.<sup>y</sup> In 1260, the year on which abbot Joachim had fixed for the beginning of the last age of the church,<sup>z</sup> and in which the frenzy of the Flagellants broke out,<sup>a</sup> Segarello became more conspicuous by gathering about thirty disciples round him,<sup>b</sup> and strange stories are told of the insane fanaticism which he displayed.<sup>c</sup> In 1279, two of his female adherents were burnt at Parma as Catharists; whereupon the people plundered the convent of the Dominican inquisitors, killed some of the friars, and banished the rest.<sup>d</sup> The bishop, Obizzo Sanvitale, although no friend to the inquisitors, arrested Segarello, but, after a time, being convinced that he was a simple and harmless man, kept him as a sort of domestic jester,<sup>e</sup> until in 1286 he felt himself bound to dismiss and to banish him, in consequence of a decree

<sup>t</sup> Wilhelmina, a Bohemian by birth, professed to be an incarnation of the Holy Ghost—parodying in the name of the Third Person of the Godhead the history of the Second. See Murat. *Antiq.* v. 91-3; Mosh. ii. 628.

<sup>u</sup> Salimbene, 112.

<sup>x</sup> *Ibid.*; Addit. ad Hist. Dulcini, ap. Murat. ix. 447.

<sup>y</sup> Salimb. 112.

<sup>z</sup> P. 209. Salimbene considers it an argument against the Apostolicals that

they had not, like the Preachers and the Minorites, been subjects of prophecy with Joachim, 124.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 454.

<sup>b</sup> Salimb. 123.

<sup>c</sup> Among other things, he slept "nudus cum nuda." Salimb. 112, 117; *Brit. Mag.* xvii. 482. Salimbene tells a scandalous story as to some of the party, 371-2.

<sup>d</sup> Salimb. 342-6; *Annal. Parm.* ap. Pertz, xviii. 688.

<sup>e</sup> Salimb. 117.



by which Honorius IV. re-enacted a canon of the second council of Lyons against any new religious orders but such as were approved by the holy see.<sup>f</sup> Notwithstanding a repetition of this decree by Nicolas IV., in 1290, Segarello ventured to return to Parma, but in the year of jubilee, 1300, the Dominicans, who had been received back with honour,<sup>g</sup> brought him to trial, and, although he recanted the errors which were imputed to him, he was made over to the secular arm, and July 18,  
1300. burnt as a relapsed heretic.<sup>h</sup>

In the mean time the sect had acquired a member who by abilities and education was better fitted for the office of leader, which, indeed, Segarello had always declined.<sup>i</sup> Dolcino was the son of a priest in the diocese of Novara, and was educated at Vercelli, where he is described as having been quick and diligent in study, and generally popular, until he was obliged to withdraw in consequence of having robbed a priest who had been his tutor.<sup>k</sup> His next appearance was in the Tyrol, where he addressed himself with powerful and effective eloquence to the spirit which had prevailed in that region from the days of Arnold of Brescia, denouncing the luxury of the clergy, and recommending a community of goods, and even, it is said, of women.<sup>m</sup> But he was dislodged by the bishop of Trent, and was expelled from Milan, Como, and other cities of Lombardy.<sup>n</sup> On the death of Segarello, Dolcino assumed the post of chief of the sect. He sent forth three letters, in the Aug. 1300. first of which he describes as his enemies all the secular clergy, many of the great and powerful, and the whole of the religious orders, especially the Preachers and the Minorites.<sup>o</sup> Before

<sup>f</sup> Conc. Lugd., A.D. 1274, c. 23; Addit. ad Hist. Dulcin. ap. Murat. ix. 448-9; Salimb. 262, 342; Rayn. 1286. 36.

<sup>g</sup> Salimb. 376; Annal. Parm. 702. This was in 1287.

<sup>h</sup> The charges related mostly to opposition to the hierarchical and sacerdotal system (see Brit. Magazine, xvii. 487; Addit. ad Hist. Dule. 450; Milman, v. 263). The Annalist of Parma (in Pertz, xviii. 713) says that he was sentenced to imprisonment for life. The Apostolicals had been denounced by Boniface four years before (Rayn. 1296. 34). James of Acqui says that Segarello, when at the stake cried out, "Asmodee, adjuva nos!" whereupon the fire was quenched. A second and a third time it was kindled, but was put out by the fiends whom the

heretic invoked. The consecrated host was then placed on the pile. Segarello cried out as before:—"Respondent dæmones in aëre, 'Nos non possumus, quia hic est major de nos.'" Hist. Patriæ [Sabaudie] Monumenta, iii. 1607.

<sup>i</sup> Salimb. 114.

<sup>k</sup> Hist. Dule. 429; Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. i. 1121. There is a book by Krone—"Fra Dolcino und die Pataraner," Leipz. 1844—founded chiefly on some documents published by Biaggioni, but it seems to be certain that these are spurious. See Hahn, iii. 389; Mariotti [i. e. Antonio Gallenga], 'Fra Dolcino and his Times,' London, 1853.

<sup>m</sup> Benven. l. c.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Addit. ad Hist. Dule. 450-1.

these he intimates his intention of retiring, until in due time he should reappear for their destruction,<sup>p</sup> and it has been supposed that he resided for a time in Dalmatia, and thence issued his later epistles.<sup>q</sup>

The doctrine of Dolcino was founded on that of Joachim, although greatly varied from it. He taught that there were four states of the church, each rising above that which had gone before it, and each declining before the following state came in as a remedy. First, the state of patriarchs, prophets, and righteous men, when it was right that mankind should multiply. Next, the state under Christ and his apostles, in which virginity was to be preferred to marriage, and poverty to wealth. Then, the age from Constantine and Sylvester, which was subdivided by the appearance of St. Benedict, and again, by that of St. Dominic and St. Francis; and lastly, the age which began with Gerard of Parma, and was to continue and fructify until the day of judgment.<sup>r</sup> The difference between the older mendicant orders and the Apostolicals was declared to be, that, whereas the former had houses to which they might carry the spoils of their begging, the newer and more perfect party had no houses, and were not allowed to carry away what was given to them.<sup>s</sup> The church of Rome was identified with the apocalyptic harlot, and was said to have lost all spiritual power through the vices of her rulers; all popes since Sylvester had been deceivers, with the exception of Celestine V.; their excommunications were naught, nor could any pope really absolve unless he were absolutely poor and equal in holiness to St. Peter.<sup>t</sup> The religious orders were declared to be mischievous; for it was better to live without than under a vow, and the Apostolicals were not constrained by any outward rule, but by the free spirit of love.<sup>u</sup> They claimed an understanding of the Scriptures which was not derived from man,<sup>x</sup> and held that except by joining their body, of which every member was perfect as the apostles, there could be no salvation.<sup>y</sup> Although oaths were forbidden in general, it was held to be lawful to save their lives even by forswearing their opinions; and this Dolcino acknowledged that he had thrice done when he fell into the hands of inquisitors; but if death

<sup>p</sup> Addit. ad Hist. Dulc. 451.

<sup>q</sup> See Brit. Mag. xvii. 613, 615. The second letter was written in Dec. 1303.

Addit. ad Hist. Dulc. 454.

<sup>r</sup> Addit. 451.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 452.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. Dulc. 435; Addit. 456-7.

<sup>u</sup> Addit. 457; Hahn, ii. 395; Neand. viii. 395.

<sup>x</sup> Hist. Dulc. 435.

<sup>y</sup> Addit. 457; Hahn, ii. 397-8.



were inevitable, it was their duty to avow their doctrines boldly.<sup>z</sup>

Dolcino announced that Frederick of Sicily, on whom the antipapalists were fond of resting their hopes,<sup>a</sup> was to enter Rome on Christmas Day, 1305, was to be chosen as emperor, and to set up ten kings who were to reign three years and a half—evidently the ten horns of the apocalyptic Beast, which was thus turned to the antipapal interest.<sup>b</sup> The emperor was to slay pope Boniface with his cardinals, the prelates, clergy, monks, and friars, and was to restore the church to its apostolical poverty.<sup>c</sup> After the destruction of Boniface, a new pope, specially sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and equal in perfection to St. Peter, was to be appointed by supernatural means (for there would be no cardinals to elect). Perhaps this pope might prove to be Dolcino himself, if then alive; perhaps Segarello restored to life.<sup>d</sup> After preaching three years and a half, the holy pope and his associates were to be caught up to Paradise, while Enoch and Elias were to descend, to preach of antichrist, and to be slain by him; and when the time of antichrist should have passed away, the pope and his followers were to return, and to convert all men to the true faith, with a marvellous effusion of the Holy Ghost.<sup>e</sup> The seven angels of the apocalyptic churches were interpreted to mean respectively Benedict, Sylvester, Francis, Dominic, Gerard Segarello, Dolcino himself, and the future holy pope. If at any time the course of events did not agree with Dolcino's predictions, he was ready to alter these, or in some other manner to get over the difficulty.<sup>f</sup>

The Apostolicals are described by a contemporary as spending their time in idleness, neither working nor praying.<sup>g</sup> They kissed the feet of Dolcino, as being the holiest of men, while the orthodox shuddered at his profanity in eating flesh during Lent and on fast days.<sup>h</sup> The sectaries regarded marriage as purely spiritual. The men led about sisters, and with these they renewed the fanatical trials which have been mentioned in connection with other parties.<sup>i</sup> Dolcino's companion was a beautiful maiden of Trent, named Margaret, whom he extolled as

<sup>z</sup> Hist. Dulc. 437; Addit. 457, 468.

<sup>a</sup> See Mariotti, 155-7.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Dulc. 435; Addit. 453, 498; Brit. Mag. xvii. 613-4.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Dulc. 436; Addit. 453.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Dulc. 436; Addit. 453-5.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Dulc. 436; Addit. 453; Brit. Mag. xvii. 614.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Dulc. 435; Neand. viii. 350.

<sup>g</sup> "Tota die otiosi, tota die vagabundi, nam non laborant neque orant." Salimbene.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Dulc. 437.

<sup>i</sup> Salimb. 330. "Quod jacere cum muliere et non commisceri ex carnalitate majus est quam resuscitare mortuum" (Addit. 457).

perfect. After a time, it was rumoured (apparently without ground) that she was pregnant. "If so," said Dolcino, "it must be by the Holy Ghost."<sup>k</sup>

In 1304, Dolcino, at the invitation of a wealthy landowner, established himself in the Val Sesia,<sup>m</sup> and disciples gathered rapidly around him from both sides of the Alps. The clergy were alarmed, and an army of Crusaders took the field against the Apostolicals, under the command of Rainier, bishop of Vercelli, and under the patronage of the great local saint Eusebius. Although the principles of the sect forbade the use of force, even in self-defence, Dolcino now displayed an instinctive genius for war; he disappeared by night from the Val Sesia, and, with more than fourteen hundred companions, took up a strong position on the "Mountain of the Bare Wall," near Varallo.<sup>n</sup> But after they had here defied their enemies for a time, the dread of famine began to be felt. They were compelled to eat roots and leaves, chopped hay, horses, dogs, rats, and even the flesh of their own dead companions. The Apostolicals grew desperate; they made sallies into the neighbouring country, plundered and profaned churches, burnt, ravaged, carried off captives, whom they put to heavy ransom, and reduced many of the peaceable inhabitants to beggary.<sup>o</sup> Leaving their sick and infirm behind them, about 1000 of the sectaries made their way through fearful difficulties, March 10, over mountains covered with deep snow and ice, to the 1306.

still wilder height of Mount Zebello, near Ivrea, where they fortified themselves in their new position, and dug a deep well.<sup>p</sup> But here their distress for food became more terrible than ever; for their money, of which they had accumulated a large store by plunder, was unable to procure them any provisions.<sup>q</sup> A holy war was proclaimed against them by Clement V., and many enlisted for the enterprise.<sup>r</sup> Yet in this dreadful extremity of hunger the sectaries kept up the sternness of their resolution, until, after having spent somewhat more than a year March 23, on the mountain, their strength was utterly worn out. On Holy Thursday 1307, after a fierce and desperate resistance,

<sup>k</sup> Addit. 459.

<sup>m</sup> See Mariotti, 128, 218-221.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. Dule. 430-1; Mariotti, 130.

<sup>o</sup> Hist. Dule. 431, 438-9.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Dule. 427, 432-4. It is now called Mount St. Bernard (Mariotti, 247); but Mr. Herbert is mistaken in identifying it with the *great* Alpine pass of that name. Brit. Mag. xvii.

616.

<sup>q</sup> Benv. Imol. 1122. The message which Mahomet is represented by Dante as sending to Dolcino, advising him to furnish himself with provisions (Inf. xxviii. 55-60) supposes him on Mount Zebello. See Milman, v. 268.

<sup>r</sup> Hist. Dule. 433.



they were overpowered and almost exterminated by the crusading force.<sup>s</sup> Dolcino, Margaret, and one of the leaders named Longino, were reserved for a more terrible death; and pope Clement, on being consulted, answered that they should be punished in the same places which had witnessed their misdeeds.<sup>t</sup> Dolcino and Margaret, therefore, suffered at Vercelli. It is said that, when she was led out for punishment, her beauty so captivated the beholders that many nobles offered her marriage if she would consent to save her life by renouncing her errors; but she persevered, and without flinching endured the torture of a slow fire, while Dolcino was compelled to look on and calmly exhorted her to endurance. Dolcino himself bore with equal constancy the tearing of his flesh with red hot pincers, and Longino suffered death with the same circumstances of atrocious cruelty at Biella.<sup>u</sup> Thus the sect of the Apostolicals was extinguished in blood, and, although slight traces of it may be discovered somewhat later, its name and even its influence speedily disappear.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Hist. Dule. 439.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. 440.

<sup>u</sup> Ib.; Benv. Imol. 1122; Miln. v. 269.

<sup>x</sup> See Mosheim, 'Gesch. des Apostel-

ordens,' in his 'Unpartheyische Ketzer-geschichte;' Schröckh, xxiv. 607; Brit. Mag. xvii. 620; Neand 395; Hahn, ii. 240-5; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Apostelbrüder*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1). INNOCENT III. declared that to St. Peter had been committed the government, not only of the whole church, but of the whole world.<sup>a</sup> He set forth more strongly Gregory VII.'s comparison of the spiritual and the secular powers to the sun and moon respectively. As the moon, he said, borrows from the sun a light which is inferior both in amount and in quality, in position and in effect, so does the regal power borrow from the pontifical;<sup>b</sup> as the light which rules over the day—*i. e.* over spiritual things—is the greater, and as that which rules over the night—*i. e.* over carnal things—is the lesser, so is the difference between pontiffs and kings like that between the sun and the moon.<sup>c</sup> Throughout the century which began with Innocent's pontificate, the great pope's principles were triumphant. The popes claimed the right to dispose of kingdoms and of the empire, and enforced the claim, although not with unvarying success; whenever, indeed, they saw a likelihood of vigorous resistance, they were careful to put such an interpretation on their pretensions as might enable them to recede without loss of dignity. They steadily pursued the policy of extracting large concessions for the church, and especially for their own see, from those whom they supported as candidates for the empire, from Otho IV. to Albert of Austria.<sup>d</sup> And thus Rudolf of Hapsburg, in addition

<sup>a</sup> Of this he advances a strange proof: that since the sea signifies the world, St. Peter's casting himself into the sea, while the other disciples remained in the ship (Joh. xxi. 7) 'privilegium expressit pontificii singularis per quod universum orbem suscepit gubernandum.' (Ep. ii. 209, Patrol. cexiv. 759, to the Patriarch of Constantinople). In citing the words a little before, "Petro non solum universam ecclesiam, sed totum reliquit sæculum gubernandum," Gieseler makes the mistake (II., ii. 108) of substituting "Dominus" for "Jacobus frater Domini.. Hierosolymitana sola contentus;" but there is no substantial

misrepresentation of the passage.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. i. 401.

<sup>c</sup> Ad. Imper. Cpol., Patrol. lcxvi. 1184. See vol. ii. 609 (566); Gregorov. v. 67. De Marca tries to soften these comparisons, II., i. 8.

<sup>d</sup> "Sæpe enim" says Salimbene, "Romani pontifices de republica aliquid volunt emungere, cum imperatores ad imperium assumuntur. Ipsi vero convenienter negare non possunt quod postulatur ab eis; tum propter curialitatem et liberalitatem quam in principio imperii sui maxime erga ecclesiam volunt ostendere, tum etiam quia credunt se dono habere quodcumque de imperio



to the substantial concessions which have been mentioned elsewhere,<sup>e</sup> admitted the comparison of the greater and lesser lights, and also that use of the word *beneficia* which had excited the indignation of Frederick Barbarossa.<sup>f</sup> Their inferences from Constantine's pretended Donation became more extravagant than before. Thus, Gregory IX. laid it down that the first Christian emperor had made over to the popes, not only Rome and the ensigns of imperial dignity, but the empire itself; and that the empire of the Germans in later times was held only by delegation from the Roman see.<sup>g</sup> And Innocent IV. in pronouncing the deposition of Frederick II., went still further by declaring that Christ bestowed on St. Peter and his successors not only pontifical but regal power, earthly as well as heavenly and spiritual government; and therefore that Constantine did nothing more than give up to the church a part of that which had before rightfully belonged to it.<sup>h</sup> Spurious sentences were brought forward as citations from the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, in order to claim the authority of those times for the late developments of the papal pretensions.<sup>i</sup> The feudal principles were so applied as to constitute the pope a lord paramount, not only over the hierarchy, but over states and kingdoms;<sup>k</sup> and this pretension was embodied in the display which Boniface VIII. is said to have made at the Roman jubilee.<sup>m</sup> From having styled themselves vicars of St. Peter, they now styled themselves vicars of Christ or of God,<sup>n</sup> and their persons were surrounded with a pomp before unknown.<sup>o</sup>

The popes now not only claimed the right of summoning general councils, but aimed at superseding the voice of councils by their own authority—allowing even to councils which were styled general a power of advising only, and not of deciding by vote. Thus it was in the Lateran council of 1215, and in great

dabitur eis; tum etiam quia erubescunt se auctum ostendere antequam in cucurbita sint; tum etiam ne omnino patiantur repulsam." 282. <sup>e</sup> Pp. 478-9, 484.

<sup>f</sup> (P. 79.) Gregorov. v. 463, citing Pertz, Leges, ii. 403, seqq. 431.

<sup>g</sup> Rayn. 1236. 24.

<sup>h</sup> MS. quoted by Raumer, iv. 78; Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 58-9. Compare the quotation in Giesel. II., ii. 211, from the treatise 'De Regimine Principum,' iii. 10. (The first two books only of this treatise are supposed to be by Aquinas.)

<sup>i</sup> See vol. i. 455, note <sup>t</sup>; Giesel. II., ii. 221.

<sup>k</sup> Some Flemish ambassadors, who were at Rome in 1299, heard Cardinal Acquasparta preach before Boniface "que li pape *tous seus* est sire souverains temporeus et spirituels deseure tous, quelque il soient, ou liu de Diu, par le don ke Dieu en fist à Saint Pierre, et as apostoles [i. e. to the pope] après lui." Patrol. clxxxv. 1901. A.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 524.

<sup>n</sup> *F. g. Innoc. III.*, Patrol. ccxv. 551. A.; ccxvii. 482. For the extravagances of writers in the papal interest, see Giesel. II., ii. 223.

<sup>o</sup> See Giesel. II., ii. 224.

measure in the council of Lyons in 1245.<sup>p</sup> And now the papal pretension to infallibility was for the first time plainly asserted by the great Dominican doctor, Thomas Aquinas.<sup>q</sup>

But on the other hand the increased pretensions of the papacy began to awaken inquiry into the sources of the papal power. Even where the genuineness of Constantine's Donation was unquestioned, the papal inferences were met by a story that when the gift had been made to Pope Sylvester, an angelic voice was heard in the air, exclaiming, "This day is poison poured forth into the church."<sup>r</sup> And such practical facts as the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis, the ecclesiastical policy of Edward I. of England, and the conflict between Boniface and Philip the Fair, were serious warnings to the papacy that its pretensions were not to pass unquestioned.<sup>s</sup>

In their great contest with the empire, the popes asserted the principle of free election to bishopricks and abbacies; but, when they had succeeded in excluding the secular power, they endeavoured to usurp the patronage of such appointments for themselves.<sup>t</sup> Thus we find that in five out of seven vacancies which took place in the see of Canterbury during the century, the popes, under one pretext or another, set aside the claimants who had been elected, and, either by their assumed "plenitude of power" or otherwise, filled the English primacy with their own nominees.<sup>u</sup> Yet this attempt was not as yet successful except

<sup>p</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 696; Giesel. II., ii. 226.

<sup>q</sup> *Secunda Secundæ*, I., x. 3. See Giesel. II., ii. 229-230.

<sup>r</sup> Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 12, ed. Wackernagel, Giessen, 1862. See the extracts from Giles Colonna, archbishop of Bourges, from popular poetry, &c., in Giesel. II., ii. 211, seqq; Neand. ix., 19, seqq. In the 12th century the story was told of Louis the Pious, "qui præcipue ditavit ecclesias. Legimus enim in historia ejus, quod audierit vocem dicentem sibi, 'Venenum ecclesiæ edidisti.'" Vita S. Bern. vi. 22; Patrol. clxxxv. 386.

"Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre,  
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote  
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!"  
Dante, *Inf.* xix. 115-7.

<sup>s</sup> Guizot, iii. 184. The law-book entitled 'Sachsenspiegel,' compiled about 1216, contains principles opposed to the papal pretensions as to Germany and the empire. Fourteen propositions from it were condemned in 1374 by Gre-

gory XI. (whose decree has been wrongly ascribed to Gregory IX.). Giesel. II., ii. 136-7.

<sup>t</sup> Thomassin, de Benef. III., ii. 33; Murat. Annali, VII., ii. 139.

<sup>u</sup> The other cases were that of Boniface of Savoy, in whose favour his niece's husband, Henry III., persuaded all the bishops to write to the pope; and that of Robert Winchelsey. Before the promotion of Stephen Langton, as we have seen, two candidates were set aside; before that of Edmund Rich, three. Matthew Paris says that the see was like Sara the daughter of Raguel, in being "toties viduata." (Wendov. v. 283.) See, as to Reims, Innoc. III. Ep. vii. 116. In 1259, we find Alexander IV. setting aside a man who had been postulated for the see of Glasgow, substituting a nominee of his own, and then asking Henry III. to intercede with the king of Scotland for this nominee. Rymer, i. 386, 394; Keith's Catalogue, 142.



in particular cases—as when it was said that the electors had forfeited their privilege by choosing badly, and that therefore the appointment fell to the pope “by right of devolution;”<sup>x</sup> or when the vacancy was caused by the death of a prelate on a visit to the papal court.<sup>y</sup>

The same policy of grasping at patronage was practised as to other classes of preferment.<sup>z</sup> The system of *precistæ* was carried further than before, and the prayers were changed into commands. Innocent III. was not content to send foreign ecclesiastics into England, with requests that the bishops would provide for them, but took it on himself to make out instruments of collation, without giving any other notice to the bishops whose patronage he thus usurped.<sup>a</sup> Honorius III. addressed letters to the clergy of France and England, stating that the A.D. 1225-exactions of the Roman court, which were a common<sup>6</sup> subject of complaint, were caused by the scantiness of its income from other sources; and proposing by way of remedy that the income of certain prebends in every cathedral and collegiate or monastic church should be set apart for the expenses of the curia. But in both countries the proposal was received with such an outburst of indignant derision that the legates who were charged with it refrained from pressing the matter.<sup>b</sup> Innocent IV. at the first council of Lyons renewed the attempt to get possession of English prebends; but the representatives of the English church were firm in their refusal.<sup>c</sup> The system of *precistæ*, however, went on. Thus, Gregory IX., in 1240, desired Archbishop Edmund and two other English bishops to provide for three hundred Italians;<sup>d</sup> and although the intrusion of foreign incumbents into the English church was among the chief causes of the “Barons’ War,”<sup>e</sup> the legate Guy Fulcodi, who was sent to England in the heat of that great contest, was authorised by Urban IV. to bestow canonries and other benefices

<sup>x</sup> Thomass. de Benef. II., i. 51; Giesel. II., ii. 242.

<sup>y</sup> The claim as to “beneficia in curia vacantia” was first established by Clement IV. in 1266 (VI. Decret. iii. 4, 2; Thomass. de Benef. II., i. 48; Giesel. II., ii. 242). The council of Lyons, in 1274, allowed the ordinary patrons to exercise their rights after a month. C. 21 (Mansi, xxiv.).

<sup>z</sup> E. g. Innoc. III. Ep. vi. 241.

<sup>a</sup> Thomass. de Benef. II., ii. 43; Planck, IV. ii. 720; Hurter, iii. 106-9;

Pauli, iii. 567-8.

<sup>b</sup> R. Wendov. iv. 114, 120-3; Chron. Turon. ap. Bouq. xviii. 310, or Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1066. Innocent IV., while at Lyons, in 1245, on trying to put some Italians into prebends of the Cathedral, was told by the canons that they would throw any such nominees into the Rhone. M. Paris, 658, 815.

<sup>c</sup> Annal. Dunstapl. 167.

<sup>d</sup> M. Paris, 532.

<sup>e</sup> Flor. Vig. contin. 241.

by way of provision.<sup>f</sup> The documents by which patronage was thus usurped were from the time of Innocent IV. rendered more peremptory by the introduction of the phrases “*de plenitudine potestatis*” and “*non obstantibus* ;” by which it was signified that the pope had absolute power in such matters, and that his will was paramount to all difficulties or objections.<sup>g</sup>

The papal legates continued to excite the indignation of those to whom they were sent by their extortions and assumptions. Clement IV. describes them as having a power like that of proconsuls over the provinces committed to them,<sup>h</sup> and they exercised jurisdiction and invaded patronage with the full authority which the popes themselves assumed.<sup>i</sup> In some cases, sovereigns refused to admit such visitors into their dominions,<sup>k</sup> and popes were reduced to the evasion of sending envoys without the title of legate, although with all or more than all the legatine power.<sup>m</sup> But it was part of the oath exacted from Otho IV. and his successors, that they would not throw any hindrance in the way of legates ;<sup>n</sup> and, if a pope agreed to refrain from sending legates into any country, it was held by the Roman party that his successors were not bound by his act.<sup>o</sup> Alexander IV., in consequence of the innumerable complaints which were made as to the misbehaviour of legates, endeavoured to put them under some restraint ; but almost immediately after this, we find the same complaints as before.<sup>p</sup>

The resistance of the English to the spoliation of their church

<sup>f</sup> Milman, iv. 418, from MS. Mus. Brit. Cf. Clem. IV., pp. 160, 172, in Murat. Thes. ii.; Alex. IV. in Annal. Burton. 487, seqq.

<sup>g</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 227. Henry III. complained of this in 1245 (Annal. Dunstap. 170). A great outcry was raised in England when a like power was claimed for the king by introducing the words “*non obstantibus*” into secular documents. A.D. 1251, M. Paris, 810. Innocent IV. often promised a mitigation of his practices as to provisions (e. g. Rymer, i. 281; M. Paris, 722); but such promises seem to have been never fulfilled. The Dunstaple annalist states that in 1289 Nicolas IV., grievously oppressed the English church by provisions (353). Edward I., wishing to get preferment for three of his chaplains, took advantage of the papal system by getting an order from Gregory X., that benefices should be given to them by the bishop of Bath and Wells, and by the archdeacon of Dorset. A.D. 1275 (Rymer,

i. 527.) There is a curious case of provision in Mr. Webb's Introduction to R. de Swinfield (Camden Soc.), ccv., seqq.

<sup>h</sup> VI. Decretal. i. 15, 2.

<sup>i</sup> De Marca, vii. cc. 30-1.

<sup>k</sup> As Alexander II. of Scotland, in 1237. But ten years later, a legate was admitted, who “drew the money of the Scots, as the adamant draws iron.” M. Paris, 446, 723. As to Alexander III. and Ottobuoni, A.D. 1263, see Tytler, i. 41.

<sup>m</sup> E. g. Master Martin, who was sent to England in 1244 (M. Paris, 645; see above, p. 411). <sup>n</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 256-7.

<sup>o</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 256.

<sup>p</sup> See Giesel. II., ii. 246, and the account of the behaviour of Cardinal John of Tusculum, as legate for Germany, in 1286, p. 247. The legate Ottobuoni disgusted the English by allowing Henry III. to seat him in the royal chair at a banquet on St. Edward's day, 1266. M. Paris, contin. 1001; Pauli, iii. 842.



by foreigners who performed none of the duties of pastors, and to the merciless exactions by which it was drained for the benefit of Rome, has been already mentioned.<sup>a</sup> In France, where similar oppressions were attempted, they were met in a like spirit.<sup>r</sup> And in that country the strength which the crown had acquired under St. Louis, with the influence of his personal character, and the authority which his legal counsellors could advance from their study of ancient law, enabled him effectually to check the papal spirit of aggression on the national rights by the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction.<sup>s</sup>

A great forgery of bulls and other documents professing to emanate from the papal chancery was now carried on; and privileges of questionable character were often produced by persons whose interest they favoured, as the results of a visit to Rome. Richard of Canterbury, after denouncing persons who attempted to pass themselves off as <sup>A.D. 1187.</sup> bishops by counterfeiting "the barbarism of Irish or Scottish speech," goes on to complain of spurious bulls, and orders that the makers and users of such documents shall be periodically excommunicated.<sup>t</sup> Innocent III. makes frequent mention of these forgeries, of which a manufactory was in his time discovered at Rome; and he exposes some of the tricks which were practised—such as that of affixing to a forgery a genuine papal seal taken from a genuine deed, the erasure of some words and the substitution of others.<sup>u</sup> But the canons of later councils prove that the system of forgery survived these exposures and denunciations.<sup>x</sup>

(2). The canon law during this time received important additions. Gratian's 'Decretum,' notwithstanding his endeavour to harmonise the materials of which it was composed, gave rise to frequent questions, which drew forth papal decretals and rescripts in order to their resolution; and these all became part of the

<sup>a</sup> P. 429. See Ad. de Marisco, in Monumenta Francisc. 430. Matthew Paris is so full on the subject of Roman exactions and usurpations, that it is needless to give special references to his pages.

<sup>r</sup> See pp. 440, 465, 531. A council under the archbishop of Tours, in 1231, orders that no priest shall be presented to a parish unless he understands the language of the country.

<sup>s</sup> See p. 465. Giesel. II., ii. 260-1. Sismondi observes that the Pragmatic Sanction seems to say little, but became important on account of the deductions

which legists were able to draw from it, viii. 106; Hallam, M. A. ii. 13.

<sup>t</sup> P. Bles. Ep. 53 (Patrol. c. vii.); Ep. 68 (ib. cc. 1459).

<sup>u</sup> Epp. i. 235, 262, 349; ii. 27, 37, &c.; Suppl. 334. In xvi. 10 he instructs the archbishop of Lund how to deal with an impostor who had assumed the character of a legate. See, too, the Evesham Chronicle as to Innocent, p. 161.

<sup>x</sup> E. g. Conc. Salisburg., A.D. 1281. c. 17; Conc. Leod., A.D. 1287. c. 31.

law of the Church. This body of law had also been increased by the canons of important councils—some of which councils even claimed the title of general.<sup>y</sup> From the growth of such additions, from the contradictions, the repetitions, and other defects of the existing canons, there was no small danger lest ecclesiastical law should fall into utter confusion.<sup>z</sup> Many attempts had already been made to form a digest of the matter thus accumulated,<sup>a</sup> when in 1230, Gregory IX., himself a man of great learning in canon law, intrusted the formation of an authoritative work to Raymond of Peñaforte, a Spanish Dominican,<sup>b</sup> who, after three years of labour, with the help of other learned canonists, produced five books of Decretals;<sup>c</sup> and to these a sixth, made up of five smaller books, was added by Boniface VIII. in 1298.<sup>d</sup> Thus it happens that the authoritative law-books of the Roman church date from the time when the power of the papacy was at its greatest height.<sup>e</sup> By Gregory's order, the Decretals compiled by Raymond were published at Paris in 1234, and at Bologna in the following year.<sup>f</sup> In these collections the conflict between earlier and later authorities, which had perplexed the students of Gratian, no longer appeared. All obsolete matter was excluded, and the materials for decision of questions were ready at hand; and in consequence of the greater convenience of such books for use, Gratian's work came to be practically superseded by them.<sup>g</sup>

(3). When the election of bishops had passed into the hands of the cathedral chapters, members of these chapters pursued towards the bishops the same policy by which the ecclesiastical and other electors diminished the rights of the German crown—exactings concessions from every new bishop at the time of his election; and, although such “capitulations” were declared by

<sup>y</sup> Walter, 231.

<sup>z</sup> See Steph. Tornac. Ep. 251 (Patrol. cexi.); Greg. IX., Letter prefixed to the Decretals.

<sup>a</sup> Tiraboschi, iv. 257-260; Walter, 232-5; Wasserschleben, in Herzog, vii. 318.

<sup>b</sup> Raymond became general of his order in 1238, resigned two years later, and died in 1275—in his hundredth year according to some, although others make his age eighty-nine. He was canonised by Clement VIII. in 1601. His most famous miracle is that of having made his way from Majorca to Barcelona, 160 miles, in six hours, by walking on the sea with the help of his cloak, which

was gently inflated by the wind. Acta SS. Jan. i. 412. See as to him Quétif, i. 106-110; Tirab. iv. 263.

<sup>c</sup> Acta SS. 410.

<sup>d</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxii. 10; Tirab. iv. 263; Giannone, iii. 303-5; Schröckh, xxvii. 71; Giesel. II., ii. 220; Tosti, ii. 11; Wassersch. 320.

<sup>e</sup> Gregorov. v. 600.

<sup>f</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 747. See his letter to the university of Bologna, prefixed to the Decretals.

<sup>g</sup> “Gratianus multa scripsit jura, quæ nunc abrogata sunt, sententia saniore prævalenti.” Rog. Bacon. ‘Opus Majus,’ p. 250, quoted by Giesel. II., ii. 221; cf. Planck, IV., ii. 751-2.



Innocent III. and other popes to be null, the practice continued.<sup>h</sup> The pretensions of the chapters to privileges and independence rose higher. In some cases they became "close" (*capitula clausa*) refusing to admit any members but such as could satisfy a certain standard of noble descent;<sup>i</sup> but this exclusive system did not find favour with popes, when questions arising out of it were carried to them for decision.<sup>k</sup>

As there was nothing in general to limit the number of canons, except the want of sufficient endowments for their support,<sup>m</sup> a new system was introduced of appointing canons in reversion. These, who were styled *Domicellares*, differed from the junior canons of Chrodegang's rule, inasmuch as the juniors had small estates, while the domicellares, during their time of expectancy, had none; while on the other hand the domicellares, unlike the juniors, were entitled to vote in the chapter. But this unlimited multiplication of canonries, and the disposal of such dignities before they were vacant, were discouraged by popes and by several councils.<sup>n</sup>

By way of some compensation for their former share in the appointment of bishops, sovereigns now acquired the "right of first prayers"—*jus primarum precum*—by which they were entitled to claim one piece of patronage from every new bishop or abbot. The first recorded instance of this privilege is said to be no older than the year 1242, when it was exercised by Conrad, son of Frederick II., as king of the Romans;<sup>o</sup> but within a few years after that time, Richard of Cornwall and Rudolf of Hapsburg profess to have derived it from the ancient custom of their predecessors.<sup>p</sup>

The evils which arose from long vacancies of sees had been much felt, and especially in England. During such times, which were protracted for the advantage of sovereigns, the tenants and the property of sees suffered greatly, while the diocese or the province was left without pastoral superintendence,<sup>q</sup> and

<sup>h</sup> Planck, II., ii. 590-2; Giesel. II., ii. ii. 9, 12.  
277.

<sup>i</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 580; Giesel. II., ii. 276-7.

<sup>k</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 586; Giesel. II., ii. 277. Thus Gregory IX. decided against the objections raised by the chapter of Strasburg to a clerk who had been presented by a legate to a vacant prebend. Decret. III., v. 7.

<sup>m</sup> In some cases canons restricted the number of prebends, in order that they might secure larger dividends. Ib. I.,

<sup>n</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 581-2. See Innoc. III. Ep. i. 388 against this; also i. 501; xiii. 205; Chron. Turon. in Bouq. xviii. 303; Conc. Salmur. 1253, c. 10.

<sup>o</sup> Böhm. 262.

<sup>p</sup> Rudolf. Epp. i. 14-7 (Patrol. xlviii.). See Cenni, ib. 695; Giesel. II., ii. 266; Thomass. de Benef. II., i. 53; Schröckh, xxvii. 112-3.

<sup>q</sup> Matthew Paris complains (A. D. 1250) that a custom had grown up of deferring the consecration of a bishop elect—"ut

the decree of the fourth council of Lateran, that every see should be filled up within three months,<sup>r</sup> was far from remedying the evil. But, although much is said of these things, it is only the abuse that is complained of by writers of the time, and the king's right to the income during vacancy is admitted.<sup>s</sup> Philip the Fair asserts very strongly his claim in this respect, arguing that, as on the vacancy of a fief, the liege-lord stepped in, so the sovereign was entitled to the temporal jurisdiction and property belonging to a vacant see, prebend, or other dignity.<sup>t</sup>

(4). From the time when the questions of investiture and homage were settled, it was understood that bishops were subject to the performance of all feudal duties in consideration of their temporalities.<sup>u</sup> Thus, in the reign of Philip Augustus, when the

bishops of Orleans and Auxerre had withdrawn their  
A.D. 1209.

troops from the national army, under the pretext that they were not bound to furnish them unless when the king commanded in person, Innocent III. admitted the king's right to the troops, provided that he had not invaded the especial property of the sees, although the question whether the bishops were bound to serve in person was left for further consideration.<sup>x</sup> At the Lateran council, Innocent, in forbidding secular potentates to exact oaths of fealty from such clergy as held no temporalities under them,<sup>y</sup> admits the feudal right which arose out of temporalities; and the decisions of some later popes were in accordance with this view.<sup>z</sup> Boniface VIII., however, in a bull

addressed to William of Gainsborough, bishop of Worcester, affected to give him possession of the temporalities  
A.D. 1302.

of his see, as well as of the spiritual jurisdiction. But Edward I. obliged the bishop to renounce that clause in the bull which related to the temporalities, and fined him a thousand marks for having received a document so derogatory to the English crown.<sup>a</sup>

The clergy now insisted on a right to immunity from lay taxation<sup>b</sup>—a pretension which, according to the principles of the

scilicet postea non pascatur, sed pascatur.”  
816.

<sup>r</sup> Can. 23.

<sup>s</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 116. See Schröckh, xxvii. 108-9, as to Germany. There is a letter from Henry III. of England to Alexander IV., asserting a right to dispose of patronage belonging to vacant sees. Letters of Hen. III., ed. Shirley, vol. ii. No. 530.

<sup>t</sup> De Marca, VIII., xxii. 6.

<sup>u</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 175-7; Giesel. II., ii. 264.

<sup>x</sup> Innoc. Epp. xiii. 190; xiv. 52; xv. 39, 40, 108-9, 123-4; Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1109-1124. Cf. Innoc. Epp. vi. 163-7; vii. 42. <sup>y</sup> C. 43.

<sup>z</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 175-7; Giesel. II., ii. 265. Cf. Cœlest. III. Ep. 220, A.D. 1195 (Patrol. ccvi.).

<sup>a</sup> Spelman, Concilia, i. 435-6.

<sup>b</sup> See Conc. Lat. IV. A.D. 1215. c. 46.



age, was fair, if it were understood to mean that the amount of their contributions to public purposes was to be assessed by members of their own order. But the clergy were very commonly disposed to extend it to a claim of entire exemption, whether from national taxes, from local rates, or from tolls on the conveyance of their property and of the produce of their estates.<sup>c</sup> Against this unreasonable pretension the free cities of Lombardy took the lead in defending themselves by the infliction of civil disabilities on the clergy; and both there and elsewhere the opposite principle was eventually established.<sup>d</sup> We have seen how much this question entered into the great quarrel between Boniface and Philip the Fair.<sup>e</sup>

The question as to the immunity of the clergy from secular justice, which had been the chief occasion of Becket's struggle with Henry II., had not been clearly decided. In England, although that constitution of Clarendon which had especially excited the archbishop's indignation,<sup>f</sup> was not formally abrogated even after his death, the full acknowledgment of the "rights and liberties of the English Church" in the first article of Magna Charta, may seem to imply a virtual repeal of it.<sup>g</sup> At a later time, Grossetête is found complaining that lay courts interfered with the rights of the clergy, although he was willing to allow that the secular officers should arrest a clerk detected in grievous crime, and should keep him until claimed by his ordinary.<sup>h</sup> A council held by Archbishop Boniface at Lambeth in 1261 complained that clerks were sometimes imprisoned on mere suspicion by laymen, who refused to give them up to the ordinary. The council enacted that laymen so offending should be punished by excommunication and interdict;<sup>i</sup> that every bishop should provide one or more prisons for criminous clerks, and that clerks convicted of any crime which in a layman would be capital, should be confined for life.<sup>k</sup> In 1275, it was enacted by the first statute of Westminster, that, if a clerk accused of any felony were demanded by his ordinary, his person should be given up, but the charge should be investigated by the secular judge, and, if the clerk were found guilty, his lands and other property should be seized into the hands of the king. If, however, he were able to purge himself in the spiritual court, it was ordered

<sup>c</sup> See Conc. Tolos. A.D. 1229, cc. 20-1.

<sup>d</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 199, 207-218; Giesel. II., ii. 268; Conc. Mediol. 1287 (1227?) in Mansi, xxiv. 882-6; Conc. Narbon. ib. xxiii. 1227, cc. 1-2. See p. 515, note \*.

<sup>e</sup> Pp. 515 seqq.

<sup>f</sup> No. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 245.

<sup>h</sup> Annal. Burton, 425.

<sup>i</sup> Wilkins, i. 750.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. 755.

both by the council of Lambeth and in the Westminster statute that the confiscated property should be restored.<sup>m</sup>

In other countries also the clergy endeavoured to secure exemption from all secular jurisdiction. Frederick II., both at his coronation as emperor in 1220, and at his reconciliation with Gregory IX. ten years later, acknowledged such exemption in broad terms, with the single exception, on the latter occasion, of cases relating to feudal matters.<sup>n</sup>

Yet, although the clergy were able to obtain such acknowledgments, the evident justice of the objections raised by Henry II. of England and others to the actual working of the system had the effect of bringing about a stricter execution of the ecclesiastical laws against offending clerks. Thus, Innocent III., while forbidding the laity to draw clergymen before secular courts, was careful to order that the ecclesiastical courts should render full justice to the laity, and that bishops should deal strictly in the punishment of clergymen who were convicted of crime.<sup>o</sup> And, while the officers of secular justice were entitled to arrest a clerk and to detain him until claimed by his ecclesiastical superior, the ecclesiastical authorities were forbidden, after a clerk had been degraded from his orders for his crimes, to provide for his escape from the secular authorities.<sup>p</sup>

(5). The church claimed an oversight of the administration of justice, on the theory that the secular powers derived from it their commission to execute justice, and that the church was still entitled to exercise its right through priests.<sup>q</sup> And on the ground that crimes are also sins, or on some other ground, the clergy contrived to bring within the scope of their canons and jurisdiction a multitude of affairs which seemed rather to belong to the secular province.<sup>r</sup> Hence arose frequent complaints of encroachment on both sides. Matthew Paris relates that in 1247 an association of French nobles drew up an agreement for the purpose of restoring the former state of things, in which the ecclesiastical courts had limited their cognizance to matters of heresy, marriage, or usury,<sup>s</sup> and that St. Louis affixed his seal to this document. It has indeed been remarked as a singular

<sup>m</sup> Wilkins, i. 750; ii. 115-6; cf. *Annal. Dunstapl.* 318. See Collier, ii. 573; Hallam, M.A. ii. 23.

<sup>n</sup> Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 243-4; Ric. Sangerm. ap. Murat. vii. 1021. See as to the emperor's son, Henry, Pertz, ii. 302.

<sup>o</sup> *Decretal. Gregor.* II., i. 17; V. xxxix. 35; xl. 27. See Giesel, II.,

ii. 271.

<sup>p</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 246-7. See as to St. Louis and Alexander IV., *Tillem.* iv. 225.

<sup>q</sup> Giesel, II., ii. 274-5.

<sup>r</sup> Giesel, II., ii. 273-5. See above, p. 222.

<sup>s</sup> P. 720, 727; *Tillem.* ii. 119, 120.



circumstance, that for this important movement of the French nobles no other authority than that of the English chronicler is known;<sup>t</sup> but, although it is not recorded by the French chroniclers of the time, it would seem that the story is confirmed by evidence of other kinds.<sup>u</sup>

The too frequent use of ecclesiastical censures, such as excommunication and interdict, the slightness of the occasions on which they were pronounced,<sup>x</sup> and the evident injustice of the sentences themselves in many cases, tended to lessen their effect on the minds of men;<sup>y</sup> and, with a view of restoring this, the clergy endeavoured to get the spiritual sentences enforced by temporal penalties.<sup>z</sup> Thus Philip of Swabia was persuaded to annex outlawry to the anathema of the church; Frederick II. in 1220 made a somewhat similar promise; and the annexation of the secular to the ecclesiastical sentence is embodied in the book of laws known by the title of 'Schwabenspiegel,' which was drawn up between 1270 and 1285.<sup>a</sup> But these laws do not appear to have been put in practice;<sup>b</sup> and we have seen that St. Louis refused to grant the petition of his bishops when they desired that the sentences of the church might be carried out by secular penalties in France.<sup>c</sup>

Another new engine of discipline was the excommunication "latæ sententiæ;" by which it was meant that persons guilty of certain gross crimes should be considered as having already had a sentence of excommunication passed on them, and as being subject to its penalties without any further formality.<sup>d</sup>

(6). We have already seen that, on account of the misconduct of archdeacons,<sup>e</sup> bishops endeavoured to relieve themselves in some degree by the appointment of *officials* or *penitentiaries*, on whom the business of the archdeacons was devolved as much as possible; and this practice continued throughout the thirteenth century.<sup>f</sup> Another new class of ecclesiastical dignitaries arose in consequence of the loss of the Latin possessions in the Holy Land, by which a great number of bishops were deprived of

<sup>t</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 271.

<sup>u</sup> Tillemont refers to letters, &c., which bear on the subject, iii. cc. 219-221.

<sup>x</sup> See Ducange, s. v. *Excommunicatio*.

<sup>y</sup> Giesel, II., ii. 524-6. See Tillem. iii. 123.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 527.

<sup>a</sup> Mansi, xxii. 700; Planck, IV., ii. 284; Gieseler, II., ii. 528.

<sup>b</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 284.

<sup>c</sup> P. 465.

<sup>d</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 287. See Pertz,

Leges, ii. 302.

<sup>e</sup> P. 226.

<sup>f</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 150-1; Planck, IV., ii. 602; Giesel, II., ii. 278. The employment of penitentiaries is sanctioned by the Fourth Council of Lateran, c. 10. Cf. Conc. Bituric. A.D. 1286, c. 4; Conc. Leod. A.D. 1287; Conc. Oxon. A.D. 1222, cc. 22, 24-5; Constit. Ottonis, 20, in Wilkins, i. 654; Ricard. Cicestr. A.D. 1246, ib. 690.

their occupation and income. Some of these were found useful by the prelates of the West as assistants in the performance of their functions;<sup>g</sup> and, as it was thought well to keep up this titular episcopate,<sup>h</sup> in the hope that the East might yet be recovered, employment was found for many "bishops in the parts of the infidels" by regular engagements as suffragans in the dioceses of other bishops.<sup>i</sup>

(7). The property of the church and of the monastic bodies was still increasing. In the south of France, the prevalence of heresy afforded a colour for requiring that no one should make his will without the presence of a priest, and that, any one who should neglect this should be excluded from Christian burial until the church were satisfied.<sup>k</sup> But such a provision was as likely to serve the church by securing the bounty as the orthodoxy of the dying man, and it was repeated in other canons without any reference to heresy, but with a direct view to the encouragement of bequests to the church.<sup>m</sup> In some quarters, however, measures began to be now taken for restraining the growth of ecclesiastical and monastic property. Thus, a parliament at Westminster, in 1279, enacted, under pain of forfeiture, that no bequests should be made to spiritual corporations, or to the "dead hand," except with the king's special consent.<sup>n</sup> The clergy were greatly annoyed by this statute; but King Edward told them to refrain from any resolution to the disadvantage of the crown and the state, if they set any value on the baronies which they held under the sovereign;<sup>o</sup> and other statutes of mortmain, with enactments of similar tendency, followed in the course of the same reign.<sup>p</sup> When the bishops represented that such acts were an infringement of the liberties promised to the church by Henry III. in his confirmation of the Great Charter, and desired that they might be mitigated, Edward replied

<sup>g</sup> "Vicarii in pontificalibus" (Giesel. II., ii. 280). A council at Mentz, in 1261, attempts to check the facility with which diocesan bishops were accustomed to employ such assistance. c. 49.

<sup>h</sup> The like had been done as to the Eastern empire and as to Spain after the Saracen conquests. Giesel. II., ii. 280.

<sup>i</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 607-9; Planck, IV., ii. 605-610. Some of the titular bishops did discredit to their class by going about offering their services to bishops, and especially to exempt cloisters. See Giesel. II., ii. 280.

<sup>k</sup> Conc. Arelat. A.D. 1275, c.

<sup>m</sup> *E. g.* Conc. Dunelm. A.D. 1220, in Wilkins, i. 583; Conc. Exon. A.D. 1287, c. 50, ib. ii. 155.

<sup>n</sup> Statutes of the Realm, i. 51, "De Viris Religiosis;" Trivet, 393. Such enactments were intended to prevent the loss of military service rather than the increase of ecclesiastical wealth. See Pauli, iv. 17, note; Hook, iii. 355.

<sup>o</sup> Pauli, iv. 17.

<sup>p</sup> 13 Edw. c. 32; 18 Edw. c. 3; 20 Edw. in Stat. i. 111; 25 Edw. c. 36; 27 Edw. p. 131, &c.



that nothing must be done without the royal license, but that he would grant this according as might be expedient.<sup>a</sup> In Germany the bishops endeavoured by the enactment of canons to set aside the principle which required that in order to the validity of a will the testator should afterwards have been able to go abroad without support;<sup>r</sup> and, finding their canons ineffectual, they tried to secure the validity of wills by inserting in them curses against any who should question it.<sup>s</sup>

The advocates, who had for centuries been felt by churches and monasteries as an oppressive weight, were now somewhat restrained in their tyranny. Honorius III., after strongly denouncing their evil practices, orders that, whenever the office of advocate should be vacant, churches shall not grant it away, and especially that no church shall have more than one advocate.<sup>t</sup> Philip of Swabia forbade the advocates to exact enforced labour;<sup>u</sup> Frederick II. ordered that they should not build castles,<sup>x</sup> and in other ways circumscribed their powers of doing mischief;<sup>y</sup> and in the end of the century Adolphus of Germany forbade them to interfere with the endowments of the church or clergy.<sup>z</sup>

(8). Celibacy was enforced by canons as before, and was now established as the rule in Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and in the Scandinavian kingdoms, which had before held out against it;<sup>a</sup> but it is evident, both from the satirical vernacular poetry which was now largely produced in various countries, and also from more serious testimony, that the clergy in general had fallen into disrespect, which was increased by the startling contrast between their lives and the growingly mysterious sanctity of their professions; between the severity with which offences against orthodoxy were treated and the lenient toleration of immorality.<sup>b</sup> And while celibacy was rigidly enjoined on the clergy, all the chief schoolmen of the age—Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquino, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, and others—agree in representing it as merely a matter of ecclesiastical discipline,

<sup>a</sup> Wilkins, ii. 116.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 226.

<sup>s</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 290.

<sup>t</sup> Ep. 3, Mansi, xxii. 1096.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. 700.

<sup>x</sup> Confed. cum principibus Eccles. A.D. 1220, c. 9 (Pertz, Leges, ii. 237).

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 305, 313-4 (A.D. 1234-5).

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 464 (A.D. 1295).

<sup>a</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 203-9; Gieseler, II.,

ii. 285. Information on this subject may be found *ad nauseam* in Theiner, 'Einf. des ehelosen Lebens,' ii. 400, seqq.

<sup>b</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 290, 293. The title "De Clericis conjugatis" in Gregory IX.'s Decretals, (III., iii.), although severe in the main, contains many things which look like making the best of an unavoidable evil.

as to which some of them would not unwillingly have seen an alteration.<sup>c</sup>

## II. *Monasticism.*

The variety of religious orders, which in the preceding century had been a subject of perplexity and complaint,<sup>d</sup> was restrained in its further increase by a canon of the fourth Lateran council, which enacted that any person who might wish to adopt a monastic life should take up one of the rules which had already been approved, instead of attempting to invent a new one.<sup>e</sup> The only very considerable additions which were made to the number of orders within this century were the two great fraternities of Dominic and Francis. But as these, by proclaiming mendicancy as their principle, excited many imitators, Gregory X. at the second council of Lyons, reduced the "unbridled multitude"<sup>f</sup> of friars to four orders, joining with the Dominicans and Franciscans the Carmelites (who had adopted the mendicant system)<sup>g</sup> and the Augustinian Eremites.<sup>h</sup>

The two great mendicant orders surpassed all other monastic bodies in vigour and in popularity.<sup>i</sup> They were to the elder orders much as these had been to the secular clergy—outshining them in the display of the qualities which were most admired, and endeavouring to surpass and supersede them in every way. Matthew Paris tells us that they disparaged the Cistercians as rude and simple; the Benedictines, as proud and epicurean.<sup>k</sup> The mendicants increased the more readily because they were able to dispense with costly buildings.<sup>l</sup> Their numbers were recruited, not only by young men who flocked into the mendicant cloisters, often against the will of their parents, but by

<sup>c</sup> See extracts in Schröckh, xxvii. 210-2; Theiner, ii. 488, seqq.; Giesel. II., ii. 287-8; pp. 238-9 above.

<sup>d</sup> Anselm. Havelberg. Dial. i. 1 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Giesel. II., ii. 318.

<sup>e</sup> C. 13 (A.D. 1215).

<sup>f</sup> "Effrenatam quasi multitudinem." C. 23 (A.D. 1274). See Salimbene, III, 119. <sup>g</sup> Herzog, vii. 412.

<sup>h</sup> The Augustinian Eremites (or Austin Friars), the order from which Luther came forth, arose out of the union of hermit brotherhoods under the rule of St. Augustine by command of Alexander IV. in 1256. Before the Reformation they numbered 30,000. See Holsten-Brockie, iv. 220, seqq.; Schröckh, xxvii. 505-6. Another order of this time was

that of the Servites, which originated at Florence in 1233. Mansi, in Raynald. ii. 558; Schröckh, xxvii. 509.

<sup>i</sup> For a view of the good and evil of the mendicant system, see Hook, iii. 46, seqq. Mr. Brewer's estimate, in the Preface to his 'Monumenta Franciscana,' seems to me extravagantly partial to the friars and unjust to others.

<sup>k</sup> P. 612. In Rymmer, i. 661, there is a complaint of the Cistercians that the mendicants interfered with their receipts. As to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino, Benvenuto of Imola tells an ugly tale of their neglect of their library. Murat. v. 1296.

<sup>l</sup> Planck, IV., ii. 507.



many members of the older orders;<sup>m</sup> and, while the friars were allowed by popes to receive accessions from other orders, it was forbidden that any other order should receive members from the friars.<sup>n</sup> By the institution of tertiaries they were so widely connected with the laity, that a writer of the age speaks of almost every one as being enrolled on the lists of one or other of the orders.<sup>o</sup> And, while the mendicants penetrated, as none had before done, to the very poorest classes of men, they knew also how to recommend themselves to the rich and great.<sup>p</sup> They were favoured by popes, who employed them in business both ecclesiastical and secular; they were familiar with the courts of princes, and were trusted by them with offices, and with the conduct of negotiations, which might have seemed strangely incongruous with their rigid and unworldly professions.<sup>q</sup> Bishops of the more zealous kind, such as Grossetête, of Lincoln, employed them in their dioceses, to make up for the deficient zeal or ability of the secular clergy;<sup>r</sup> and they soon assumed for themselves authority to act independently of episcopal sanction, and were so far countenanced by the privileges which they acquired from popes that they had little to fear from the opposition of bishops.<sup>s</sup> They invaded parishes and derided the ministrations of the secular clergy, while they endeavoured to draw everything to themselves; they preached, administered the sacraments, and directed consciences; they persuaded the dying that bounty to their fraternity, death in the habit of their order,<sup>t</sup> and burial in

<sup>m</sup> M. Paris, 574.

<sup>n</sup> Martene, Thes. i. 1024, 1066; M. Paris, 730. See Bonaventura, 'Determinaciones Quæstionum,' 12-3 (t. vii.).

<sup>o</sup> "Vix unus et una" were excepted. Pet. de Vin. i. 37.

<sup>p</sup> Grossetête is said to have blamed them for flattering great men in their vices, instead of endeavouring to reform them (M. Paris, 874). Bonaventura defends their intercourse with the rich and great. Determ. 23.

<sup>q</sup> M. Paris, pp. 419, 518, 612, 727.

<sup>r</sup> Yet Francis had withstood the impetuosity of those who alleged the defects of the clergy as a reason for opposing them (Wadding, i. 300-1). Salimbene defends the preaching of the friars (210). Thomas of Cantimpré (a Dominican), tells of a priest at Cologne who complained to a legate that the friars interfered with him. "How many parishioners have you?" asked the legate. "Nine thousand." Whereupon the legate, crossing himself, told him that he ought

not to complain if, being charged with the salvation of so many, he found gratuitous help in the care of them (I., ix. 6). William of St. Amour, however, says that, instead of going to preach to Saracens, unbelievers, and others who had no one to instruct them, the friars chose to preach where there were plenty of other preachers already (Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. ii. 54). Bonaventura, in treating on this point, naturally represents the friars according to their ideal, and the secular clergy in their reality. "Quare fratres minores prædicent," &c.  
<sup>s</sup> E. g. Greg. IX. ap. Bulaeum, iii. 123; M. Paris, 419, 694; Alex. IV. in Mart. Thes. i. 1061; Martin. IV. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1291. Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. allow them to celebrate the eucharist on portable altars, "omni parochiali jure parochialibus ecclesiis reservato" (Wadd. ii. 603; iii. 97); but the reservation seems to relate to money dues only.

<sup>t</sup> This pretension was first set up by

their cloisters, were the surest means to salvation.<sup>u</sup> By hearing confessions, they annulled the penitential discipline; for while one formal confession a year to the parish priest was considered to satisfy the ecree of the Lateran council,<sup>x</sup> the intention of that canon was frustrated by the system of confession to strangers and interlopers.<sup>y</sup>

Although Francis had expressly discouraged study, his order, as well as that of Dominic, was soon able to boast of men of the highest intellect and learning.<sup>z</sup> In like manner, although both he and Dominic had intended that their followers should avoid ecclesiastical dignities,<sup>a</sup> we find before the end of the century many Franciscan and Dominican bishops, and even a Franciscan pope.<sup>b</sup> So, too, the extreme plainness which was at first affected in their houses and churches,<sup>c</sup> was soon

the Carmelites, who said that their sixth general, Simon Stock, an Englishman, had received from the blessed Virgin an assurance that no one who should die in the scapulary, which was a part of their habit, could be lost. The date of this vision was placed in 1246; but the use of the scapulary does not seem to have really begun until 1287, twenty-two years after Simon's death. Hélyot, i. 321; Schröckh, xxvii. 379-380; Giesel. II., ii. 343-5; Herzog, vii. 412.

<sup>u</sup> M. Paris, 612. See Salimb. 215. Some clergy in Northern Italy, who denied the last sacraments to persons who chose to be buried in Franciscan convents, were condemned by Alexander IV. in 1260 (Wadding, iv. 164). Clement IV., in a letter to the Dominicans, says that many parish priests had been reduced to extreme poverty by the loss of fees, and that there had been "contentiones et lites de cadaveribus ipsis, dum mortuus, clericis impetentibus et fratribus defendentibus, trahitur et distrahitur, et inter manus distrahentium, quod est durius, impulsione mutuis, clamoribus et convitiis, caritas laceratur." (Ep. 373 in Mart. Thes. ii.) Humbert de Romanis, when head of the Dominicans, blamed his friars for some of their invasions of parochial rights, and restrained their practices. Mart. Thes. iv. 1709; Annal. Burton. 434.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 377. This interpretation was sanctioned by Martin IV. (Ep. 1. in Mansi, xxiv.).

<sup>y</sup> M. Paris, 693. The order of the Lateran canon, that any one wishing to confess to another than his parish priest should obtain the parish priest's leave;

was neglected (Collier, ii. 512). The Masters of Paris, being consulted in 1287 as to the assertion of the mendicants that those who confessed to them need not confess the same sins to the parish priest, advised that confession should be made to the parish priests, since as to these there could be no doubt. (Stero Altah., A.D. 1287; Eberhard, in Canis. iv. 223.) In the same year, the Franciscan archbishop Peckham, as protector of his order in England, decreed that the friars might receive confessions and enjoin penances without the leave of the parish priest, and even against his protest. (Wilkins, ii. 168.) Boniface VIII. in 1198 interfered with the mendicants by ordering that any one who confessed to them should confess the same sins to his parish priest. (Gir. de Fracheto, contin. ap. Bouq. xxi. 17.) But Benedict XI., himself a Dominican, who favoured the order as far as the cardinals would let him, altered this. (Bern. Guidonis, ib. 737.)

<sup>z</sup> This deviation is defended by Bonaventura, Determ. 3 (Opera vii. 330); Defensorium, ib. 358.

<sup>a</sup> Acta SS. Aug. 4, p. 487.

<sup>b</sup> Salimbene, however, says that his brother Franciscans who got bishopricks owed them rather to family interest than to their connexion with the order, forasmuch as the canons of cathedrals "wish to live in carnalities and lasciviousness," and therefore were not likely to choose friars for their superiors. 388.

<sup>c</sup> See below, p. 596. St. Dominic took the same view. Acta SS., Aug. 4, pp. 640-2.



superseded by an almost royal splendour of architecture and decoration;<sup>d</sup> and, while the rough exterior of dress was still in general kept up, there were some mendicants who took advantage of the commissions on which they were employed to exhibit themselves on fine horses, with gilt saddles, arrayed in splendid dresses, and with boots of a fashion peculiar to knights or warriors.<sup>e</sup> It was said that a friar had been informed by revelation that the devils, who yearly held a council against the order,<sup>f</sup> had devised three especial means for its ruin—"familiarity with women, reception of unprofitable members, and handling of money;"<sup>g</sup> and, although we may doubt the truth of the story, we cannot fail to understand its significance.<sup>h</sup> Matthew Paris, who, as a Benedictine of the great monastery of St. Alban's, delights in denouncing the faults of the new orders, tells us that the mendicants, within a quarter of a century from their first settlement in England, had degenerated more than any of the older monastic orders in three or four centuries;<sup>i</sup> and a letter written in the name of the secular clergy to Henry III. of England contrasts their profession with their practice by saying that "although having nothing, they possess all things; and, although without riches, they grow richer than all the rich."<sup>k</sup>

Among other labours, the friars undertook that of religious teaching; and it is said that the freshness of their lectures enabled them to triumph over the somewhat faded and spiritless performances of the other teachers.<sup>m</sup> Paris was then the intellectual centre of Europe. The university had been continually advancing in reputation and influence, until in 1229 it was broken up, in consequence of a serious conflict with the municipal authorities. After having applied in vain to the queen-

<sup>d</sup> M. Paris, 612. This, too, is defended by Bonaventura, *Determ.* 6.

<sup>e</sup> M. Paris, 722. Among Innocent III.'s letters is printed one which is evidently of Innocent IV., allowing those friars who were going to the king of England to ride. *Suppl.* 76.

<sup>f</sup> See p. 374.

<sup>g</sup> Th. Eccleston, 52 in *Monum. Francisc.* ed. Brewer.

<sup>h</sup> Salimbene, a Franciscan, says that Joachim had prophesied that the Minorites would be more indiscriminating than the Preachers as to the admission of members; and that this was verified under the second general, Elias (403). The

same writer repudiates the charge of familiarity with women (215); but he tells a story of a curious proposal made to him by a nun, "*Quod essem devotus suus quia devota mea esse volebat.*" 196.

<sup>i</sup> P. 612.

<sup>k</sup> Pet. de Vineis, *Ep.* i. 37. Adam de Marisco, himself a Franciscan, laments the entanglement of his brethren in secular affairs. (*Monum. Francisc.* 468.) As to the possession of houses and property, see Bonaventura, '*Defensorium,*' t. vii. p. 357.

<sup>m</sup> Thom. Cantiprat. II. x. 171, quoted by Neander, vii. 389.

mother and to the bishop for redress of their alleged wrongs, the professors dispersed, with their respective trains of students, into provincial towns, to which their teaching gave for a time unwonted celebrity.<sup>n</sup> At this time, while the regular A.D. 1229. theological teaching of the university was in abeyance at Paris, the Dominicans, with the bishop's permission, established a professorship of theology, which they filled with a succession of their most eminent teachers;<sup>o</sup> and, when the university was A.D. 1236. able to resume its place in Paris, it was found necessary to guard against the aggressive spirit of the friars. No open outbreak, however, took place until 1251, when the secular clergy complained that, of the twelve theological professorships, three were occupied by the canons of Paris, and two by Dominicans; so that, if the five other monastic communities of the city were each to get one professorship, only two out of the whole number would be left for the seculars, for whom the whole had originally been intended.<sup>p</sup> A fresh decree was therefore passed, that no religious order should be allowed to hold more than one of the theological chairs. Against this decision the Dominicans appealed to Innocent IV., who, perhaps thinking that the papacy had no further need of the special services of the mendicants, decided against them.<sup>q</sup> But within a few days after having issued his judgment, Innocent died, and the friends of the Dominicans did not scruple to attribute his death to the effect of their prayers.<sup>r</sup> Alexander IV., perhaps alarmed by his predecessor's end, rescinded the bull of Innocent,<sup>s</sup> and decreed that the chancellor of Paris might appoint professors either from the religious orders or from the secular clergy. The university, in order to avoid the operation of the decree, professed to dissolve itself; and in consequence of this step it was placed under excommunication by the pope's representatives—the bishops of Orleans and Auxerre.<sup>t</sup> In 1256, four archbishops,

<sup>n</sup> Bulaeus, iii. 132-4; Crev. i. 337-341. Du Boulay attributes to this the foundation of the universities of Orleans, Angers, Poitiers, &c. But Crevier says that the schools of those places were much older, and that they did not become universities until afterwards.

<sup>o</sup> Bul. iii. 138, 162; Crevier, i. 388.

<sup>p</sup> Wadd. iii. 247; Bul. iii. 255-9; Crevier, i. 396-8.

<sup>q</sup> The document is in Du Boulay, iii. 270. Wadding says that Innocent was in his earlier days very favourable to the friars, but afterwards turned against

them. iii. 328. Cf. Innoc. Ep. 3, in Mansi, xxiii.

<sup>r</sup> E. g. Thom. Cantiprat. II. x. 21. See Bul. iii. 273; Wadd. iii. 323. Hence came a saying, "From the litanies of the Preaching Friars, good Lord, deliver us!" (Crevier, i. 395.) Salimbene, after having abused Honorius IV. for his dislike of the friars (see p. 493) says that he died "quia impossibile erat multorum preces non audiri." 371, 379.

<sup>s</sup> Wadd. iii. 366-371; Bul. iii. 273, 281.

<sup>t</sup> Bul. iii. 282; Crevier, i. 418.



who had been chosen as arbiters, awarded two professorships to the Dominicans, but under the condition that they should not be admitted into the academic society without the consent of the seculars.<sup>u</sup> But the pope rejected this compromise, and, with the permission of King Louis (who, as a tertiary of St. Francis, was favourable to the mendicants) he issued bull after bull, until in 1257 the university was compelled to succumb to the friars,<sup>x</sup> and to admit at once as teachers the great Dominican Thomas of Aquino, and the great Franciscan Bonaventura.<sup>y</sup>

But, although the Preachers and the Minorites were in some respects united by a common interest, they were also rivals of each other, so that jealousies and collisions might readily arise between them.<sup>z</sup> While the Franciscans carried reverence for their "seraphic father" to the degree of idolatry, the great miracle of the stigmata was denied and ridiculed by the Dominicans.<sup>a</sup> In their philosophical principles, the Dominicans were nominalists and the Franciscans were realists;<sup>b</sup> and as to some important points of religious doctrine they might be regarded as opposite schools. Thus, as to the question of grace and free-will, while the Dominicans, under the guidance of Aquinas, held the Augustinian system,<sup>c</sup> the Franciscans, under Scotus, were semipelagian.<sup>d</sup> And as to the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, while the Franciscans advocated the opinion which in our own time has become an article of the Roman faith, the Dominicans strenuously opposed it.<sup>e</sup>

But the Franciscans were also divided among themselves by differences both broad and deep. Even during the lifetime of St. Francis, Elias, who afterwards became master of the order, had taken advantage of his absence in Egypt to introduce some mitigations of the rule, on the ground that the grace which had been given to the founder was not to be expected of his

<sup>u</sup> Bul. iii. 296; Crev. i. 450.

<sup>x</sup> The documents issued by Alexander in this affair are said to have been nearly forty. Many of them are given in Wadding's Appendix, vols. iii. and iv., and also by Du Boulay.

<sup>y</sup> Crevier, i. 457-9; Schröckh, xxvii. 457.

<sup>z</sup> Raynald, 1291. 44; Clem. IV. Epp. 307, 311, in Mart. Thes. i.

<sup>a</sup> Raynald, l. c.

<sup>b</sup> Schröckh, xxix. 255; Giesel. II., ii. 424; Gieseler says, however, that Thomas Aquinas was not a nominalist, but an Aristotelian realist. *Ib.*

<sup>c</sup> Yet Aquinas contrived to reconcile

this with the idea of human merit by the distinction of condignity and congruity. *Summa Theol.*, 1<sup>ma</sup> secundæ, qu. cxiv. artt. 3, 5, 8. See Gieseler, II., ii. 425; Laurence, Bampton Lectures, Sermon iv. and notes.

<sup>d</sup> See the extracts from Scotus in Gieseler, II., ii. 425-7.

<sup>e</sup> About the year 1285 there were great disturbances at Oxford in consequence of some teaching of the Dominicans, which seemed to deny the identity of the Saviour's body before and after death. They were condemned by the Franciscan archbishop Peckham. Wilkins, ii. 107-113, 120-1, 127.

successors,<sup>f</sup> and after the death of Francis, he had more freely developed his views in departing from the original idea of the order. When Francis had been canonized, and a church was to be built in his honour at Assisi, Elias, in defiance of the saint's own precepts,<sup>g</sup> resolved that it should have all the splendour that could be given to it by beauty of design and by richness of materials and ornament.<sup>h</sup> Many members of the order began to murmur against the strict rule of poverty; and Gregory IX. relaxed it in 1230, declaring that the founder's testament, on which the opposition to the change was rested, had no power to bind his successors.<sup>i</sup> But a strong and earnest party, who were known by the names of Zelatores or Spirituals, refused to accept this relaxation, and, while the church of Assisi was rising in all the glory of variegated marbles and gilding, of decorative painting and sculpture, these rigid professors of poverty buried themselves among the rocks and forests of the Apennines.<sup>k</sup> Elias dealt severely with the members of this party,<sup>m</sup> and Gregory, on receiving a protest against his mitigation of the rule, punished the authors of the movement.<sup>n</sup> But Elias, after having been already deposed from the headship of the order and restored to it, was finally deprived in 1239, and spent the remainder of his days under papal excommunication at the court of the emperor Frederick, whose hatred of the papacy and the mendicant orders he probably helped to exasperate.<sup>o</sup>

In 1245, Innocent IV. issued a fresh relaxation of the rule—declaring that the property of the order belonged to the Apostolic

<sup>f</sup> Wadd. i. 331. St. Francis rebuked Elias for dressing too well (ib. 340); but on his deathbed he especially blessed him. T. Celan. 108.

<sup>g</sup> As to this, it had been ordered in 1219, that the churches should be humble and poor, and that the other buildings should be of wood, or wattled with clay (Wadd. i. 302). Any buildings of a costliness inconsistent with evangelical poverty were to be destroyed (Vita Franc. 89). Francis, finding at Bologna that his brethren had built with more of splendour than his rule allowed, preferred to lodge with the Dominicans, and deposed the provincial. (Ib. 338-9.) Thomas of Eccleston tells many curious stories to the same effect. Thus, when the Franciscans of Paris had built a fine hall, Brother Agnellus prayed that it might fall down; and his prayer was heard (Monum. Francisc., ed.

Brewer, p. 37; cf. pp. 34-5, 44, seqq., 50). Yet it is said that Francis, when expressing an apprehension that the splendour of buildings would corrupt his order, added, "Sed sufficit in tempore illo quod fratres mei custodiant se a peccatis." Wadd. i. 129.

<sup>h</sup> Wadd. ii. 216.

<sup>i</sup> Wadd. ii. 244-7.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. iii. 19.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. ii. 241.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. iii. 104-5.

<sup>o</sup> Wadd. ii. 241-2, 412; iii. 21, seqq.; Salimb. 411 (who gives a curious account of him, Append. 401, seqq.). When invited by the master, John of Parma, to return to the order, he declined all overtures (ib. 412). Wadding says that he repented on his deathbed (iii. 312-3); but his bones were taken up and cast out on a dunghill (Salimb. l. c.). There is a Life of him by Affò, Parma, 1773.



see, but that the members were entitled to appoint prudent men to manage it for their use.<sup>p</sup> Two years later, John of Parma, formerly a professor at Paris, became head of the order,<sup>q</sup> and under him the rigid party gained the ascendancy. The Spirituals declared that in John their founder had come to life again;<sup>r</sup> but with his ideas of monastic rigour John combined some apocalyptic fancies, derived from abbot Joachim of Fiore, which were widely prevalent in the order, and could hardly be regarded as consistent with dutiful obedience to the Roman see.<sup>s</sup> In consequence of the excitement which had arisen as to these opinions (although nominally on the ground that the spirit of laxity was too strong for him), John, at the suggestion of Alexander IV., resigned his mastership in 1256.<sup>u</sup> By his recommendation, Bonaventura was chosen as his successor; and under the new master's conciliatory rule, the order in 1260 asked and received leave from Alexander IV. to abolish the interpretations of Innocent IV., except in so far as they agreed with those of Gregory IX.<sup>x</sup>

Among the most prominent champions of the university of Paris in its contest with the mendicants, was a doctor of the Sorbonne, named William, a native of St. Amour, in Franche Comté.<sup>y</sup> In consequence of this, he was one of four persons whose banishment from France pope Alexander required in 1256;<sup>z</sup> but William, from having acted on the defensive, now took the part of an assailant. He preached against the friars with an eloquence which their most famous orators could hardly rival, while eager audiences listened to him with such prepos-

<sup>p</sup> Wadd. iii. 129-131.

<sup>q</sup> Affò, 'Vita del B. Giovanni di Parma,' 27, 30, Parm. 1777.

<sup>r</sup> Wadd. iii. 171.

<sup>s</sup> Salimbene styles him "maximus Joachita" (98) and in many places gives evidence of the prevalence of Joachism in the order, and of the proselytising zeal of the Joachites (e.g. 101-2, 141). In other respects, Salimbene speaks of John with much respect. The chronicler himself was convinced that Joachim was wrong by the failure of his prophecy as to the year 1260 (131). Some of John's friends upheld the doctrine which Joachim had taught in opposition to Peter Lombard, notwithstanding the condemnation of it by the Fourth Lateran Council. (See above, p. 208); Wadd. iv. 4 (who makes amusing efforts to rescue John's reputation by

supposing him to have been confounded with another man). John died in 1289, when employed on a second mission to the Greek church, and his party asserted that miracles were done at his tomb (Affò, 180). His great reputation appears from the facts that two popes wished to make him a cardinal, and that he was in high regard with St. Louis and with the king of England, as well as with the Nicene emperor Vatatzes. Salimb. 131-3.

<sup>u</sup> Salimb. 137; Affò, 102; Wadding, iv. 3.

<sup>x</sup> Wadd. iv. 128.

<sup>y</sup> Wadd. iii. 247; Bul. iii. 248. See as to him the 'Hist. Litt. de la France,' xix.; Tillemont, vi.; Crevier, i. 411.

<sup>z</sup> Alex. ad. Ludov. ap. Wadd. iv. 23; D'Argentré, i. 168-170.

sions as had been naturally produced in them by the late assumptions of the mendicants;<sup>a</sup> and he sent forth a treatise 'Of the Perils of the Last Times,' in which he unsparingly chastised the principles and the practice of the friars, and applied to them St. Paul's prediction of perilous times which were to come.<sup>b</sup> The book was condemned by an assembly of bishops at Paris; but the Dominicans, not content with this, prevailed on king Louis to send the treatise to the pope, who committed it to four cardinals—one of them the Dominican Hugh of St. Cher—for examination.<sup>c</sup> William of St. Amour, too, was sent to the pope, with others, on the part of the university; but on reaching Anagni, where Alexander then was, he found that his book had been already condemned; that it had been burnt in front of the cathedral, under the pope's own eyes; and that strict orders were given for the immediate destruction of all copies of it, although it had not been found to contain any heresy, but was blamed only as tending to stir up enmity against the mendicants.<sup>d</sup> William was forbidden to teach, was deprived of all preferments "had or to be had," and withdrew to his native province, where he remained until after the death of Alexander;<sup>e</sup> but his book, notwithstanding the repeated sentences against it, was translated into French, and even versified in that language.<sup>f</sup> In 1263, William took advantage of a bull of Urban IV. to return to Paris,<sup>g</sup> and three years later he produced an improved edition of his book, which he defended with spirit and success against the greatest champions of the mendicant orders, such as Albert the Great, Bonaventura, and Thomas of Aquino.<sup>h</sup> There is a letter from Clement IV. to William, in which the pope professes to have read only a part of the revised book, and cautions the writer as to the display of his old animosity; but

<sup>a</sup> See. *e. g.* his two sermons in the 'Fasciculus Rerum Exp. et Fug.' ii. 43-54. In order to avoid collision with the papal authority, William professed to direct his attack against Beghards who were not sanctioned by the pope, and declared that, if any others applied the words to themselves, it was their own affair. Neand. vii. 397.

<sup>b</sup> (II. Tim. iii. 1, seqq.); Bul. iii. 266; Schröckh, xxvii. 460. William's works were printed in 4to at Constance, in 1632 (Brunet, 'Manuel du Libraire,' ed. 5, ii. 1818); but there is no copy in the British Museum.

<sup>c</sup> Wadd. iv. 25; Crev. i. 440.

<sup>d</sup> Bul. iii. 304-312; Wadd. iv. 56; Rayn. 1259. 27; Henric. de Hervordia, 197; Wadd. iv. 257; W. Nang., in Bouq. xx. 384; Trivet, 245; Hist. Litt. xix. 205-7.

<sup>e</sup> Trivet, l. c.; Wadd. iv. 107; Bul. iii. 317, seqq., 342, 351-362.

<sup>f</sup> Bul. iii. 348.

<sup>g</sup> *Ib.* 368.

<sup>h</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 340-1; Schröckh, xxvii. 468-473. Bonaventura's tracts in defence of his order may be found in vol. vii. of his works. In the letter 'Ad quendam Provinciale Ministerium,' and in the tract 'De Reformandis Fratibus,' he admits the truth of many of the complaints against them.



it does not appear that the pope ever proceeded further in his censure.<sup>1</sup>

William of St. Amour died in 1270. We are told by a contemporary Franciscan writer that he drew away many members from the mendicant orders;<sup>k</sup> and the popular poetry of the time gives evidence of the strong impression which his attacks on them had made on the general mind.<sup>m</sup>

Among the charges brought against the mendicants by William of St. Amour was that of believing the "Everlasting Gospel;"<sup>n</sup> under which name it would seem that we are not to understand any single book, but the substance of abbot Joachim's apocalyptic interpretations and of his doctrine as to successive states of the church.<sup>o</sup> In 1254, appeared a book entitled an 'Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel,' in which, among other objectionable propositions, it was asserted that the Gospel had brought no one to perfection, and was to be superseded by a new dispensation in the year 1260.<sup>p</sup> This book was long supposed to have been the work of John of Parma, but is now known to have been written by another Franciscan—Gerard or Gerardino of Borgo San Donnino<sup>q</sup>—who, on account of the reproach which his opinions brought on the order, was imprisoned for eighteen years by his superiors, and at last was buried in unhallowed earth.<sup>r</sup> In the year after the publication of the 'Introduction,' the university of Paris gained something of a triumph over the mendicants by obtaining from Alexander IV. a condemnation of

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Ep. 394 (Mart. Thes. ii.); Bul. iii. 382-3; Wadding, however, says that Clement rejected the book. iv. 263.

<sup>k</sup> Salimb. 233.

<sup>m</sup> *E. g.*—

"Ou estre banny du royaume,  
A tort, com fut maistre Guillaume  
De Sant Amor, que hypocrisie  
Fist exiller par grant envye."

*Roman de la Rose*, 12, 225, seqq.

See, too, Chaucer's translation, Works, ed. 1602, p. 139.

<sup>n</sup> (Apocal. xiv. 6.) The Spirituals supposed the angel of this passage to mean St. Francis. See p. 368.

<sup>o</sup> Neand. viii. 370; Hahn, iii. 158-160; Giesel. II., ii. 356; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, vi. 714. Matthew Paris supposes the "Evangelium æternum" to have been the work of the friars. 939. The fondness of this age for prophecies has been already mentioned (p. 212). Salimbene had great faith in the intelligence of a cobbler at Parma, who was acquainted with the prophecies "abbatis

Joachymi, Merlini, Methodii et Sibillæ, Isaïæ, Jeremiæ, Oseæ, Danielis et Apocalypsis, neonon et Michaelis Scoti, qui fuit astrologus Friderici imperatoris quondam." 284, 303.

<sup>p</sup> Salimb. 233. A Limousin chronicler says "Cujus auctor magis videtur ex melincolia somniasse quam ex malitia scripsisse quod scripsit. Si enim ex certa malitia scripsit, omnes qui ante erraverant superavit." (Bouq. xxi. 768). For extracts from the 'Introductorius,' see Hermann Corner, in Eccard, ii. 849-851; Giesel. II., ii. 357; D'Argentré, i. 163.

<sup>q</sup> The Franciscans in general denied John's authorship (Bul. iii. 300; see Affò, 76, seqq.). But Salimbene's evidence is conclusive as to Gerardino, whom he knew well, and speaks of with regard (102, 236), although he resisted all Gerardino's attempts to convert him to Joachimism (102, seqq., 236). Cf. Wadding, iv. 5; Giesel. II., ii. 355; Brit. Mag. xvii. 271. <sup>r</sup> Salimb. 102.

the book, with its "schedules," in which a great part of the mischievous matter was contained;<sup>s</sup> and the 'Introduction' was burnt at Paris, although, out of consideration for the mendicants, the burning, instead of being public, took place within the Dominican convent.<sup>t</sup> But the opinions of Joachim's school spread widely among the Franciscans, more especially as the relaxations of the rule by papal authority tended to alienate the "spiritual" party more and more from the papacy, and to convince them that Rome was, as Joachim's followers taught, the Babylon and the great harlot of the Apocalypse.<sup>u</sup> The extreme section of this party came to be known by the name of *Fraticelli*<sup>x</sup>—a name, which, like that of Beghards, was used in many ways, but, as applied to the Minorites, denoted those who wished to carry the principle of beggary even further than Francis himself—insisting on the duty of living on alms from day to day.<sup>y</sup>

In 1279, Nicolas III. issued a bull, which is known by the title of "Exiit," mitigating the rule of St. Francis in some respects, and declaring that, although the right of property was in the apostolic see, the friars were entitled to the use of such things as were necessary.<sup>z</sup> By this the Fraticelli were exasperated, and a new prophet of their party arose in Peter John of Olivi.<sup>a</sup> Olivi was born in 1247 at Serignan, near Narbonne; he was dedicated to the Franciscan order at the age of twelve, studied at Paris, and about 1278 made himself conspicuous by the extravagance of his language as to the Blessed Virgin, which the annalist of the order pronounces to be "not praises, but fooleries," such as the object of them would herself be unwilling to accept.<sup>b</sup> The scandals excited by Olivi's writings on this subject were so great that the general of the order, Jerome of Ascoli (afterwards Nicolas IV.) condemned him to burn them with his own hand.<sup>c</sup> Olivi also plunged deeply into the quarrels

\* Bul. iii. 292, seqq. 302.

<sup>t</sup> Bul. iii. 299; Schröckh, xxvii. 484; Brit. Mag. xvii. 248. A council at Arles, in the year on which Joachim's followers had rested their greatest expectations (1260), condemned their doctrine. Præfat, c. i. (Mansi, xxiii.).

<sup>u</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 313, 353. An anti-hierarchical feeling was shown in prophecies which represented Frederick II. as still alive, and about to reappear for the destruction of the papacy. Ib. II., ii. 450.

<sup>x</sup> See D'Argentré, i. 269-272; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Fratricellen*.

<sup>y</sup> Brit. Mag., xviii. 131. Another name was *bizochi*, which Ducange (*s. v.*) derives from *bigio*, as if it were a diminutive of *gray* friars.

<sup>z</sup> Wadd. iv. 74-5.

<sup>a</sup> See D'Argentré, i. 226, seqq.; Tosti, 'Storia di Bonifazio,' i. 185, seqq.

<sup>b</sup> Wadding, v. 51-2. Yet Wadding himself wrote in favour of the Immaculate Conception. Brit. Mag. xviii. 134.

<sup>c</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 495.



between the opposite parties of the Franciscans, and distinguished himself by his severity against all laxity in the order.<sup>d</sup> His views on prophecy were set forth in various books, of which his 'Postills on the Apocalypse' were the most notorious.<sup>e</sup> He taught that there were three states of the church; that in the first, God had revealed Himself as Fear; in the second, as Wisdom; and in the third, He was to be revealed as Love. As Christianity had superseded Judaism, so a new state, under the Holy Ghost, was to supersede Christianity; St. Peter was to give way to St. John.<sup>f</sup> The history of the church was divided into seven ages, of which the sixth (opened by St. Francis, the angel of the sixth seal<sup>g</sup>) was now running out, and the seventh was to coincide with the third state. The renewal of the church was to be effected through the tertiaries of the Franciscan order; and, as the preachers of the Gospel in the Apostolic age found more acceptance among heathens than among Jews, so the new spiritual mission would have greater success with Jews, Saracens, and Tartars, than with the fleshly church of the Latins. The Holy Ghost was to receive from the church, as Christ had received from the Holy Ghost.<sup>h</sup> Of Rome and its hierarchy Olivi spoke in terms of the strongest denunciation.<sup>i</sup>

In 1282, Olivi's doctrines were investigated by the authorities of the order, who condemned him in a document which, from having been sealed by seven inquisitors, is known as the 'Book of the Seven Seals;'<sup>k</sup> but he appeared uninvited before them, preached in such a manner as to satisfy them of his orthodoxy, and subscribed the condemnation of the errors which were imputed to him.<sup>m</sup> In 1290, however, Nicolas IV. addressed a letter to the general of the Franciscans, desiring him to proceed against the "brethren of Narbonne," the followers of Olivi. In consequence of this, many of the party were imprisoned, or subjected

<sup>d</sup> Wadd. v. 118, 121, 140, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Of this book there remain only the 60 articles which were presented to John xxii., and are printed in Baluz. Miscell. ii. 258, seqq. (See Giesel. II., ii. 361-3.) Mr. Herbert says that a tract on antichrist, wrongly ascribed to John of Paris, is really by Olivi. The author accounts for the failure of the prophetic expectations as to the year 1260, by saying that the time ought to have been reckoned, not from the nativity, but from the writing of the Apocalypse. Brit. Mag. xviii. 148-150.

<sup>f</sup> See 'Roman de la Rose,' vv. 12,524,

seqq. Neander questions whether the party expected Christianity to be superseded (viii. 372, 376), but it seems clear from his own extracts.

<sup>g</sup> Apoc. vi. This was said to have been revealed by vision to Bonaventura. Wadd. iv. 259.

<sup>h</sup> See Brit. Mag. xvii. 257.

<sup>i</sup> Hahn. ii. 450, seqq., 464, 467; Neander. viii. 375-380. Wadding says that Olivi is charged with many errors which he never held. v. 390.

<sup>k</sup> D'Argentré, i. 227.

<sup>m</sup> Wadd. v. 121, seqq.; D'Argentré, i. 226.

to other severities.<sup>n</sup> Olivi himself retracted in 1292, and is said to have emitted two orthodox confessions on his deathbed, in 1297.<sup>o</sup> Yet his memory was not allowed to rest. The council of Vienne, in 1311, condemned some opinions which were imputed to him,<sup>p</sup> and in 1326 pope John XXII., after an inquiry by eight doctors, condemned his Postills on account of the errors which they contained.<sup>q</sup> The reading of his books had already been forbidden in the order of which he had been a member;<sup>r</sup> the inquisition of Toulouse denounced him as a false prophet;<sup>s</sup> and it is said (although on doubtful authority) that after the sentence of John XXII. his bones were taken from the grave and burnt.<sup>t</sup> Yet there were many stories of miracles done by his remains; his writings were widely circulated in translations, and the condemnation of them was rescinded by Sixtus IV. in the latter part of the fifteenth century.<sup>u</sup> The adherents of his opinions denied that either pope or general council was entitled to condemn them; they revered him as the "mighty angel," who "had in his hand a little book open,"<sup>x</sup> and they kept a festival in his honour.<sup>y</sup>

In the mean time, the discords within the Franciscan order continued. The stricter and the laxer parties by turns got the ascendancy, and each in the day of its triumph banished the members of the opposite faction. The Fraticelli became more and more extravagant in their opinions and practices. They pretended to visions and revelations; they maintained that no pope was entitled to alter the rule of St. Francis—that, since the time of Nicolas III., there had been no real pope or prelate except among themselves.<sup>z</sup> In 1294, Celestine V. combined them with his own especial followers in the order of Celestine Eremites.<sup>a</sup> But Boniface VIII., who had no love for the mendicants,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Wadd. v. 236, 299, 380, seqq.; Brit. Mag. xviii. 135.

<sup>o</sup> Wadd. v. 378, 380; Rayn. 1297. 56. Mr. Herbert expresses doubts as to these. Brit. Mag. xviii. 135.

<sup>p</sup> Hard. vii. 1358.

<sup>q</sup> Schröckh, xxvii. 497-9.

<sup>r</sup> Herbert, in Brit. Mag. xviii. 137.

<sup>s</sup> See the 'Liber Sententiarum,' ed. Limborch. Mr. Herbert gives notices of the cases relating to Olivi's writings. Brit. Mag. xviii. 140, seqq.

<sup>t</sup> Spondanus, 1297. 7; Brit. Mag. xviii. 137.

<sup>u</sup> Spond. l. c.

<sup>x</sup> Apoc. x. 1, 2.

<sup>y</sup> Hahn, ii. 457-460.

<sup>z</sup> Jordan. 1020; Bul. iii. 510.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 500; ib.

<sup>b</sup> It is said that, when a Dominican had been sent to him, with other envoys, by Albert of Austria, Boniface, on the friar's falling down to kiss his foot, addressed him, "O gyrovage, vis tu scire secreta magnorum principum? quis te ad hoc elegit, traditor pessime? Nunc enim, si secreta scires principum, omnia per te statim ordini tuo proderentur;" and he kicked him in the face, so as to draw blood. (Weichard de Polhain, ap. Pertz, ix. 816.) When the Dominicans and Franciscans offered him a large



rescinded this privilege,<sup>c</sup> and banished them to one of the Greek islands, where they were not allowed to remain.<sup>d</sup> One of Olivi's disciples, a Provençal, is said to have been elected pope in St. Peter's by five men and thirteen women of the party;<sup>e</sup> and by these and others their doctrines were spread into Sicily, Greece, and other countries, acting everywhere as a leaven of opposition and discontent, actively though secretly working against the papacy.<sup>f</sup>

### III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1). Although the canon by which the Fourth Lateran Council enforced the belief of transubstantiation<sup>g</sup> was generally understood as prescribing that doctrine in its grossest form, there was yet in many minds a strong repugnance to such a manner of understanding the Eucharistic presence.<sup>h</sup> Many, while they held the belief of the Saviour's presence in the sacrament, shrank from defining the mode of that presence; and the university of Paris, the most distinguished school of theology in Christendom, was especially suspected of lagging behind the development of orthodoxy on this point. In 1264, it was reported that an archbishop of Narbonne, when at Rome, had expressed the opinion that the body of Christ was not on the altar in reality, "but as a thing signified under its sign," and had declared this to be the general opinion of the Parisian teachers; and, although he disavowed the words which were imputed to him, the charge can hardly have been without some foundation.<sup>i</sup> At a later time, a famous Dominican of Paris, John Pique-l'âne,<sup>k</sup> although he professed his own belief in transubstantiation, maintained that it was enough for the satisfaction of the ecclesiastical

sum, that he might allow them to acquire property, he found out in whose hands their money was, and seized it, saying that it was his, and could not be theirs, as they were beggars by profession (ib.; Hemingb. ii. 228; M. Westmon. 433; Geoffr. de Paris, in Bouq. xxi. 95-7). The English writers speak as if the English friars only were concerned in this affair. Tosti, however, says that the Franciscans had no greater friend than Boniface; that he gave them privileges, and employed them in important business. ii. 45; cf. Wadding, vi. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Rayn. 1297. 56.

<sup>d</sup> Wadding, vi. 10-2; Tosti, ii. 44.

<sup>e</sup> Jordan. 1020-1.

<sup>f</sup> Ib.; Bul. iii. 510; Rayn. 1294. 26;

Hahn, ii. 469. The Franciscan writers are eager to clear their order from connection with the origin of this party, which they would deduce from Arnanno Pungiluppo (see p. 197). But Pungiluppo was a Catharist, and there are other objections to the theory.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 377. For Innocent III.'s own opinion, see Ep. v. 121.

<sup>h</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 437.

<sup>i</sup> Clem. IV., Epp. 549, 577, in Mart. Thes. ii.; Rayn. 1267. 35, seqq.; Bul. iii. 372-3.

<sup>k</sup> "Pungens-asinum." Some suppose this name to have been given to him on account of his skill in disputation. But Quétif and Echard speak of it in another case as a family name. i. 118.

definitions as to faith to believe the presence without determining the manner of it; that instead of holding a change of substance, men were at liberty to suppose an assumption of the quality of bread into union with the Saviour's human nature.<sup>m</sup> For this opinion John was called in question by some French prelates, who required him to retract; and, before he could carry out an appeal to the pope, he died, so that the question was left undetermined.<sup>n</sup>

But, whatever latitude of opinion as to the manner of the Eucharistic presence may have been assumed by some persons, or may have been really within the intention of the Lateran decree,<sup>o</sup> the ordinary view of the matter appears beyond all doubt from the stories of miracles, in which the consecrated wafer took the form of a beautiful child, of a bleeding piece of flesh, or the like.<sup>p</sup> Such stories had a great effect on the popular mind; but that they were not universally accepted appears from a passage of Alexander of Hales, who, while strongly maintaining the established doctrine, speaks of some miracles in its favour as being the effect of human, or possibly of diabolical, contrivance.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>m</sup> "Ut substantia panis maneat sub accidentibus suis, non in proprio supposito, sed tracta ad esse et suppositum Christi, ut sic sit unum suppositum in duabus naturis." 'Determinatio Fr. Joannis Parisiensis de Modo existendi Corpus Christi in Sacramento Altaris,' edited by Allix, Lond. 1686, p. 86. Cf. Gir. de Frachet. contin. ap. Bouq. xxi. 25; Quétif, i. 501-2; D'Argentré, i. 264-6.

<sup>n</sup> Gir. de Frach. contin. l. c.; Allix, 54.

<sup>o</sup> See Hampden, Bampton Lectures, 336, seqq., ed. 2; Palmer on the Church, ii. 222-6, ed. i.; Browne on the Articles, 700-1, ed. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Thus, we are told that a Jew was burnt at Paris for trying to destroy a consecrated host, which coloured the water into which he put it. (Chron. Anon. ap. Bouq. xxi. 133. See similar stories as to outrages by Jews in Bouq. xxii. 32; Dacher. ii. 498; Canis. iv. 213; Pistor. i. 1052.) Among the most famous miracles was that of Bolsena, in 1263. A priest who doubted the reality of the sacramental change allowed a drop of the consecrated wine to fall on the corporal (or napkin), and, to hide the accident, folded the corporal many times over it; but in every fold appeared the blood-red form of the host. In me-

mory of this was built the cathedral of Orvieto, in which the corporal is preserved with great reverence (Rayn. 1264. 26; Handb. of Central Italy, 316-7, 357, ed. 1861). A council at Bayeux, in 1300, prescribes that in such cases, "sugenda est pars intincta, et ipsum corporale aliquo panno mundissimo involutum pro reliquiis est servandum" (c. 9, Mansi, xxv. 62). "The resort to these methods of proof," says Bishop Hampden, "shews that the doctrine of Transubstantiation, in its speculative form, was not adopted to conciliate the attention of the vulgar, but [was] rather the logical armour of the church in its contests with logical opponents. For these alleged miraculous appearances were at variance with the proper speculative notion of the Real Presence. These led the people to believe that it was the passible body of Christ, locally present in the elements; whereas the philosophical doctrine was that the *substance* of Christ only was present—that *nature* by which He is the Christ." Bampton Lectures, 339-340.

<sup>q</sup> In Sentent. P. IV. qu. liii. 4. 3. St. Louis told with approbation a story of the elder Simon de Montfort, that when in the Albigenian country he was asked to go and see the Saviour's body



Strange questions were prepared and discussed by the theologians of the time in connection with the doctrine of transubstantiation. Thus, in the Greek church, where that doctrine had been established as well as in the West,<sup>r</sup> there was a controversy whether the Saviour's body, after having been received in the Eucharist, was incorruptible, as after His passion and resurrection, or corruptible, as before.<sup>s</sup> Alexander of Hales inquires whether, if the Eucharistic body appear in such forms as the miraculous stories represented, it ought to be eaten, and he replies in the negative.<sup>t</sup> It was asked whether, if a mouse or a dog should eat the consecrated host, it would eat the Lord's body? Peter Lombard,<sup>u</sup> in the preceding century, Pope Innocent III.,<sup>x</sup> and Bonaventura<sup>y</sup> answered in the negative. But this hesitation as to the consequences of the doctrine soon passed away. Thomas of Aquino boldly maintained the affirmative, adding that this no more derogated from the Saviour's dignity than did His submission to be crucified by sinners;<sup>z</sup> and Peter Lombard's adverse opinion came to be noted as one of those points in which the authority of the "Master of the Sentences" was not generally held good.<sup>a</sup>

We have already seen that the heightened ideas as to the sacredness of the Eucharistic symbols gave occasion for scruples as to the administration of the chalice,<sup>b</sup> and during the century which witnessed the formal decree of transubstantiation the withdrawal of this part of the sacrament from the laity became general, although the older practice still continued in many places, and especially in monasteries.<sup>c</sup> This withdrawal of the cup was defended by all the great theologians of the time, but

and blood, which had been miraculously changed in the hands of a priest; but he answered, "Go you and see it, who do not believe; but I believe firmly as holy church teacheth us of the sacrament of the altar." Joinville, ap. Bouq. xx. 198.

<sup>r</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 72.

<sup>s</sup> Nicet. de Alexio, iii. 3.

<sup>t</sup> In Sent. IV. liii. 4. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Sentent. IV. xiii. 1, fin. (Patrol. cxcii.).

<sup>x</sup> De Sac. Altaris Mysterio, iv. 11 (Patrol. ccxvii.).

<sup>y</sup> In IV. Sentent., XII. ii. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Summa, III. lxxx. 3 (t. iv. 789, ed. Migne). Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of the question as undecided in his time (Gemma Eccles. p. 30).

<sup>a</sup> Patrol. cxcii. 964. See on this ques-

tion Durand. Rationale, IV., xli. 32; Jewel's Answer to Harding, in Works, ed. Parker Soc. i., 783.

<sup>b</sup> Pp. 260-1.

<sup>c</sup> Gieseler, II., ii. 446-7. A synod of the diocese of Exeter, in 1287, gives evidence that the administration in both kinds was still kept up there—" [Laici] priusquam communicent, instruuntur per sacerdotes, quod illud accipiunt sub panis specie quod pro illorum salute pendit in cruce; hoc suscipiunt in calice, quod effusum est de corpore [*al. latere*] Christi." C. 4 (Wilkins, ii. 133.) Archbishop Peckham's Constitutions at Lambeth, A.D. 1281, draw a distinction, "Solis enim celebrantibus sanguinem sub specie vini consecrati sumere in hujusmodi *minoribus* ecclesiis est concessum." Ib. 52.

in some cases with curious qualifications and exceptions. The authority of Gelasius I., in the fifth century, against administration in one kind only,<sup>d</sup> was set aside, not by the pretext of later Roman controversialists, that his words were meant against the Manichæans only, but by the assertion that he spoke of the priest alone.<sup>e</sup> And, as in the preceding century, divines who, on the ground of the doctrine of concomitancy,<sup>f</sup> maintain the new practice as to the administration of the sacrament, are found at the same time declaring their belief that the administration under both kinds is of higher perfection or conveys a fuller grace.<sup>g</sup>

In order to reconcile the laity to the withdrawal of the consecrated chalice, it now became usual to give them unconsecrated wine, which was said to be intended as a help to them in swallowing the host,<sup>h</sup> and in some places a compromise was attempted by leaving in the chalice a small portion of the consecrated wine, and pouring on it other wine which was then distributed to the people.<sup>i</sup>

The ceremony of elevating the Host had been used in the Greek Church from the seventh (perhaps as early as the sixth) century, but without any meaning beyond that of typifying the Saviour's exaltation;<sup>k</sup> nor, when it was adopted by the western church, in the eleventh century, did Hildebert,<sup>l</sup> Ivo of Chartres,<sup>m</sup> Rupert of Deutz,<sup>n</sup> and their contemporaries, give any other reason for the observance of it. But when the Lateran canon had prescribed the doctrine of transubstantiation, it was ordered that both at the elevation of the host in the mass, and when it was carried through the streets to a sick person, all who were present should fall on their knees in reverence to it.<sup>o</sup> Out of

<sup>d</sup> See vol. i. p. 585.

<sup>e</sup> Alex. Alensis, Summa, P. IV. qu. xi. membr. 2. art. 4, sect. 3 (t. iv. p. 406, ed. Colon. 1622.) See Schröckh, xxviii. 90-2.

<sup>f</sup> See pp. 261-2.

<sup>g</sup> Alex. Alens. l. c.; Albert. Magn., quoted by Gieseler, II., ii. 443.

<sup>h</sup> Peckham, Constit. i. in Wilkins, ii. 52; Giesel. II., ii. 446.

<sup>i</sup> Durand. Rationale, IV., xlii. 1. He seems to consider that this is a communion in both kinds, and that it satisfies the dictum of Gelasius, "non enim esset decens tantum sanguinem conficere, nec calix capax inveniretur."

<sup>k</sup> This is clear from the passages which Card. Bona alleges for the Adoration. Rer. Liturg. II., xiii. 1. See Basnage, ii. 992-3; Bingham, XV. v. 5;

Giesel. II., ii. 447.

<sup>l</sup> Versus de Mysterio Missæ, Patrol. clxxi. 1183-4. <sup>m</sup> Ep. 231, (Patrol. clxii).

<sup>n</sup> De Divin. Off. ii. 15 (Patrol. clxx.).

<sup>o</sup> Honor. III. in Decret. Gregor., III. xli. 10; Conc. Oxon. A.D. 1222, in Wilkins, i. 594; Conc. Exon. 1287. ib. ii. 132-3; Cæsar. Heisterb. ix. 51. To encourage this, stories were told of persons who, having knelt down in the mud, regardless of their fine clothes, found that their dress had not suffered at all. (Cæsar. l. c.; Alberic. Tr.-Font. in Bouq. xviii. 763. Giesel. II., ii. 448.) The Exeter Council orders that the priest shall not elevate the host until he has fully pronounced the form of consecration, "ne pro Creatore creatura a populo veneretur." l. c.



this grew a festival of Adoration of the Host, which eventually became the Festival of Corpus Christi. The common story of this refers it to a nun of Liège, named Juliana, who from the year 1230 had frequent raptures, in which she saw a full moon, with a small part of it in darkness; and it was revealed to her that the full moon was the glory of the church, and that the dark part signified the want of a festival in especial honour of the Lord's body. For twenty years Juliana kept this revelation to herself, praying that some worthier organ might be chosen for the publication of it. At length, however, she disclosed it to a canon of Liège, by whom it was told to the archdeacon James—afterwards Pope Urban IV. Urban, after attaining the papacy, had his attention further drawn to the subject by the miracle of Bolsena;<sup>p</sup> in 1264, he decreed an annual festival in honour of the Eucharistic body; and, as the day of the original institution of the Sacrament—Thursday before Easter—was already much taken up with other ceremonies, Thursday after the Octave of Pentecost was fixed on for the celebration of the Corpus Christi.<sup>a</sup> The death of Urban followed within two months after the issuing of this decree, and his order did not meet with general obedience; but in 1311 the festival was established for the whole church by a bull of Clement V.<sup>r</sup>

The increased mystery and awfulness with which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was invested by the new doctrine had not the effect of rendering the general reception of it more frequent.<sup>s</sup> Although some councils endeavoured to enforce the older number of three communions yearly,<sup>t</sup> it was found that the canon of the Lateran council,<sup>u</sup> which allowed of one yearly reception as enough for Christian communion, became the rule. Instead of personally communicating, people were taught to rely on the efficacy of masses which were performed by the priests for money; and from this great corruptions naturally followed.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>p</sup> See p. 604, note p.

<sup>a</sup> Urb. IV. Epp. 1-2, ap. Mansi, xxiii. 1075-80; Raynald. 1264. 28; Schröckh, xxviii. 77. The office for the day was drawn up by Thomas of Aquino. Ptol. Luc. xxii. 24.

<sup>r</sup> Rayn. 1264. 28. Some writers of the Roman communion deny the story of Juliana, not wishing that the festival should be supposed to have had such an origin. Gieseler thinks it doubtful, and says that it cannot be traced back

further than a book by one Blæerus Disthemius, written in 1496. (II., ii. 448-9.)

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 111.  
<sup>t</sup> *E.g.* A council (apparently English) C. 45 in Mansi, xxii. 728; Conc. Dunelm. in Wilkins, i. 577; Edmund. Cantuar., Constit., A.D. 1236, No. 18; A. de Stavenby, in Wilk. i. 641; W. Cantilup. ib. 667; Conc. Exon. A.D. 1287, ib. ii. 133.

<sup>u</sup> C. 21. See p. 377.

<sup>x</sup> Neand. vii. 481.

(2). The number of seven sacraments was now firmly established.<sup>y</sup> Among them, a pre-eminence was indeed given to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as having been instituted by the Saviour during his earthly life; but it was held that He had, in truth, instituted the other sacraments also, although "not by exhibiting but by promising them."<sup>z</sup>

The doctrine of *opus operatum* was now introduced, and was first distinctly laid down by Duns Scotus, whose words will suffice to convey the interpretation of it, as understood in the middle ages:—"A sacrament confers grace through the virtue of the work which is wrought, so that there is not required any inward good motion such as to deserve grace; but it is enough that the receiver place no bar" in the way of its operation.<sup>a</sup>

(3). During the thirteenth century, the system of indulgences<sup>b</sup> was carried further, both by the development of its theory and by new practical applications. From the idea of the union and communion of all the faithful in one spiritual body was deduced the idea of benefits which might be derived by one member of the body from another. It was supposed that the saints, by their works of penitence, and by their unmerited sufferings in this world, had done more than was necessary for their own salvation, and that their superabundant merits, with those of the Saviour, formed a treasury of which the church possessed the keys, and which it could apply for the relief of its members, both in this life and in purgatory.<sup>c</sup> It was, indeed, said that the Saviour Himself was the source of all merit; but the merits of His saints were more and more put forward in the popular teaching of the age. And the supposed treasury of merits came to be applied in a wholesale way, as in the plenary indulgence which had been set forth as an inducement to join the crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land, and which was now extended to religious wars in Europe, or to wars undertaken by the popes against Christian sovereigns with whom they had quarrelled. And of this wholesale offer of indulgences, another remarkable instance was the jubilee instituted by Boniface VIII.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>y</sup> See Thom. Aquin., Summa, III., qu. 60.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. qu. lxii. art. 1. col. 679; Giesel. II., ii. 455.

<sup>a</sup> In IV. Sentent. dist. 1, qu. vi. sect. 10 (t. viii. 124, ed. Lugd. 1639); Giesel. II., ii. 457; vi. 530-1; Steitz, in Herzog, xiii. 249-252. (See vol. i. p. 168 as to

the altered definition of the Council of Trent.)

<sup>b</sup> See p. 270.

<sup>c</sup> Thom. Aquin. Supplem. 3<sup>ae</sup> Partis Summæ, qu. 25, art. 1 (coll. 1013-4, ed. Migne). See other extracts in Giesel, II., ii. 513, seqq.; vi. 552.

<sup>d</sup> P. 521.



Each of the great mendicant orders held forth its special indulgence, as a means of attracting popular devotion. The Franciscans offered the indulgence of the Portiuncula — the church so called at Assisi — granted, according to their story, by the Saviour Himself in answer to the prayer of St. Francis, and confirmed on earth by pope Honorius III. By this indulgence a full pardon of all sins was offered to every one who, on the festival of St. Peter's chains (Aug. 1) should visit the Portiuncula and make his confession; and it is said that as many as a hundred thousand persons were sometimes drawn together by the hope of partaking in this privilege.<sup>e</sup>

The Dominican indulgence was connected with the Rosary — an instrument of devotion which had been known in earlier times,<sup>f</sup> but which now became the especial property of this order.<sup>g</sup> The manner of performing the devotion of the rosary was by reciting the angelic salutation, with a prayer for the Blessed Virgin's intercession in the hour of death. A rosary of a hundred and fifty beads represented a like number of *aves*, which were divided into fifteen portions, and between these portions a recitation of the Lord's Prayer was interposed. Some mystery of the Christian faith was proposed for meditation during the performance of this exercise, and the whole was concluded by a repetition of the creed.<sup>h</sup>

Bishops had formerly been accustomed to grant indulgences,<sup>i</sup> and it was still considered that they were entitled to do so within their own dioceses, unless specially prohibited by higher authority.<sup>k</sup> But the fourth council of Lateran, in consequence of the indiscreet profusion with which indulgences had been given by bishops, limited the amount which could be granted at the consecration of a church to one year, and that which could be granted at the anniversary of the consecration to forty days.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Acta SS., Oct. 4, pp. 897-918; Wadding, ii. 17, 55; v. 101; Schröckh, xxviii. 159. For the growth of the story (which is unknown to the earliest biographers) see Giesel. II., ii. 342-3.

<sup>f</sup> See vol. ii. 536 (497). Thus in the fourth century, Paul the Simple counted his prayers by pebbles (vol. i. 347); and similar practices are found among the Buddhists, Brahmans, and Mahometans, so that some have supposed the practice to have been brought from the East. Herzog, art. *Rosenkranz*.

<sup>g</sup> Acta SS., Aug. 4, pp. 422-437, 478; Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. vii.

61-3; Schröckh, xxviii. 160-1; Giesel. ii. 343. See Lacordaire, 'Vie de S. Domin.' 238-240. The Carmelites tried to derive the rosary from Peter the Hermit, whom they groundlessly claimed as a member of their order. Schröckh. xxviii. 404.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 161.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 271.

<sup>k</sup> Albert. Magn. in Sentent. IV. xx. 21, quoted by Giesel. II., ii. 505-6; Thom. Aq. in Sentent. IV. xx. 4. 3. 2 (Opera xii. ed. Venet. 1755).

<sup>m</sup> Can. 62 (A.D. 1215).

So Honorius III. in 1255 abolished the indulgence of Sarra-  
cinesco, among the Sabine hills, because the clergy misled the  
people by telling them that they were cleared of their sins as a  
stick is peeled of its bark.<sup>n</sup> But, while they thus limited the  
abuses practised by inferior persons, the popes in their own  
exercise of the power of indulging and absolving went further than  
ever. The commutation of penances and obligations for money  
was more shamelessly carried out.<sup>o</sup> In like manner, the power of  
dispensing for breach of a law, which had formerly been limited  
to breaches already committed, and had been exercised by  
bishops in general, became now the privilege of the pope alone,  
and was exercised also with regard to future or intended viola-  
tions of the law.<sup>p</sup> And it was held that the pope's authority  
extended to dispensing with everything except the law of nature  
and the articles of the faith;<sup>q</sup> nay, according to some writers, he  
might dispense with the law of nature itself.<sup>r</sup>

How much the indulgences of the church imported, was a  
matter of dispute. Some divines held that in order to their  
efficacy the ordinary conditions of penitence and devotion were  
necessary on the part of the receivers.<sup>s</sup> But others asked: If  
this were so, what was there in the indulgences? and the  
popular opinion understood them in the plainest sense, without  
any idea of conditions or limitations.<sup>t</sup> Some writers, while  
admitting this, said that the people were deceived, but held that  
the deceit was lawful on account of the good effects which were  
supposed to result from it. "The Church deceives the faithful,"  
says William of Auxerre, "yet doth she not lie."<sup>u</sup> In like  
manner Thomas of Aquino says that, if the offers of indulgence  
may not be literally understood, the preaching of the church  
cannot be excused from the charge of falsehood; that, if  
inordinate indulgences are given, "so that men are called back  
almost for nothing from the works of penitence, he who gives

<sup>n</sup> R. Sangerm. ap. Murat. vii. 999.

<sup>o</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 508-9. Although  
from the time of Lucius III., A.D. 1184,  
indulgences had been purchaseable by  
giving money towards the crusade (see p.  
271), Gregory IX. was the first pope who  
admitted such commutation for the vow  
of crusading. (M. Paris, 525, 565.)  
Grossetête on his deathbed complained of  
this. Ib. 876.

<sup>p</sup> See Giesel. II., ii. 227.

<sup>q</sup> Thom. Aquin., Quæstiones Quod-  
libetatis, iv. 13 (Opera, xvii. 292-3).

<sup>r</sup> Gloss. quoted by Gieseler II., i. 227.

<sup>s</sup> See Th. Aquin., Summa, Suppl.  
xxv. art. 2. (t. iv. col. 1016, ed. Migne);  
Giesel. II., ii. 507.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 388, note <sup>u</sup>; Giesel. II., ii.  
508; and, as to the manner in which  
the crusading indulgences were set  
forth, Humbert. de Romanis, de Erudit.  
Prædicatorum, 63 (Bibl. Patr. xxv. 556.  
D.).

<sup>u</sup> Quoted by Neander, vii. 487.



such indulgences sins, yet nevertheless the receiver obtains full indulgence.”<sup>x</sup>

(4). The enactment of the Lateran council, that every faithful person should confess once a year,<sup>y</sup> was intended to remedy the evils which had arisen out of the promiscuous use of indulgences by securing a periodical inquiry into the spiritual condition of each person; and the power which it conferred on those who were thus intrusted with the scrutiny and direction of all consciences was enormous,<sup>z</sup> while, as we have already seen,<sup>a</sup> it was in a great degree diverted from the parish priests to the mendicant friars, and so the benefit of the spiritual discipline intended by the Lateran canon was lost.<sup>b</sup> Bonaventura holds that until the passing of this canon it had not been heretical to deny the necessity of confession for all, although from that time such a denial could not be maintained without heresy.<sup>c</sup> But, although in this he is supported by Aquinas,<sup>d</sup> Duns Scotus considers it “more reasonable to hold that confession falls under a positive Divine command.”<sup>e</sup> Many other questions, of greater or less practical importance, arose out of the law of confession. Was it necessary in the case of mortal sin only, or of venial sins also?<sup>f</sup> Again, was confession to a layman valid?<sup>g</sup> Peter Lombard, relying in part on a treatise wrongly attributed to St. Augustine,<sup>h</sup> had answered that it was.<sup>i</sup> Albert the Great considers such confession as sacramental.<sup>k</sup> Aquinas more cautiously says that, if the penitent perform his part of the work by contrition and confession, then, although the lay confessor cannot give priestly absolution, the Great High-priest will in case of need make up the defect; and thus confession to a layman, when a priest can-

<sup>x</sup> Suppl. qu. xxv. Art. 2. coll. 1015-6.

<sup>y</sup> See p. 377.

<sup>z</sup> A council at Aschaffenburg, in 1292, orders that any one who neglects yearly confession to his priest shall not (except in special cases) receive Christian burial, if he die within the year, although he may have confessed on his deathbed. C. 12 (Mansi, xxiv.).

<sup>a</sup> P. 592.

<sup>b</sup> For the various interpretations invented for the canon, see Nat. Alex. Sæc. xiii. Dissert. 4 (t. xvi. 63, seqq.); and Launoy's ‘Explicata Ecclesiæ traditio circa canonem “Omnis utriusque sexus,”’ &c. (Opera, xv. ed. 1672). Launoy holds that confession must be made to the parish priest, pp. 309, seqq.

<sup>c</sup> In IV. Sentent. XVII. Pars. 2 (t. v. 220).

<sup>d</sup> Summa, Suppl. ad. P. III. qu. vi. art. 3 (t. iv. 936).

<sup>e</sup> In IV. Sentent. Dist. XVII. qu. i. § 9-10 (t. ix. 299).

<sup>f</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 496-7. Scotus says, “Nec aliquis tenetur ad aliquam contritionem de venialibus; immo in actuali voluntate vel actu venialis moriens salvabitur, vapulabit tamen.” I. c. sect. 24 (t. ix. 327.).

<sup>g</sup> Girald. Cambr., Gemma Eccl. i. 15.

<sup>h</sup> De Vera et Falsa Pœnitentia, cc. 10. 2. (Patrol. xl.). See p. 272. This treatise served greatly to enforce a belief in the necessity of confession—“Fit enim per confessionem veniale quod criminale erat in operatione.” C. 10.

<sup>i</sup> Sent. IV. xvii. 5 (Patrol. excii.).

<sup>k</sup> In IV. Sentent. xvii. 58-9 (quoted by Gieseler, II., t. ii. 493).

not be had, is “in a manner, although not fully, sacramental.”<sup>m</sup> But Scotus holds a contrary opinion, and considers that it would be better for a man to put himself to shame for his sins, if he could do so with equal intensity of shame, than to confess to one who has no commission to judge.<sup>n</sup>

Another question related to the extent of the efficacy of the sacerdotal absolution. In this century the absolution was changed from the precatory form which had until then been used into the declaratory “I absolve thee.” Thus, William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, who died in 1249, writes that the confessor does not, like a secular judge, say “We absolve thee,” but that he prays over the penitent for God’s forgiveness and grace;<sup>o</sup> and another writer, in objecting to the new form, says that scarcely thirty years had passed since the precatory form was used by all. But Thomas of Aquino replied to this writer in defence of the declaratory absolution, and by his authority, chiefly, it came to be established in the church.<sup>p</sup> Aquinas, while he holds that the power of forgiving sins is with God only, says that He may exercise it through His priest as an instrument,<sup>q</sup> and that the absolution is from guilt as well as from punishment.<sup>r</sup>

(5). The abuses as to the matter of indulgences were in no small degree connected with the superstitious veneration of relics. Popes and councils attempted from time to time to check the practices of itinerant “quæstiaries,” who in England were known as “pardoners,” and in Germany as “penny-preachers.”<sup>s</sup> They denounce the ignorance of these men, their hypocritical pretensions to sanctity, their vicious and disreputable lives, the impudence with which they vended indulgences on the strength of the relics which they displayed; and they endeavour to remedy the evil by forbidding the pardoners to preach, by confining them to the display of their relics, by providing that these, if they could not be warranted as genuine, should at least

<sup>m</sup> “Sacramentalis est quodammodo, quamvis non sit sacramentum perfectum, quia deest id quod est ex parte sacerdotis.” Summ., Suppl. ad Pt. III. qu. viii. 2 (t. iv. 944).

<sup>n</sup> In IV. Sent. Dist. xvii. qu. 1. § 27 (t. ix. p. 331).

<sup>o</sup> De Sacram. Pœnit. c. 19; Opera, p. 472, col. 2. G. ed. Venet. 1591.

<sup>p</sup> Opusc. 22. See also Opusc. 5 (t. xix. ed. Venet.); Bingham, Antiq. xix. ii. 5. and Sermons on Absolution; Giesel. II., ii. 498. Othobon in his Constitutions, prescribes the form “Ego

te a peccatis tuis auctoritate qua fungor absolvo;” and John de Athona says in his gloss on the passage, “Scilicet, te pœnitentem denuntio absolutum; vel, *Te absolvo*, scil., a pœna æterna, quæ per hoc commutatur in temporalem,” p. 82, at end of Lyndewood, ed. Oxon, 1679.

<sup>q</sup> Summa, Supplm. III., qu. xviii. art. 1. (t. iv. col. 987, ed. Migne).

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Bertold, ed. Kling, 384. See Ducange, s. v. *Quæstiaris*.



be sanctioned by the pope, or by competent ecclesiastical authority, and by ordering that the profits of such exhibitions should not be appropriated by the showmen.<sup>†</sup>

(6). The popular veneration for saints called forth in this time some legendary writers who attained great fame and popularity—especially Symeon Metaphrastes in the Greek Church,<sup>‡</sup> and James de Voragine (so called from his birth at Vorago—Viraggio, or Varese, on the Gulf of Genoa) in the Latin. James, who was born about 1230, became a Dominican, was highly respected for his personal character, and in 1292 was raised to the archbishoprick of Genoa by Nicolas IV.<sup>§</sup> But his ‘Lombard History,’ more commonly known by the title of ‘Golden Legend,’ carries legendary extravagance to a degree which has been seldom, if ever, equalled. Yet notwithstanding this extravagance—or rather, perhaps, in consequence of it—the ‘Golden Legend’ became popular beyond all similar collections; it was translated into several languages; and even so late as the sixteenth century, a divine who had spoken disrespectfully of it in a sermon was compelled by the theological faculty of Paris to retract his words.<sup>¶</sup>

About the same time with James of Viraggio wrote William Durantis or Durandus, who was born in the diocese of Béziers in 1237, became bishop of Mende in 1286, and died at Rome in 1296.<sup>‡</sup> Durantis was greatly honoured by popes, and was employed by them in important political business. He had in earlier life been a professor at Bologna, and his knowledge of both canon and civil law was displayed in a book entitled ‘Speculum Juris,’ from which he got the name of *Speculator*.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>†</sup> *E.g.* Conc. Later. IV. c. 62; Conc. Paris, A.D. 1212. c. 8; Conc. Biterr. A.D. 1246. c. 5; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 1261. 17-33 (where they are called *Eberhardini*—a word not to be found in Ducange); Conc. Trevir. A.D. 1271. 8; Conc. Exon. A.D. 1287, cc. 47-8; Conc. Colon. A.D. 1300. c. 13; Conc. Constant. [Coutances] A.D. 1300. c. 18. &c. A forcible description of the ways of these rascals is given by Humbert de Romanis in his tract on the business to be treated in the second council of Lyons, c. 8, in Browne, *Fascic. Rer. Expet.* ii. 227; or Gieseler, II., ii. 513. Chaucer’s ‘Pardoner’ belongs to the next century.

<sup>‡</sup> Schröckh, xviii. 187.

<sup>§</sup> Quétif, i. 454-5; Schröckh, xxxiii. 992. See above, p. 511.

<sup>¶</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 195. Yet Melchior Canus, a member of the same order,

calls the author of the ‘Golden Legend’ “a man of iron mouth and leaden heart.” Herzog, art. *Jakob de Voragine*.

<sup>‡</sup> Savigny, v. 502-8. His epitaph, in the church of St. Mary sopra Minerva at Rome is very biographical, and is given by Savigny (501-2), as also by Quétif and Echard (i. 480-1), who wrongly make him a Dominican (Sav. 510). This Durandus is to be distinguished from his nephew of the same name, who succeeded him as bishop of Mende, and died in 1328; and from the schoolman Durandus of St. Pourçain (a Sto. Porciano), bishop of Le Puy-en-Velay, who died in 1332.

<sup>a</sup> Schröckh, xxviii. 286-7; Gieseler, II., ii. 431. Savigny speaks very highly of this book, both for the learning and for the judgment shown in it, v. 510-4.

But his wider and more equivocal fame is derived from his 'Rationale of Divine Offices,' in which the system of allegorical interpretation, which we have noticed in an earlier period,<sup>b</sup> is carried to a very extravagant length.<sup>c</sup> Yet, foolish and absurdly trifling as much of this book is, Durandus was not so foolish in other respects as the peculiar admiration which he has received in our own time and country might lead us to suppose; nor must we forget that many things which cannot among ourselves be repeated without affectation, might in the thirteenth century have been said simply and naturally. In some important points, indeed, Durandus deserves the credit of having endeavoured rather to check than to forward the development of popular-superstition.<sup>d</sup> Perhaps a sufficient evidence of the popularity which the 'Rationale' attained may be found in the fact that it was the earliest work that issued from the press of Fust.<sup>e</sup>

(7). The veneration for the Blessed Virgin increased so as more and more to encroach on the honour due to her Divine Son. The beginning of the movement for the doctrine and the celebration of her immaculate conception has been already noticed.<sup>f</sup> The original celebration of the Blessed Virgin's conception did not relate to her having been conceived in her mother's womb, but to her having conceived the Saviour of mankind.<sup>g</sup> The earlier celebrations of her own conception did not attach to it the idea of her having been conceived without sin;<sup>h</sup> nor, although the doctrine of the immaculate conception had

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii. 532 (493).

<sup>c</sup> As specimens of his etymological talent, these passages may be given:—"Cœmeterium dicitur a *cimen*, quod est *dulce*, et *sterion*, quod est *statio*; ibi enim dulciter defunctorum ossa quiescunt, et Salvatoris adventum expectant. Vel quia ibi sunt *cimices*, id est, vermes ultra modum foetentes" (I. v. 4). "Dicitur *historia* ab *ιστορεῖν*, quod est *gesticulari*; inde *historici*, id est *gesticulatores*, vocantur, quasi *histriones*" (Proëm. 9). "*Metropolitani* seu *metropolitæ* a mensura civitatum vocantur" (II., i. 20).

<sup>d</sup> See below, note <sup>b</sup>, as to the conception of the Blessed Virgin. It seems to me, however, unfair to quote (as Gieseler does, II., ii. 446) Durandus as an opponent of communion in one kind on the strength of the following words—"Solam recipiens hostiam non plenum sacramentaliter recipit sacramentum. Etsi enim in hostia consecrata Christi sanguis sit, non tamen est ibi sacramentaliter, eo

quod panis corpus et non sanguinem, et vinum sanguinem significat, et non corpus." For he goes on to say—"Quia ergo sub altera tantum specie non est completum sacramentum, quoad sacramentum vel signum, debet hoc sacramentum compleri priusquam presbyter eo utatur" (IV., liv. 13). Durandus is here speaking with a view to the communion of the priest only; and although he says that communion in one kind is incomplete "quoad sacramentum vel signum"—i. e. as to the symbolical exhibition of the Saviour's blood—he holds that the blood as well as the body is conveyed in the consecrated host.

<sup>e</sup> Guéranger, i. 336.

<sup>f</sup> P. 265.

<sup>g</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 475.

<sup>h</sup> See Gieseler II., ii. 475. Durandus expressly says that she was "concepta in peccato, sive per concubitum maris et femine," and he disallows the festival. Rationale, III. vii. 4.



been broached in the preceding century (when it was opposed by the powerful authority of St. Bernard),<sup>i</sup> did it for a long time gain the support of any considerable theologian. Even the Franciscans, as Alexander of Hales,<sup>k</sup> Antony of Padua,<sup>m</sup> and Bonaventura<sup>n</sup> maintained that the Virgin was conceived in sin, until Duns Scotus asserted (although not with absolute certainty) the opposite opinion,<sup>o</sup> which from the fourteenth century became the creed of the order.<sup>p</sup> The Dominican Aquinas (who says that, although the Roman church does not celebrate her conception, it bears with certain churches in their celebration of it<sup>q</sup>), argues that she was conceived in sin, but was sanctified in the womb, not by the removal of the *fomes peccati*, but by its being placed under restraint; that she never committed actual sin, because that would have been a disparagement of her Son; but that the “fomes” was not removed until she had conceived Him.<sup>r</sup> Yet theologians who rejected the doctrine of the immaculate conception contributed to forward it by the extravagant language which they applied to St. Mary. A distinction had been drawn between the reverence which was due to the Saviour as God and as man; while his Divinity was to be worshipped with *latria*, his humanity was to be revered with *hyperdulia*, which was so styled as being greater than the *dulia* paid to saints.<sup>s</sup> But now the human nature of the Saviour, as well as his Divinity, was to be worshipped with *latria*, while *hyperdulia*, which Aquinas defines as midway between *dulia* and *latria*, was to be rendered to the Virgin-Mother.<sup>t</sup> To her were applied a multitude of Scriptural expressions, which in truth had no reference to her. Thus, she was said to be the rock on which Christ was to build his church, because she alone remained firm in faith during the interval between his death and his resurrection.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>i</sup> P. 265. Among the additions to the ‘Golden Legend’ is a story which is put into the mouth of St. Anselm, and carries back the celebration of the immaculate conception to the time of Charlemagne! c. 189, p. 870, ed. Græsse, Lips. 1850.

<sup>k</sup> Pars. III., qu. ix. Memb. 2, artt. 2, 4.

<sup>m</sup> Quoted by Gieseler, II., ii. 476.

<sup>n</sup> In III. Sentent. Dist. iii. p. 1. artt. 1-2.

<sup>o</sup> He states a freedom from original sin as one of three possibilities, and then adds, “Quod autem horum trium, quæ ostensa sunt possibilia, factum sit, Deus novit; si auctoritati ecclesiæ vel auctoritati Scripturæ non repugnet, vi-

detur probabile quod excellentius est attribuere Mariæ.” (In III. Sentent. dist. iii. qu. 1, § 9, t. vii. 94-5.) See Gieseler, II., ii. 478.

<sup>p</sup> Giesel. II., ii. 477.

<sup>q</sup> Summa III., xxvii. 2 (iii. 248, ed. Migne).

<sup>r</sup> Summa, III. qu. 27. Other passages may be found by means of the articles *Conceptio* and *Maria* in the general index to his works.

<sup>s</sup> Pet. Lomb. Sent. iii. 9 (who, however, thinks that, in consequence of the union of natures the whole Christ is to be adored); Giesel. II., ii. 471.

<sup>t</sup> Thom. Summa, II., ii. qu. 104, art. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Bonaventura, ‘Speculum B. Vir-

She was said to be typified by the tree of life, by the ark of Noah, by Jacob's ladder which reached to heaven, by the burning bush which was not consumed, by Aaron's rod that budded, and by many other Scriptural figures, down to the apocalyptic "woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet." And her sinlessness was supposed to be foreshown in the words of the Canticles—"Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee."<sup>x</sup> The greater and lesser 'Psalters of the Blessed Virgin,' in which the Psalms of David are parodied with unintentional profanity, although not the work of Bonaventura, to whom they have been ascribed, belong to the thirteenth century.<sup>y</sup> And Bonaventura himself went great lengths in several works which were expressly devoted to her honour.<sup>z</sup> In accordance with these developments of reverence for the Blessed Virgin, we find in the chronicles of the time notices of the introduction of devotions addressed to her, and of festivals and offices in her honour.<sup>a</sup> And a fast of forty days before the festival of the assumption was kept by many persons, and was recommended, although not enforced, by Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>b</sup>

It was in this time that the house which had been inhabited by the Holy Family at Nazareth is said to have been carried by angels, first into Dalmatia, and then into the neighbourhood of Loreto, where, after having thrice changed its place, it finally settled, to draw to it the devotion and the offerings of innumerable pilgrims.<sup>c</sup> To argue against such a story would be either superfluous or hopeless; but it may be well to state, as some of the most obvious objections to it, that the pilgrims to Palestine, although they mention churches on the site of the house where the Blessed Virgin was visited by the angel, and on that of

ginis,' 12; de Eccles. Hierarchia, t. vii. 272; Laus B. V. Mariæ, ib. vi. 468; Cæsar. Heisterb. lib. vii.

<sup>x</sup> (Cantic. iv. 7); Thom. Aq., Summa, III., xxvii. 4 (t. iv. 252).

<sup>y</sup> See Schröckh, xxviii. 255-8; Giesel. II., ii. 470. These Psalters are in vol. vi. of the Mentz edition. A specimen may be taken from the cxth Psalm, "Dixit Dominus Dominæ nostræ, Sede, mater mea, a dextris meis. Bonitas et sanctitas placuerunt tibi; ideo regnabis mecum in æternum," &c. So Psalm cxii. is thus transformed, "Beatus vir qui timet Dominam; et beatum cor quod diligit illam."

<sup>z</sup> See above, note <sup>u</sup>; Gieseler gives curious extracts from vernacular poetry of the time. II., ii. 468.

<sup>a</sup> Thus the Dunstable annalist notes, on Dec. 1, 1273,—*"Primo diximus in conventu,*

*'Maria, plena gratiæ,  
Mater misericordiæ,  
Tu nos ab hoste protege,  
In hora mortis suscipe.'*

And the annalist of Ensdorf, in Bavaria, A.D. 1291, "*Hujus tempore missa B. V. privilegio sancitur celebrari.*" Patrol. clxxiii. 1371. <sup>b</sup> Wadding, v. 85.

<sup>c</sup> Rayn. 1263. 2, seqq.; 1291. 66-71; 1295. 58-9; 1296. 35.



the house where the Saviour was brought up, give no hint that any remains of the houses themselves existed;<sup>d</sup> that Urban IV. in 1263, in reporting to St. Louis the destruction of the church at Nazareth, says nothing of the “*ædícula*,” which later ingenuity has supposed to have been contained in it and miraculously preserved;<sup>e</sup> and that, although the removal to Loreto is placed in the year 1294, no notice of it is to be found before the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>f</sup>

(8). The excess of reverence for the Blessed Virgin found expression in a multitude of hymns; but in the time which we are now surveying, compositions of this kind were also produced which may be regarded as additions to the stock of truly Christian devotional poetry. Among these may be mentioned, as perhaps the best known, the “*Dies Iræ*”—probably (although not certainly) the work of Thomas of Celano, a Franciscan, and one of the biographers of St. Francis;<sup>g</sup> the “*Stabat Mater*,” which is generally ascribed to another Franciscan, Jacopone of Todi;<sup>h</sup> and the German Easter hymn, “*Christus ist erstanden*,” which, like the “*Dies Iræ*,” is introduced with wonderful effect in the most famous poem of recent times.<sup>i</sup>

(9). The drama was now pressed into the service of religion.<sup>k</sup> The imitation of Plautus and Terence, which had marked the

<sup>d</sup> *E. g.* Adamnan. *de Locis Sanctis*, c. 26 (*Patrol.* lxxviii.). The supposition that there were *two* houses seems to have arisen out of a desire to provide as many objects as possible for devotion. Dean Stanley supposes the Loreto story to have been invented in order to supply in the West a place for the worship which, since the Saracen reconquest of the Holy Land, could no longer be paid in the East. ‘*Sinai and Palestine*,’ ed. i. p. 443.

<sup>e</sup> See the letter in Rayn. 1263. 2, seqq., and the annalist’s Commentary.

<sup>f</sup> Flavius Blondus, who died in 1463, is said to be the first who mentions the devotion of Loreto (Herzog, art. *Loreto*). But, although he styles it “*Celeberrimum totius Italiæ sacellum gloriosæ virginis Mariæ*,” and speaks of its especial spiritual privileges, and of the votive offerings in the church (*Italia Illustrata*, p. 330, ed. Basil. 1559), he says nothing of the “*santa casa*” or of its history. Schröckh (xxviii. 260-2) quotes a book against the legend, by Bernegger, Strasburg, 1619.

<sup>g</sup> See Milman, vi. 311-3; Herzog, artt. *Dies Iræ* and *Thomas von Celano*;

Arbp. Trench, ‘*Sacred Latin Poetry*,’ ed. 2, p. 294.

<sup>h</sup> See Trench, 262; Milman, v. 67; Herzog, artt. *Stabat Mater* and (in the Supplement) *Jacopone*; and especially Ozanam, ‘*Poètes Franciscains*.’ Jacopone has been already mentioned (p. 511). He had been a doctor of laws, but was converted from a secular life by the death of his wife in remarkable circumstances. He then for a time ran into great eccentricities, which resembled those of the founder of his order; but the Franciscans, instead of encouraging him in these eccentricities, made him give them up. “*Cet homme hardi*,” says M. Ozanam, “*avait osé autant que Dante; il le devançait, on peut croire qu’il l’inspira*” (39). The “*Stabat Mater*” has been ascribed by Benedict XIV. and others to Innocent III. As there are great varieties of text, Mone thinks that perhaps Innocent may have been the original author, and Jacopone may have recast it. ‘*Hymnen des Mittelalters*,’ ii. 149.

<sup>i</sup> (‘*Faust*,’ in Göthe’s Works, xii. 44-7, 200-1, ed. 1828); Gieseler, II., ii. 486.

<sup>k</sup> See Gregorov. iii. 530.

attempts of Roswitha, the nun of Gandersheim, in the tenth century,<sup>m</sup> had now given way to a vernacular drama, of which the subjects were not only Christian, but usually founded on Scripture, as distinguished from legend; and such plays became important means of conveying some sort of knowledge of sacred history to the people.<sup>n</sup> We have seen that the drama was even employed, although with indifferent success, as an instrument of conversion among the heathens of Livonia.<sup>o</sup>

(10). The number of canons directed in this century against the festivals of fools and other burlesque celebrations which grew out of religion; against profanations of churches and churchyards by dancing and revelry, by holding of markets and of civil courts, by secular plays, wakes, and the like; against the introduction of players, jugglers, and yet more disreputable persons into monasteries,—shows how strongly these abuses had become rooted.<sup>p</sup> Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1279, endeavoured to check the disorders which had thus crept in, and the church was in some degree forced to give way, compromising the matter by allowing the children of the choir to celebrate their mummeries, while it forbade such celebrations by the clergy, and limiting the festival of the boy-bishop strictly to the Holy Innocents' day, so that it should not begin until after vespers on St. John's day.<sup>q</sup>

(11). Between the middle of the eleventh century and the end of the thirteenth, the development of ecclesiastical architecture had been rapid and signal. In France before the year 1150, and in other countries north of the Alps a little later, the massive round-arched architecture which marked the beginning of this period was succeeded by a lighter and more graceful style,

<sup>m</sup> See her works in *Patrol.* cxxxvii.: *Milm.* vi. 317.

<sup>n</sup> Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* ii. 848-9; *Pez.* ii. 187, seqq.; Mone, 'Schauspiele des Mittelalters,' *Karlsru.* 1846. ° P. 552.

<sup>p</sup> *E. g.* *Conc. Paris.* A.D. 1212, iv. 2; *Conc. Trevir.* A.D. 1227, cc. 6, 8; *Conc. Rothomag.* A.D. 1232, cc. 14-5; *Conc. Biterr.* A.D. 1233, c. 23; *Conc. Nivern.* A.D. 1246, cc. 3-4; *Guido Narbonens.* A.D. 1260; *R. Poore, Sarisb., Constit.* A.D. 1222, *Wilk.* i. 600; *Conc. Coprinia.* A.D. 1260, cc. 1-2, 7 (against cockfights in schools); *Grossetête, Epp.* pp. 118, 161; *Conc. Exon.* 1287, c. 13; *Giesel.* II., ii. 481-2. The Council of Rouen, in 1232, c. 8, enacts that "Clerici ribaudi, maxime qui dicuntur de familia Golie," shall be shorn or shaven by the

ecclesiastical authorities, "ita quod eis tonsura non remaneat clericalis." Innocent III., after inveighing against married canons, goes on to say that in the churches where such persons are, "interdum ludi fiunt theatrales, et non solum ad ludibrium spectacula introducuntur in eis monstra larvarum, verum etiam in tribus anni festivitibus quæ continue nativitatem Christi sequuntur, diaconi, presbyteri, et subdiaconi vicissim insanie suæ ludibria exercentes, per gesticulationum suarum debacchationes obscenas in conspectu populi decus faciunt clericale vilescere, quem potius illo tempore verbi Dei deberet prædicatione mulcere." *Ep.* iii. 235.

<sup>q</sup> See Peckham, in *Wilkins*, ii. 38; *Herzog*, x. 204.



which had for its chief feature the pointed arch.<sup>r</sup> This form of arch had been long known—in Provence, it is said, even from the time of Charlemagne,<sup>s</sup>—before it came into favour as the characteristic of a style,<sup>t</sup> and the first church in which it becomes thus predominant is said to be that of St. Denys, rebuilt by Abbot Suger about 1144.<sup>u</sup> The transition from the Norman to the Gothic is represented in many great French churches, where the victory of the pointed arch and of the lighter forms is yet incomplete; and the perfection of Gothic in that stage where it has shaken off the influence of the older style, but is yet capable of further development, is seen in the “Holy Chapel” of Paris, built by St. Louis exactly a century after the date of St. Denys.<sup>x</sup>

In England, the pointed arch was introduced from France in the latter part of the twelfth century. The specimens of the transitional style are few—the best known being the choir of Canterbury, (commenced under a French architect,) and the round part of the Temple Church in London (A.D. 1175-1184); and here the most perfect example of the pure early Gothic style is the Cathedral of Salisbury (A.D. 1220-1258). Henry III., the contemporary of St. Louis, was, like him, a munificent patron of the arts connected with religion, and has left his best monument in that part of Westminster Abbey which was erected by him.

Into Spain, too, the Gothic style made its way from France; and there it appears in remarkable contrast with another style, which has in common with it the pointed arch, and from which it was on that account formerly supposed to have taken its origin—the Moorish or Saracenic architecture derived from the East.<sup>y</sup>

In Germany, where a peculiar variety of the round-arched style had been developed, chiefly in the provinces along the Rhine, the pointed arch did not make its appearance until the beginning of the thirteenth century;<sup>z</sup> but before the middle of that century, had been laid the foundation A.D. 1248. of the vast and still unfinished cathedral of Cologne. Another remarkable German Gothic church of this time is that erected at Marburg in honour of St. Elizabeth.

In Italy, where the native art of the eleventh and twelfth

<sup>r</sup> Fergusson, ‘Hist. of Architecture,’ i. 462.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 400.

<sup>t</sup> Hope, c. 33. <sup>u</sup> Fergusson, i. 400.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 440; Martin, iv. 335.

<sup>y</sup> See the illustrations of Mr. Street’s ‘Gothic Architecture in Spain,’ Lond. 1865.

<sup>z</sup> Fergusson, i. 483.

centuries produced, among other works, the cathedral and the leaning tower of Pisa, the new style never took root in its purity. In the buildings which are classed as belonging to it (except in a few, which were erected under foreign influence) the round arch is combined with the pointed, and the development of Gothic is controlled by the remembrance of the old classical forms.<sup>a</sup> The earliest example of a pointed church is that of St. Andrew at Vercelli, begun by Cardinal Guloa after his legation in England, under the superintendence of an English architect (A.D. 1219);<sup>b</sup> and next to this followed the church built in honour of St. Francis at Assisi (1228-1253), where the political connexion of Elias, then general of the Franciscans, induced him to employ as architect a German of the emperor's train named James.<sup>c</sup> Arnulf, the original architect of the cathedral at Florence, was the son (or perhaps the pupil) of this James; but at Florence the character of northern Gothic is modified by the Italian taste, both in Arnulf's work and in Giotto's bell-tower, which belongs to the following century. In Rome itself Gothic architecture found no place, although we are reminded of it by the pointed arches of a single church,<sup>d</sup> and by such works as canopies of altars and sepulchral monuments.<sup>e</sup>

At the same time with architecture, the arts of painting and sculpture, which as yet were chiefly employed as accessory to it, made rapid progress. The staining of glass had been brought to a perfection of richness in colour which was lost in the more ambitious attempts of a later style; and the skill of illuminators, workers in metal, embroiderers, and other decorative artists worthily contributed in their degrees to the splendour of the age which, in addition to the churches already named, produced, entirely or in their finest parts, such buildings as the Cathedrals of Paris, Chartres, Reims, Bourges, Rouen, and Amiens, of Orvieto and Siena, of Lincoln and Elgin.

(12). The abuse of interdicts, and the indifference to them which arose out of that abuse, have been already mentioned.<sup>f</sup> It was found that those who suffered from such sentences now turned

<sup>a</sup> Gally Knight *On Italian Architecture*, i. 8-9.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* ii., plate 18; Fergusson, '*Handbook*,' 767.

<sup>c</sup> Gally Knight, i. 9; ii. 19; Fergusson, *Handb.* 769.

<sup>d</sup> St. Mary sopra Minerva.

<sup>e</sup> Gregorov. v. 622. There is a ruined Gothic chapel among the remains of a fortress of the Savelli and Gaetani, on the Appian way, opposite the tomb of Cæcilia Metella.

<sup>f</sup> P. 587.



their indignation, not against the princes or others whose offences had provoked them, but against the ecclesiastics who had pronounced them.<sup>g</sup> As they were uttered by bishops on all manner of slight occasions, popes often took the prudent line of superseding the diocesan authority, sometimes by annulling the sentence, sometimes by mitigating it. Recourse was occasionally had to temporal sovereigns by way of appeal against such sentences. Even St. Louis annulled an interdict pronounced by the archbishop of Rouen in 1235, and one of the bishop of Poitiers in 1243;<sup>h</sup> and in France it came to be regarded as a settled thing that the secular power was entitled to receive appeals in such cases.<sup>i</sup> A council at Aschaffenburg, in 1292, speaks of the laity in some places as caring so little for interdicts that they took it on themselves to perform some of the offices, such as that of burial, which the clergy were charged to refuse to them.<sup>k</sup>

#### IV. *State of Learning.*

During this time literature was much encouraged. Among the princes who patronised it, the emperor Frederick,<sup>m</sup> and Alfonso X. (the Wise), of Castille, are especially distinguished. Frederick in 1224 founded the university of Naples, with the intention of saving his Italian subjects from the necessity of seeking knowledge beyond his own dominions;<sup>n</sup> nor would he allow them to study elsewhere; and, as it had suffered from the political troubles of the time, he founded it afresh in 1234.<sup>o</sup> With a like view, and in order to punish Bologna for the part which it had taken in his quarrels with the popes, he founded also the universities of Padua and Vienne.<sup>p</sup> To this century is also ascribed the origin of some other universities, such as Toulouse (founded in order to counteract the teaching of the Albigenses),<sup>q</sup> Ferrara, Piacenza, and Lisbon (which in 1308 was transferred to Coimbra).<sup>r</sup> At Rome, Charles of Anjou, in the character of senator, professed to found a place of "general

<sup>g</sup> See Steph. Tornac. Epp. 235-7 (Patrol. cxxi.).

<sup>h</sup> Planck, IV. ii. 295.

<sup>i</sup> Ib.

<sup>k</sup> C. 9.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 390; Tirab. iv. 14; Kington, i. 436-8.

<sup>n</sup> Pet. de Vineis, Epp. iii. 10; Giannone, iii. 98-102; R. Sangerm. 997; Savigny, iii. 323; Raumer, iii. 279.

<sup>o</sup> R. Sangerm. 1035; Schröckh, xxiv. 321. M. Huillard-Breholles gives many

letters on the subject of this university, ii. 447; iii. 10-3; iv. 34, 496; v. 493, &c. In Baluze's 'Miscellanea,' iii. 104, ed. fol. there is a letter of Manfred stating that he is reforming the university, and offering a professorship of canon law to a doctor.

<sup>p</sup> Bul. iii. 107, 115; Tirab. iv. 47.

<sup>q</sup> See p. 437.

<sup>r</sup> Bul. iii. 493; Schröckh, xxiv. 321; Tirab. iv. 38, seqq., 62, 64.

study" for law and arts in 1265; but this attempt seems to have been abortive, and the university of Rome really owes its foundation to a bull issued by Boniface VIII. a few months before his fall.<sup>s</sup> The Germans, having as yet no university of their own, continued to resort chiefly to Paris and Bologna.<sup>t</sup> The pre-eminent fame of Paris as a place of "general study" in all branches of learning was still maintained. Honorius III. in 1218 endeavoured to limit its range of subjects by forbidding lectures on law;<sup>u</sup> but this exclusion of the popular science<sup>x</sup> did not last long, as we find about the middle of the century that Paris had the three "faculties" of theology, law, and medicine, in addition to the older division into four "nations" which made up the body of "artists" or students in arts.<sup>v</sup> In 1250 the famous school of the Sorbonne was founded in connexion with the university, by Robert, a native of Sorbonne in Champagne, a canon of Paris, and chaplain to St. Louis;<sup>z</sup> and, although it is a mistake to speak of this as the theological faculty of the university, the two were in so far the same that the members of one were very commonly members also of the other.<sup>a</sup>

It was in this age that the scholastic philosophy received its full development under the influence of an increased study of Aristotle. This philosopher had hitherto been known in the West through one or two books only, which were accessible in the old translations of Victorinus and Boëthius;<sup>b</sup> but he now became more fully known, partly through translations from the Arabic versions current in Spain,<sup>c</sup> and partly through direct translations from the originals, of which copies had been brought

<sup>s</sup> Gregorov. v. 603-6.

<sup>t</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 321.

<sup>u</sup> Salimb. 5; Bul. iii. 96.

<sup>x</sup> On Dante's lines—

"Non por lo mondo, per cui mo si affanna,  
Diretro ad Ostieuse ed a Taddeo"

(Parad. iii. 82-3), Benvenuto of Imola remarks, "Et vere maxima pars studentum tendit ad Decretales. Nec mirum, quum multos videamus ignorantes grammaticam (ut de cæteris artibus nihil dicam), qui consequuntur maxima beneficia et dignitates qui[a] sciunt allegare duas decretales." Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1262.

<sup>y</sup> Bul. iii. Præf.; 349, 357, seqq.; Savigny, iii. 350-1; Schröckh, xxiv. 307.

<sup>z</sup> Bul. iii. 223, seqq.; Crevier, i. 493,

seqq. His will is in Dachery, Spicil. iii. 671.

<sup>a</sup> Savigny, iii. 352. See the article *Sorbonne*, by Matter, in Herzog, xiv.

<sup>b</sup> R. Bacon, *Opus Majus*, i. 15, ed. Jebb, Lond. 1733; Schröckh, xxiv. 415.

<sup>c</sup> See Hampden, *Bampt. Lect.* 444-6. On the defects of these, see R. Bacon, *Op. Majus*, iii. p. 45. Bacon's remarks as to translation are as much needed in our own time as in his—"Oportet quod interpres optime sciat scientiam quam vult transferre, et duas linguas a quibus et in quas transferat. Solus Boëthius, primus interpres, novit plene potestatem linguarum, et solus Robertus, dictus Grossum-Caput, novit scientias. Alii quidem mendici translatores defecerunt multum tam in scientiis quam in linguis; quod ostendit ipsorum translatio" l. c.



into the West in consequence of the Latin conquest of Constantinople.<sup>d</sup> By the opening of these sources a great eagerness for the study of dialectics and metaphysics was excited.<sup>e</sup> But in the case of Aristotle there were grave prejudices of long standing to be overcome. In earlier times, he had been in favour with some heretical sects, and on that account (if on no other) had been denounced by many writers of orthodox reputation and of high authority, down to St. Bernard, in whose day he had fallen under fresh suspicion on account of Abelard's fondness for him.<sup>f</sup> His works, in passing through the hands of Mussulman and other translators, had been mixed up with foreign matter which brought on him additional disrepute.<sup>g</sup> And in the beginning of the century, his name incurred still further obloquy from the circumstance that Amalric of Bène and David of Dinant professed to ground their pantheistic speculations on his method. He was therefore involved in the condemnation of those speculations by the council of Paris in 1209, although it would seem that the writings which were condemned under his name were really the work of his Arabic followers;<sup>h</sup> the legate Robert Curzon, in 1215, while allowing the study of his dialectics, forbade that of his books on metaphysics and natural philosophy;<sup>i</sup> and in 1231, Gregory IX. issued a bull by which they were again forbidden "until they should have been examined, and purged from all suspicion of errors."<sup>k</sup> Yet, as Aristotle became more known, through the new translations from the Greek, which showed him without the additions of his Mahometan expositors, he found students, admirers, and commentators among men of the greatest eminence as teachers and of unquestioned orthodoxy, such as Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquino; and thus, from having been suspected and condemned, he came to be very widely regarded even as an infallible oracle.<sup>m</sup> While his system was employed to give form and method to Christian ideas, he was considered as a guide to secular knowledge, on

<sup>d</sup> Frederick II. mentions in a letter to the university of Bologna that he had set on foot a translation of Aristotle, and had himself executed a part of it. Pet. de Vin. Ep. iii. 67, or Huill.-Bréh. iv. 383.

<sup>e</sup> Schröckh, xxix. 5.

<sup>f</sup> See Launoy, 'De Varia Aristotelis in Acad. Paris. Fortuna,' cc. 2-3; Hampden, Bampton Lect. 61.

<sup>g</sup> Giesel, vi. 458.

<sup>h</sup> P. 343. See Giesel, II. ii. 415. Hauréau, i. 409-410.

<sup>i</sup> D'Argentré, i. 132-3; Bul. iii. 81; Launoy, l. 4. Roger Bacon says that the Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics "quæ nunc recipiuntur ab omnibus pro sana et utili doctrina" were condemned "per densam ignorantiam." Opus Majus, i. 9, p. 14, ed. Jebb; Cf. Minor Works, ed. Brewer, 28.

<sup>k</sup> D'Argentré, i. 133; Bul. iii. 140; Launoy, c. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Launoy, p. 84; Schröckh, xxiv. 418; xxix. 5; Giesel, II. ii. 415-7.

which theology was said to repose, while rising above it; and some divines, finding themselves perplexed between the authority of the Stagyrte and that of the Scriptures, attempted to reconcile the two by a theory that philosophical and religious belief might be different from each other and independent of each other—that a proposition might at once be philosophically true and theologically false.<sup>n</sup> It was not unnatural that such notions should excite suspicion; and thus we find Gregory IX., in a letter written in 1228 to the professors of Paris, reproving them for the unprofitable nature of their studies—for relying too much on the knowledge of natural things, and making theology, the queen, subordinate to her handmaid, philosophy.<sup>o</sup>

The leader of the Schoolmen was an Englishman, Alexander of Hales<sup>p</sup> (Alensis), who taught philosophy and theology at Paris, entered the Franciscan order about 1222, and died in 1245.<sup>q</sup> With him began that method of discussing a subject by arraying the arguments on each side in a syllogistic form,<sup>r</sup> which became characteristic of the schoolmen in general. The authority which Alexander acquired appears from the lofty titles bestowed on him—"Doctor of Doctors" and "Irrefragable Doctor."

William of Auvergne, who held the see of Paris from 1228 to 1249, deserves mention as a famous schoolman, although his works are on a less colossal scale than those of his eminent contemporaries.<sup>s</sup>

The titles of "Great"<sup>t</sup> and of "Universal Doctor" were given to Albert, a Swabian of noble family, who taught at Cologne, and, after having held the bishoprick of Ratisbon from 1260 to 1263, resigned it, that he might die in his profession as a simple Dominican friar.<sup>u</sup> Albert is described as showing much

<sup>n</sup> Mosh. ii. 601; Schröckh, xxix. 560; Giesel. II. ii. 417.

<sup>o</sup> Rayn. 1228. 29.

<sup>p</sup> He is commonly said to have taken his name from Hales Abbey in Gloucestershire; but that abbey was not founded until the year after his death. Tanner, 'Bibliotheca,' 370.

<sup>q</sup> Ptol. Lucens. xxii. 18-9; Bul. iii. 200-2; Schröckh, xxix. 7.

<sup>r</sup> See Rog. Bacon, 'Opus Maj.' 326, who says that the 'Summa' ascribed to Alexander, "quæ est plusquam pondus unius equi," was not really by him, and that it was no longer transcribed at the time when Bacon wrote.

<sup>s</sup> They are contained within the com-

paratively moderate compass of little more than 1000 folio pages, closely printed in double columns at Venice, 1591. See as to him Schröckh, xxiv. 423; Hauréau, i. 432.

<sup>t</sup> That *Magnus* is an epithet, not a family name, see Schröckh, xxiv. 424.

<sup>u</sup> Albert died in 1280, at the age of 87. Many fabulous stories of him are collected by Bayle, art. *Albert*. Among other things we are told that when William of Holland visited Cologne at the Epiphany, 1249, Albert, by his magic art, produced the appearance of summer (Beka de Epp. Ultraject., 79, ed. Ultraj. 1643). It is said that he had no capacity for learning, until at his prayer the



reading, but (as might be expected in his age) a want of critical skill; great acuteness in argument; a courage which sometimes ventures even to contradict the authority of Aristotle; and an originality which entitles him to be regarded as the real founder of the Dominican system of doctrine.<sup>x</sup> Under Albert, at Cologne, studied Thomas, a member of a great family which held the lordship of Aquino and other possessions in the Apulian kingdom.<sup>y</sup> Thomas of Aquino was born in 1225 or 1227, and after having been educated from the age of five at Monte Cassino, from which he passed to the university of Naples, entered into the Dominican order in 1243, greatly against the will of his nearest relations.<sup>z</sup> At Cologne, he was chiefly distinguished for his steady industry, which led his fellow-students in derision to style him the "dumb ox of Sicily;" but Albert was able to discern the promise of greatness in him, and reproved the mockers by telling them that the dumb ox would one day fill the world with his lowing.<sup>a</sup> In 1255, Thomas was nominated as professor of theology at Paris, but the disputes between his order and the university delayed his occupation of the chair until 1257.<sup>b</sup> He also taught at Rome and elsewhere; his eminence was acknowledged by an offer of the archbishoprick of Naples, which he declined; and he had been summoned by Gregory X. to attend the council of Lyons, in 1274, with a view to controverting the peculiarities of the Greeks who were expected to be present,<sup>c</sup> when he died on his way at the monastery of Fossa Nuova.<sup>d</sup>

Blessed Virgin bestowed on him a special endowment, together with the gift that philosophy should not seduce him from the true faith; and that five years before his death, according to his patroness's promise, he forgot all his learning and dialectical subtlety in order that he might prepare himself for his end "in childlike innocence and in sincerity and truth of faith." (Lud. a Val-leoleti, quoted by Quétif, i. 169.) Henry of Hervorden relates that, when worn out with age and labour, he fell into dotage. Sifrid, archbishop of Mentz, wishing to see him, knocked at the door of his cell, whereupon Albert answered from within, "Albert is not here." "Of a truth he is not here," said the archbishop, and went away in tears. 202; cf. 195.

<sup>x</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 427; Hauréau, ii. 103-4. M. Hauréau says, "Le résultat des travaux d'Albert n'a été rien moins qu'une véritable révolution. Cela résume tous ses titres à la gloire" (p. 103).

Albert's works fill 21 folio volumes. A professor whom Roger Bacon speaks of with great severity (Minor Works, 30-4, 327) has been generally identified with Albert. Mr. Brewer, however, thinks that one Richard of Cornwall is meant (Introd. 34); and Mr. Plumptre (improbably, as it seems to me) suggests the name of Thomas Aquinas. 'Contemporary Review,' July, 1866, p. 376.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. Litt. xix. 238; see Henr. de Hervord, 205-7; Ptol. Luc. xxii. 20-2, 24, 39; Quétif, i. 271; Hauréau, ii. 105.

<sup>z</sup> Thom. Cantimp. 'Bonum Univ.' I. xx. 10; Quétif, i. 271-3.

<sup>a</sup> Henr. de Hervord, 201.

<sup>b</sup> Quétif, i. 289; Schröckh, xxiv. 430; Ritter, viii. 257-8. See p. 595.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 477.

<sup>d</sup> Ptol. Luc. xxii. 24; xxiii. 8-15; Trivet, 27; Chron. Lanerc. p. 87. Dante alludes to the suspicion that he was poisoned by the contrivance of Charles of Anjou (Purgat. xx. 69), lest he should inform the pope of the cruelties

Among the best known of his voluminous writings are the 'Summa Theologica,' which stands foremost among works of its class;<sup>e</sup> the 'Catena Aurea,' a commentary on the Four Gospels, compiled with much skill from the Fathers; original commentaries on many books of Scripture; an elaborate commentary on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, the great text-book of the schools; a book 'Of the truth of the Catholic Faith, against the Gentiles;' some treatises against the Greek church; and a book 'Of the Government of Princes,' of which, however, the latter part is said to be by another author.

The writings of Thomas became standards of orthodoxy in the Dominican order, so that every one who entered it was bound to uphold the opinions of the "Angelical Doctor" or "Angel of the Church."<sup>f</sup> His master, Albert, is reported to have said of him that he had "put an end to all labour, even unto the world's end."<sup>g</sup> At the council of Trent, nearly three hundred years after his death, the 'Summa' was placed on the secretary's desk, beside the Holy Scriptures, as containing the orthodox solution of all theological questions.<sup>h</sup> Thomas was canonized in 1323 by John XXII.; and in 1567, Pius V., himself a Dominican, assigned to him the next place after the four great doctors of the West.<sup>i</sup>

John of Fidanza, a Tuscan, who is better known by his conventual name of Bonaventura, endeavoured to combine the mystical element with the scholastic dialecticism. He was born in 1221 at Bagnarea, in the Roman states,<sup>k</sup> and in consequence of a vow which his mother had made on his being delivered from a dangerous sickness by the prayers of St. Francis, he entered the Franciscan order at the age of twenty-one. He studied under Alexander of Hales, who expressed his feeling of Bonaventura's purity of character by saying that in him Adam did not appear to have sinned.<sup>m</sup> At the age of thirty-four he was chosen general of his order, and, after having held this dignity two years, he became a professor of theology at Paris, where he had before taught. In 1265, he declined the archbishoprick of

which were exercised in the Sicilian kingdom (Giannone, iii. 348). It is said, however, that of this story there is no mention in writers of the time (Herzog, xvi. 61), nor, if there were, need we adopt their suspicions.

<sup>e</sup> As to the doubts which have been raised as to its genuineness, see Quétif, i. 292, seqq.; Nat. Alex. t. xvi., dissert. 6;

Schröckh, xxix. 71.

<sup>f</sup> See Holsten. ed. Brockie, iv. 114; Schröckh, xxix. 196; Giesel, II., ii. 419.

<sup>g</sup> Martin, iv. 280.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 431; Alb. Butler, i. 307.

<sup>k</sup> Ritter, viii. 494.

<sup>l</sup> Vita, c. 4 (Opera i. 17).

<sup>m</sup> Vita, c. 5.



York, which was offered to him by Clement IV.;<sup>n</sup> and on the death of that pope, the Franciscans assert that Bonaventura might have become his successor.<sup>o</sup> After having been made cardinal-bishop of Albano by Gregory X. he died at the council of Lyons in 1274.<sup>p</sup> He was canonised by Sixtus IV. (a Franciscan pope) in 1482, and in 1587 Sixtus V. assigned to the "Seraphic Doctor" the sixth place among the great teachers of the church.<sup>q</sup> Bonaventura's devotion to the Blessed Virgin has been already mentioned.<sup>r</sup> He is said to rely more on Scripture than the great Dominican, but to be inferior to him in knowledge, and to be guided in a greater degree by imagination and feeling.<sup>s</sup> It is said that when Aquinas, on visiting him, asked for a sight of the books from which his learning had been derived, Bonaventura answered by pointing to the crucifix.<sup>t</sup>

Thus far the Schoolmen had differed but little in opinion. But among the Franciscans arose a teacher who introduced important novelties—John Duns Scotus, the "Subtle Doctor," who appears to have been a Northumbrian, although some refer his birth to Dunse in Scotland, or to Ireland.<sup>u</sup> Duns studied at Oxford, where he is said to have displayed a great genius for mathematical science.<sup>x</sup> He became a doctor, and taught at Paris until 1308;<sup>y</sup> but beyond these facts, his life is enveloped in the obscurity which some connect with his name of Scotus, and declare to be characteristic of his style.<sup>z</sup> His death, according to some authorities, took place at the age of thirty-four; according to others, at forty-three or at sixty-three; while, if A.D. 1308. it were true that he had been a pupil of Alexander of Hales, he must nearly have attained fourscore: and, if the vast extent of his works makes it impossible to believe the first of these accounts, it is difficult to understand how his fame should have begun so late in life as the last of them would require us to suppose.<sup>a</sup> To the Franciscans Scotus became what Aquinas was to the Dominicans; and on various questions of theology and

<sup>n</sup> "Timens pelli suæ," on account of the unpopularity of foreigners in England, says Wikes (Gale, ii. 74). Wadding (in whose time Wikes had not been published) supposed that no English chronicler had mentioned the offer. iv. 251.

<sup>o</sup> Raynaldi (1271. 12) denies this. Others say that the choice of a pope was left to Bonaventura, and that he fixed on the archdeacon of Liège (see p. 470); but this, too, is denied. Wadding, iv. 330. <sup>p</sup> Hauréau, ii. 219.

<sup>q</sup> See his letter, prefixed to vol. i. of Bonaventura's Works. <sup>r</sup> P. 616.

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, xxix. 208.

<sup>t</sup> Wadd. iv. 139.

<sup>u</sup> Schröckh, xx. 435-8.

<sup>x</sup> Hauréau, ii. 280.

<sup>y</sup> Schröckh, xxix. 435.

<sup>z</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 438. (*σκότος*, darkness.)

<sup>a</sup> Schröckh, xxiv. 436-7; Ritter, viii. 356.

philosophy the followers of these two great oracles were strongly and perseveringly opposed to each other.

Of a different character from the reputations of those who won for themselves such titles as "Seraphic," "Angelical," and the like, was that of Roger Bacon, the "Wonderful Doctor," as he was justly styled. Bacon, born near Ilchester in 1214, was educated at Oxford and at Paris, and at the age of thirty-four became a Franciscan friar.<sup>b</sup> His researches in physical science, while they placed him immensely in advance of his contemporaries, drew on him the popular reputation of a magician, and exposed him to persecution at the hands of his Franciscan superiors.<sup>c</sup> Clement IV., who, when legate in England, had heard of his fame, desired in 1266 that the friar's books should be sent to Rome;<sup>d</sup> and in consequence of this, Bacon, who explains that his opinions had not before been formally embodied in writing, produced within fifteen months (notwithstanding great difficulties as to the expense of materials and other necessary charges)<sup>e</sup> his 'Opus Majus,' his 'Opus Minus,' and his 'Opus Tertium.'<sup>f</sup> But, as the pope died soon after, Bacon derived no benefit from his favour; he was again imprisoned by his monastic superiors,<sup>g</sup> condemned under the generalship of Jerome of Ascoli (afterwards Pope Nicolas IV.)<sup>h</sup> and did not recover his liberty until the year before his death, which took place in 1292.

Bacon strongly denounces the idea that philosophy and theology can be opposed to each other. True philosophy, he says, is not alien from, but is included in, the wisdom of God. All wisdom is contained in Holy Scripture, but it must be explained by means of law and philosophy;<sup>i</sup> and he protests against the injustice of condemning philosophy on account of the abuse made of it by persons who do not couple it with its end, which is the truth of Christ. On the one hand, we must use philosophy in the things of God; on the other hand, in philosophy we must assume many things which are divine.<sup>k</sup> Bacon often speaks with much severity of the defects which prevailed in the studies of his time; that boys were admitted into the religious orders, and proceeded to theological study, without having laid the groundwork of a sound grammatical education;<sup>m</sup> that the

<sup>b</sup> Jebb, Præf. in Opus Majus; Schröckh, xxiv. 543. See Hallam, M.A., ii. 490; E. H. Plumptre, in Contemp. Review, July, 1866, art. v.

<sup>c</sup> Jebb, Præf.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Ep. 317 (Mart. Thes. ii.).

<sup>e</sup> Opus Tert. c. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Brewer, Introd. to Bacon's Minor Works (Chron. and Mem.) 11, 27, 45, 101.

<sup>g</sup> Jebb, Præf.

<sup>h</sup> Wadding, v. 51; Hauréau, ii. 281.

<sup>i</sup> Min. Works, 81.

<sup>k</sup> Opus Maj. i. 14, pp. 20-1; ii. 3; ii. 8, p. 37.

<sup>m</sup> Min. Works, 426.



original languages of Holy Scripture were neglected;<sup>n</sup> that children got their knowledge of Scripture, not from the Bible itself, but from versified abridgments;<sup>o</sup> that the translations of Aristotle were generally wretched, with the exception of those made by Grossetête, an early patron of his studies, whom he everywhere mentions with deep respect;<sup>p</sup> that lectures on the 'Sentences' were preferred to lectures on Scripture, and that Scripture was neglected on account of the faults of translators;<sup>q</sup> that the civil law, as being more lucrative than philosophy, drew men away from the study of it;<sup>r</sup> that the preachers of his time were bad, with the exception of Bertold the German, whose performances in this way he considered to be worth nearly as much as those of all the Dominicans and the Franciscans together.<sup>s</sup> He professes that, although he himself had laboured forty years in study, he would undertake by a compendious method to teach all that he knew within six months<sup>t</sup>—a boast which must excite the envy of those instructors who in our own day undertake to communicate universal knowledge by short and summary processes. He complains bitterly of the difficulties which he had met with in his studies, on which he declares that in twenty years he had spent two thousand pounds.<sup>u</sup> The troubles which this extraordinary man endured at the hands of his brotherhood furnish a melancholy illustration of the lot which then awaited any one who, by a perhaps somewhat ostentatious display of originality, might provoke questions, however unfounded, as to his soundness in the established faith.

The object of the Schoolmen was to apply the syllogistic method of reasoning to proving the truth of the church's traditional doctrine, and to the ascertainment of truth or probability in points which the church's authority had not decided.<sup>x</sup> Their system deserves high praise for the thoroughness with which it discusses the subjects which fall within its range—viewing each

<sup>n</sup> Op. Maj. 48, seqq.; Min. Works, 91, 330, seqq., 434, seqq.

<sup>o</sup> Min. Works, 54.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 21, 75-7, 469, &c. Among the translators which he denounces is Michael Scott. Ib. 91, 471.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. 328-330.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 418.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 310. Bertold was a Franciscan of Ratisbon. Salimbene gives a remarkable account of him, and says that all who heard him agreed "quod ab apostolis ad dies nostros in lingua Theutonica

non fuit similis illi." He was especially fond of expounding the Apocalypse (325 seqq.). See, too, Gieseler, II., ii. 485. A volume of his sermons has been published by Kling, Berlin, 1824.

<sup>t</sup> Min. Works, 65.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. 15, 69, &c. Mr. Plumptre is probably right in reckoning the *libra* to be the silver *livre*, l. c. 375.

<sup>x</sup> See Milman, Book XIV., c. iii., and Dr. Shirley's Lecture on 'Scholasticism,' which has appeared since this was written.

subject in all possible lights, dividing and distinguishing with elaborate subtlety, laying down clearly the doctrine which the writer approves, stating objections and disposing of them, balancing probabilities and authorities, and bringing the opinion which is to be maintained safe and triumphant through all the conflict. If cumbrous and inelegant, it makes up for these defects by exhaustiveness and precision; if fettered by the conditions of deference to authority, it derives from these conditions a protection against the wildness of speculation into which intellects trained to the highest degree of refinement might naturally have been disposed to run. On the other hand, there was in such a method much of temptation to sophistry, to frivolous and unsubstantial exercises of acuteness; and the results attained by it were too commonly ill-proportioned to the pomp and toil of investigation by which they had been reached. No one, assuredly, can be justified in speaking with the ignorant contempt which once prevailed of a system which for centuries ruled the minds of mankind, and in age after age employed the profound and ingenious thought and the prodigious industry of those who were foremost among their contemporaries. Yet among the numerous subjects which now offer themselves to the attention of educated men, the claims of the scholastic philosophy to engage our time and labour in the study of the massive and multitudinous volumes in which it is embodied can hardly be considered as of urgent obligation.



## I N D E X.

## ABBOTS.

## ALEXANDER.

## A.

ABBOTS claim independence of bishops, 247.

Abelard, Peter, 67, 254, 279; his early life, 26-7; rivalry with William of Champeaux, 28; he studies and teaches theology at Laon, 29; teaches at Paris, 30; amour with Heloisa, 30-1; marriage, 31; vengeance of Fulbert, 32; residence at St. Denys, *ib.*; his 'Introduction to Theology,' 33; he is condemned at Soissons, 34; residences at the Paraclete and Ruys, 34-6; his history of his calamities, 36; correspondence with Heloisa, 36; again teaches at Paris, 37; his questionable opinions, *ib.*; his *Sic et Non*, 38; Arnold of Brescia his pupil, 39, 45; his relations with St. Bernard, 39; appeals from a council at Sens to the pope, 40-1; his opinions condemned at Rome, 41-2; retires to Cluny, and dies, 43; his opinions on the Eucharist, 260; on Indulgences, 271; his knowledge of Greek slight, 278.

Absalom, bishop of Roskild and arch-bishop of Lund, 160, 167, 233.

Absolution, 271-2, 612.

Acephali, 230.

Acquasparta, Matthew, 509, 533, 577.

Acra, 417, 469; siege of, 125-6; loss of, 496.

Adalbert, abp. of Bremen, 158.

—, abp. of Mentz, 2, 162.

"Addolorata," case of an, 207.

Adolphus, abp. of Cologne, 291, 296-7, 299, 302.

— of Nassau, 589; chosen king of the Romans, 497; deposed and slain, 511-2.

Adrian IV., pope (Nicolas Breakspear), 73, 77, 161; his rise, 73-4; employed as legate in Scandinavia, 159, 160, 237; expels Arnold of Brescia from Rome, 74; sanctions the conquest of Ireland, 155; his differences with Frederick I., 78, 80, 82-3; his death, 84; introduced the system of *pre-cister*, 220.

— V., 481-2.

Advocates, 227, 589.

Agenenses, 181.

Agnes of Merania, 306, 309.

Alan, prior of Canterbury, 219.

Alan of Lille, 181.

Albans, St., abbey of, 248.

Alberic, opponent of Abelard, 30, 33.

—, bp. of Ostia, 180-1.

Albert of Apeldern, 551-3.

— of Austria, set aside by the German electors, 497; afterwards elected, 511-2; denounced by Boniface VIII., 512; makes alliance with Philip the Fair, 521; is reconciled to Boniface, 535-6; who offers him France, 539.

Albert the Bear, 167.

— of Beham, 405.

— the Great, 589, 598, 611, 623-5.

—, bp. of Liège, 134.

—, *see* Adalbert.

Albigenses, 181, 188-9 (*see* Cathari); confounded with Waldenses, 206; war against, 340, 346, *seqq.*; 433, *seqq.*

Albizzi, Bartholomew, 368.

Aletha, mother of St. Bernard, 7.

Alexander II., pope, 158-9.

— III. (Roland Paparo) 108, 142, 149, 160-1, 215, 220, 224, 226, 235-6, 238, 248, 280; behaviour at Besançon, 79; elected pope by a party, 85; refuses to submit to arbitration, 88-9; is generally acknowledged, 89; his character, *ib.*; takes refuge in France, 91; settles at Sens, 92; returns to Rome, 95; negotiates with the Greek emperor, 96; driven from Rome to Benevento, 97; allies himself with the Lombards, 99; canonises Thomas Becket, 100; admits Frederick I. to a reconciliation, 101-3; returns to Rome, 103-4; his death, 105; his dealings as to Ireland, 157; as to the Waldenses, 200-1; as to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 250.

— IV. (pope) 371, 427, 578, 580, 594, 597-8-9; elected, 450; his fondness for the Franciscans, *ib.*; sanctions the story of the stigmata, 376; policy as to Germany, 453; and as to Sicily, 451-2; condemns William of St. Amour, 598; is driven to Viterbo and dies, 455-6.

## ALEXANDER.

- Alexander VII., pope, 156.  
 — I., king of Scotland, 148-9.  
 — II., 580.  
 — Newsky, 556.  
 — of Hales, 604, 624, 627.  
 Alexandria, Lombard city, 99, 100, 107.  
 Alexius I. (Comnenus) dealings of with heretics, 138, 170, 173.  
 Alexius III., usurper, 135, 328, 339.  
 — IV., 331-4.  
 Alfonso II. of Aragon, 201.  
 — III. of Aragon, 494-5.  
 — VI. of Castille, 143.  
 — IX. of Castille, 323.  
 — X. of Castille, 453, 471, 479, 621.  
 — II. of Portugal, 382.  
 Alfred, fabulous connexion of with the university of Oxford, 277.  
 Amalfi, Pandects said to have been discovered at, 273.  
 Amalric of Bene, 342-3, 569, 623.  
 — (Amaury) king of Jerusalem, 112, 125.  
 Amatus, bp. of Nusco, 214.  
 Anacletus II. (antipope) 14, 17-8; early life and election of, 4-5; charges against him, 5-6; his connexion with Cluny, 12; attempts to gain the French, 13; crowns Roger of Sicily, 21; his decline, *ib.*; and death, 23.  
 Anastasius IV., pope, 71-3.  
 Andrew, king of Hungary, 322, 382.  
 Andrew's, St., contests for the see of, 148, 150.  
 Andronicus I., eastern emperor, 119, 141, 328.  
 — II., 486-7.  
 Anselm, abp. of Canterbury, 149, 234, 261, 279; opposes Roscellin, 26-7; opinion on the Atonement, 37; on the Blessed Virgin's sinlessness, 264; was unacquainted with Greek, 278.  
 — of Havelberg, 140, 255.  
 — of Laon, 30, 33.  
 —, abp. of Milan, 17.  
 Antichrist, 4.  
 Antioch taken by the infidels, 466.  
 Antony, St., convent of at Paris, 326.  
 Appeals to Rome, 145, 214, 217.  
 Apostolicals, 570-5.  
 Apostolici, *see* Cathari.  
*Appareillementum*, 193.  
 Aquileia, patriarch of, 412.  
 Aragon, kingdom of, 322.  
 Archdeacons, 223-5.  
 Architecture, 618-620.  
 Argenteuil, holy coat of, 267.  
 Aristotle, translations of, 278, 343, 622; condemnation of his works, 343; rise in the estimation of him, 622-4.  
 Armagh, *see* of, 153.  
 Armenia, 324, 549, 550.  
 Arnold of Brescia, 39, 42, 225, 363, 571;

## BECKET.

- his early life, 44-5; his opinions, 45; not clearly accused of heresy, 44; not connected with Cathari, 48; is condemned at Sens, 40, 45; lives in Switzerland, 45; his appearance at Rome, 49; his death, 74-5.  
 Arnold, abbot of Cîteaux and archbp. of Narbonne, 323, 346, 365; his cruelty, perfidy, &c., 352-4, 359, 360; becomes abp., and quarrels with S. de Montfort, 360.  
 Arnoldists, 181.  
 Arnulf, agitator of Rome, 44.  
 —, bp. of Lisieux, 19.  
 —, architect of Florence, 620.  
 Arsenius, patriarch of Constantinople, 474-5, reconciliation of his party with the church, 487.  
 Arthur, prince, murder of, 312.  
 Arundel, Thomas, abp. of Canterbury, 251.  
 Ascelin, missionary to the Tartars, 545-6.  
 Asia, Christianity in N.E. of, 544-9; *see* Prester John.  
 Assassins, 128.  
 Assisi (*see* Francis); church of St. Francis at, 424, 596, 620.  
 Astrolabius, 31.  
 Atonement, doctrine of, 37.  
 Augustinian Eremites, 349, 589.  
 "Augustus," title of, 511-2.  
 Avignon, siege of, 436.  
 Avisa, order of, 257.

## B.

- BACON, Roger, 431, 622-3, 625, 628-9.  
 Bagdad taken by the Tartars, 547.  
 Baldwin, count of Flanders and emperor of Constantinople, 325, 329; chosen emperor, 336; his captivity and death, 338; a pretender takes his name, 338.  
 — II., attends the first council of Lyons, 412; loses his empire, 456.  
 — IV., king of Jerusalem, 112.  
 —, abp. of Canterbury, 233, 251; election of, 219; quarrels with his monks, 252-3; dies in the crusade, 124-5, 253.  
 Balliol, John, 525-6.  
 Bandinus, 279.  
 Baptism, 258.  
 Bari, council of, 159.  
 Barons' war, 457-8.  
 Basil, Bogomile, 173-4.  
 Battle abbey, 248.  
 Beatrice, empress, 299, 302.  
 Becket, Thomas, abp. of Canterbury, 92-3, 109, 157, 217, 223, 251, 276, 585; his murder, 99; is canonised, 100; his miracles, 269; visit of Innocent III. to his shrine, 283; his pluralities, 231.



## BEGHARDS.

- Beghards, 567-8, 598.  
 Beguines, 567-8.  
 Bela I., king of Hungary, 118.  
 — IV., 408.  
 Beleth, ritualist, 265.  
 Benedict XI., 549.  
 Benedictine rule relaxed, 245, 590.  
*Beneficia*, 79, 577.  
 Benevento, battle of, 461.  
 Bequests to the church restrained, 225, 588-9.  
 Berardo, abp. of Palermo, 412, 417, 421-2.  
 Berengar of Tours, 259.  
 —, disciple of Abelard, 41.  
 Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, 533, 623, &c.; early life, 6-12; exerts himself for Innocent II., 12; gains Henry I. of England, 13; is visited by Innocent, 16; attends a council at Pisa, 18; refuses the archbishoprick of Milan, 19; gains William of Aquitaine, 20; goes again to Italy, 21; gains Peter of Pisa and the antipope Victor, 23-4; writes on the Canticles, 24; his miracles, 11, 19, 54, 180, 270; opposes Abelard, 35; contrast between the two, 39; urges Abelard to retract, 40; attends the council of Sens, 40-1; is reconciled to Abelard, 43; preaches the crusade in France, 52; and in Germany, 53; his humanity to Jews, *ib.*; draws King Conrad to join the crusade, 54-5; attends a council at Etampes, 55-6; his apology for the crusade, 62; opposition to Gilbert de la Porrée, 67-8; his treatise 'Of Consideration,' 68-9, 415; his partiality in a contest as to York, 65-6; death and canonisation, 70; his opinions as to treatment of heresy, 185; puts down Henricianism, 179-180; his acquaintance with Malachy of Armagh, and Life of him, 153-4; opinions as to the Atonement, 37; against the Immaculate Conception, 265; as to exposition of Scripture, 279; his Apology for the Cistercians, 243; against exemptions, 247; and ambition of abbots, 248; on disorders of the clergy, 230; on the faults of legates, 216; on preferment of boys, 232; on marriage of clergy, 238; against abuse of appeals to Rome, 214.  
 —, missionary in Pomerania, 161.  
 Berthold, bp. in Livonia, 551.  
 —, Franciscan preacher, 629.  
 Bertin, St., monastery of, 314.  
 Bertinoro, bequeathed to the pope, 102.  
 Bertold, founder of the Carmelites, 240.  
 Béziers, Raymond Roger, viscount of, 347; siege and capture of the town, 346, 353.  
 Bishops, new oath exacted from, 214;

## BONIFACE.

- manner of their appointment, 214, 218; patronage usurped by popes, 578; not exempt from feudal duties, 220, 584; power of diminished in France, 221-2; some impoverish their sees, 228; secular and warlike habits of, 233; long vacancies of sees, 583; bishops in *partibus infidelium*, 587-8.  
 Blanche, queen of France, 436, 439, 443, 448-9.  
 Bogomiles, 171-4, 564.  
 Bohemia erected into a kingdom, 297; celibacy of clergy in, 589.  
 Boiling the dead, 468, 475.  
 Boleslav III. of Poland, 163-5.  
 Bologna, the "Four Doctors" of, 81, 274; law-school and university of, 272-5, 621-2.  
 Bolsena, miracle of, 604.  
 Bonaventura, 238, 477, 589, 591, 595, 597-8, 605, 616, 626-7.  
 Boniface VIII. pope (Benedict Gaetani), 197, 468, 584, 592, 622; character of, 499, 505; takes part in electing a pope, 500; gains influence over Celestine V., 502; persuades him to resign, 503; is elected pope, 504; adds a second crown to the tiara, *ib.*; revokes Celestine's grants, 505; treats him harshly, *ib.*; affairs of Italy and Sicily, 506-8; feud with the Colonnas, 508-511; gets Palestrina by treachery, and destroys it, 510; endows his kinsmen with lands, &c., *ib.*; scene with the abp. of Genoa, 511; policy as to Germany, 511-2; issues the bull "Clericis Laicos," 515; the bull "Ineffabilis," 517; further correspondence with Philip the Fair, 519-521; celebrates the Jubilee, 521-4; claims the "two swords," 524, 577; claims Scotland as a fief of the Roman see, 525; sends the bp. of Pamiers to Philip, 527-8; issues four bulls ("Salvator Mundi," "Ausculat Fili," &c.), and summons French prelates to a council, 529; the "Lesser Bull" and the answer to it, 530; burning of a bull, 531; letters of the French estates, and answers of the pope and cardinals, 531-2; a consistory at Rome, 533; a council, 534; "Unam Sanctam," *ib.*; mission of Cardinal Le Moine, 535; makes peace with Albert of Austria and with Frederick of Sicily, *ib.*; excommunicates Philip, 536; accused by William of Plasian, 537; holds a consistory at Anagni, 538; sends fresh bulls into France, and draws up a bull for deposition of Philip, 539; said to have offered France to Albert, *ib.*; conspiracy against him, *ib.*; he is imprisoned, 540-1; delivered, 541; death at Rome,

## BONIFACE.

542; his decretals, 582; dislike of mendicant orders, 602.  
 Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, 329, 330, 333, 336, 338.  
 —, abp. of Canterbury, 430, 432, 578, 585.  
 Bonshommes, 181.  
 Borromeo, St. Charles, 242.  
 Bouvines, battle of, 234, 319.  
 Boy-bishop, 266, 618.  
 Boys, preferment of, 232.  
 Brabançons, 189, 257.  
 Brancalone, 427, 455.  
 Breakspear, *see* Adrian IV.  
 Bremen, archbishopric of, 158-9.  
 Brienne, John of, *see* John.  
 —, Walter of, 326.  
 Brittany, marriage of clergy in, 236.  
 Bruno, rival bp. of Cologne, 298.  
 Buccadipcora, Theobald, declines the papacy, 4.  
 Bulgari, *see* Cathari, 183.  
 Bulgaria, kingdom of, 324, 338.  
 Burgundy, duke of, 128.  
 —, duke of, 329.  
 —, duke of, 350, 354.  
 —, kingdom of, 110.  
 Burkhard of Worms, 274.

## C.

CÆSARIUS of Heisterbach, 269.  
 Calatrava, order of, 257.  
 Calixtus II., pope, 4, 187.  
 — III., antipope, 99, 103.  
 Cambridge, university of, 272, 277.  
 Candida Casa (Whitherne), 149-150.  
 Canonists, 278.  
 Canonisation, 215.  
 Canons of cathedrals, 239-240, 583; get election of bishops into their hands, 218.  
 —, regular, dispute with monks, 254.  
 Canterbury, election of archbishops of, 219, 312, 429, 578; connection of the Danish-Irish Church with, 151; names of the cathedral, 248; quarrels between archbishops and monks of Christchurch, 251-4; between archbishops and St. Augustine's, 248-251, 516; between Christchurch and St. Augustine's, 248-9; consecration of suffragans of, 430; choir of, built, 619.  
 Canticles, Expositions of, 24, 279.  
 Canute the Good, of Denmark, 160.  
 — VI., 305.  
 Carcassonne, siege of, 353-4.  
 Carmelites, 240-2, 590, 592.  
 Carroccio, 90, 400.  
 Cathari (*see* Albigenses); &c., 181-197; various names of, 180-1; in Italy, France, and Eastern Europe, 183-4, 186, 344-5; in Southern France, 187, 346; their doctrines and usages, 190-

## CHURCH.

7; burlesque the church-services, 196, 260; their pope, 194, 435; some of them mistaken for saints, 197; their strange evasions, 564.  
 Catholic poor, order of, 349.  
 Caursins, 428.  
 Celestine II., pope, 46-7.  
 — III., 128, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 233, 253, 256, 306, 551.  
 — IV., 283, 292, 346, 407-8.  
 — V. (Peter of Murrone), 572; elected pope, 500; founds an order of hermits, *ib.*; settles at Naples, 502; his unfitness for the papacy, 501-2; resigns, 503; validity of the resignation questioned, 505, 509; his last days, 505-6; alleged prophecy as to Boniface VIII., 542.  
 Celestine hermits, 500, 502-3, 505, 602.  
 Celibacy of clergy, 160, 234-9, 397, 589.  
 Celsus of Armagh, 152.  
 Chapters, 231, 582-3.  
 Charles of Anjou, afterwards king of Sicily, 423, 449, 621, 625; his character, 457; accepts the offer of Sicily, 457-8; goes to Rome as senator, 459; his stipulations with Clement IV., 460; is crowned, *ib.*; defeats Manfred, 461; his tyranny, 462, 489; is appointed pacificator of Tuscany, 462; defeats and executes Conradin, 463-4; joins the crusade in Africa, and makes peace with the Sultan, 467-8; his power and ambitious schemes, 471, 480; is opposed by Nicolas III., and compelled to resign his senatorship and vicariate, 483-4; makes a tool of Martin IV., 485; his designs on the East, 486-7; interrupted by the Sicilian vespers, 488-490; his reverses, 491-2; proposal of a combat with Peter of Aragon, 492; further reverses and death, 492-3.  
 — II. (the Lame) taken prisoner, 492, 500; liberated, but evades the conditions, 494-5; crowned as king of Sicily, 495; makes a tool of Celestine V., 501; his dealings with Boniface VIII., 504.  
 — of Valois, the kingdom of Sicily offered to him, 491; his acts in Tuscany and in Sicily, 506-8, 535; aims at the empire, 520.  
 — the Good, count of Flanders, 2.  
 Children's crusade, 340.  
 China, 547-9.  
 Chorasmians, 442.  
 Christian, abp. of Mentz, 94, 100, 103, 106, 233.  
 — II., 423.  
 — bishop of Lismore, 155.  
 — missionary in Prussia, 554.  
 Chrysolanus, abp. of Milan, 140.  
 Church and State, relations of, 220.



## CHURCHES.

- Churches, profanation of, 618.  
 Cistercians (*see* Bernard, Clairvaux), 8, 590; growth of the order, 11; introduced into Ireland, 153; receive exemptions, 17, 130, 325; neglect interdicts, 315; missions into Languedoc, 188, *seqq.*; 347, *seqq.*; their degeneracy, 246-7, 360; rivalry with the Cluniacs, 242, 246-7; the Blessed Virgin, their patroness, 264; claim foundation of the Inquisition, 365; St. Louis visits Cîteaux, 411.  
 Clairvaux (*see* Bernard), 8-11, 16-7; visit of Innocent II. to, 16.  
 Clara, St. 371, 373.  
 Clarendon, Constitutions of, 585.  
 Claudius of Turin, 198.  
 Clement I., pope, 409, 503.  
 — III., 116, 131, 283.  
 — IV., 247, 460, 580, 598, 627-8; his election, 458-9; relations with Charles of Anjou, 459; remonstrates with him on his tyranny, yet bestows favours on him, 462, 488; his behaviour to Conradin, 463; death, 464; his skill in etymology, 460.  
 — V., 548, 574-5.  
 Clergy, forbidden to act as advocates, 223; wealth of, 225-6, 588; spoliation of, 227; claim exemption from taxes, 229, 584-5; and from secular jurisdiction, 222, 585 (*see* Becket); claim oversight of justice, 586; morals of, in the 12th century, 230; legislation of Frederick II. and of Gregory IX. respecting, 397.  
 "Clericis Laicos," 515.  
 Cluny, order of, under Peter the Venerable, 12; the great church of, 244; exemptions, 244; charged with luxury, 243; rivalry with Cistercians, 242-7.  
 Coats, holy, 267.  
 Colberg, *see* of, 161.  
 Cologne, three kings of, 91, 267; relics of St. Ursula, 267; heretics at, 183, 185; officials of the church, 227; cathedral of, 619.  
 Colonna family, 499, 508; their ascendancy over Nicolas IV., 497; their feud with Boniface VIII., 508-511.  
 — James, cardinal, 508, 510-1.  
 — James Sciarra, 510, 521, 539-540.  
 — John, cardinal, 395, 406.  
 — Peter, cardinal, 509, 508, 510-1.  
 — Stephen, 509, 538-9.  
 Comestor, *see* Peter.  
 Communion of infants, 149, 262.  
 Communions, yearly number of, 437.  
 Compostella, pilgrimage to, 257, 269.  
 Conceptualism, 33.  
 Conclave, 478.  
 Concomitancy, 261, 606.

## CRUSADES.

- Condignity and congruity, 595.  
 Confession, questions as to necessity of, 271, 611-2; annual, enforced, 377, 611; heard by mendicant friars, 592.  
 Conon, bp. of Palestrina, 33.  
 Conrad, son of Henry IV., 75.  
 — III., 17; elected king of the Romans, 22; letter of the Romans to, 46; allies himself with the pope, *ib.*; engages himself to the crusade, 55; his crusade, 57-61; his death, 70.  
 — IV., 408, 583; election as king of the Romans, 400; his wars with Henry Raspe and with William of Holland, 418; succeeds his father, 423; is denounced by Innocent IV., *ib.*; goes to Italy and dies, 425.  
 Conrad (Conradin), 424, 452, 457, 488; his expedition to Italy, 462; at Rome, 463; is defeated at Tagliacozzo, *ib.*; taken and executed, 463, 488.  
 — of Lützenburg, 286.  
 — of Marburg, 562-3, 566.  
 — abp. of Mentz, 103, 111, 295.  
 — Marquis of Montferrat, 115, 120, 128, 130, 382.  
 — of Urach, 389.  
*Consolamentum*, 188, 192, 194.  
 Constance, peace of, 107.  
 —, empress of Henry VI., 109, 110, 131, 135, 208, 287.  
 —, queen of Aragon, 456, 488, 494.  
 Constantine, pretended Donation of, 46, 72, 75, 154, 194, 198, 415, 527, 577-8.  
 Constantinople, massacre of Latins at, 328; taken by crusaders, 332-4; description of it by Villehardouin, 331; plunder of, 335; choice of Latin emperor for, 335; Latin patriarch of, 336-7, 376; weakness of the Latin empire, 337-8, 378, 381; Greek patriarchs of, at Nicæa, 324; decay of the Latin empire, 444; St. Louis solicited to help it, *ib.*; reconquest of by the Greeks, 456.  
 Consuls of Italian cities, 72.  
*Convenenza*, 195.  
 Conventual Carmelites, 242.  
 Corpus Christi festival, 607.  
 Corte Nuova, battle of, 400.  
 Coterelli (*see* Brabançons), 189, 257.  
 Councils and popes, 217, 577.  
 Courtenay, Peter, Count of Auxerre and emperor of Constantinople, 381.  
 Crema, siege of, 87.  
 Cross, supposed relics of the true, 114.  
 Crusades, the second, 49, *seqq.*; the third, 115, *seqq.*; another projected, 134-5; the fourth (taking of Constantinople), 324, *seqq.*; children's crusades, 340-1; decree of the 4th. Lateran Council, 376; crusade of Damietta,

## CULDEES.

374, *seqq.*; crusades projected by popes, 340-1, 382, 382-4, 441-2, &c.; crusade of Robert of Cornwall, 441; first crusade of St. Louis, 443-9; second, 466-8; privileges of crusaders, 222, 270, 340, 380; taxation for crusades, 404, 428, &c.; objections to them, 480; end of the eastern crusades, 496; crusades against heretics, 104, 189, 350, 416, &c.; crusades for temporal purposes, 317, &c.  
 Culdees, 148.  
 Curia, Roman, corruption of, 232.  
 Curzon, Robert, cardinal and legate, 310, 340, 361, 383, 623.  
 Cuthbert, abp. of Canterbury, 249.  
 Cyprus, kingdom of, 125.  
 Cyril, metropolitan of Russia, 567.

## D.

DALMATIA, 324.  
 Damietta, taken by crusaders in 1219, 383; by St. Louis, 440; restored to the Saracens, 445.  
 Damiani, St. Peter, on transubstantiation, 260.  
 Dandolo, Henry, doge of Venice, and lord of Roumania, 328, 330, 332, 335, 339.  
 Daniel (David) prince of Gallicia, 556.  
 Dante on Celestine V.'s resignation, 504; he attends the jubilee, 523.  
 David's St., pilgrimage to, 209.  
 David I. of Scotland, 147-8.  
 — of Dinant, 342-3, 623.  
 Deans, rural, 224.  
 Decretals, 582.  
 Decretalists, 275.  
 Dendrites, 137.  
 Denmark, 158, 218, 237, 553.  
 Denys, St., 34, 56, 409; church of, 619.  
 Diego of Osma, 348-9, 364; of Compostella, 237.  
 Diephold, 289, 290, 301.  
 'Dies Iræ' hymn, 499.  
 Dietrich, bp. of Esthonia, 550-2.  
 Diffinitores, 366.  
 Dionysius, *see* Denys.  
 Dispensations, 215, 610.  
 Dog, punishment of carrying, 77.  
 Dolcino, 571-5.  
 Domicellares, 583.  
 Dominic, St., 348; early life, 363-4; labours in Languedoc, 349, 364; founds a school, 365; and a brotherhood, *ib.*; receives papal sanction, 365; attends the fourth Lateran Council, *ib.*; adopts the principle of mendicancy, 366; his appearance at Muret, 358; progress of the order, 363, 366-7;

## ENGLAND.

his death, 367; the inquisition entrusted to the order, 437.  
 Dominicans, 589, 594-5, 609, 615, 627-8; *see* Dominic, Mendicants.  
 Dositheus, 119.  
 Drontheim, primacy of, 159.  
 Ducas, Alexius, *see* Murzuflus.  
 Duns, John, *see* Scotus.  
 Durandus of Huesca, 348.  
 — of Le Puy, 257.  
 — bp. of Mende, ritualist, 613-4.  
 — junior, of Mende, 238.

## E.

EBED-JESU, metropolitan of Maru, 141.  
 Eccelino da Romano, 453-4.  
 Eckbert of Schönauf, 181, 206.  
 Edessa taken by Mussulmans, 50-1.  
 Edmer, 148.  
 Edmund, abp. of Canterbury, *see* Rich.  
 —, titular king of Sicily, 451, 457-8, 460.  
 Edward the Confessor, 319.  
 — I., king of England, 513, 578, 580, 584, 588; a crusader, 466, 469, 470; succeeds his father, 471; mediates between Charles of Anjou and Peter of Aragon, 492, 494; gets tithes under the name of a crusade, 496, 514; refuses tribute to Rome, 514; taxes the clergy, *ib.*; dealings with them as to subsidies, 516; goes to war in Flanders, 517, 520; his claims to Scotland, 524-7; disposal of his body, 468.  
 Eleanor, queen of France and afterwards of England, 64, 100, 130.  
 Electors of Germany, 452, 472.  
 Elias, general of the Franciscans, 375, 620; his deviations from the rule, 595-6; joins Frederick II. and is deposed, 405-6, 596.  
 Elizabeth, St., of Hungary, 311, 398, 417, 562-3, 619.  
 — of Schönauf, 206-7, 217.  
 Emmerich of Hungary, 322.  
 Emperor, title of, 120, 213; prerogative of, 81.  
 Endura, 195.  
 Engelbert, abp. of Cologne, murdered, 388.  
 England, church of in the 12th century, 144-6; appointment of bishops in, 218; marriage of clergy in, 235-6; intellectual progress of, 277; Peter of La Celle on the character of the English, *ib.*; under an interdict, 314-9; made tributary to the pope, 317; consequent discontent, 319; the tribute refused, 514; rights of the church secured by Magna Charta, 320; growth of antipapal spirit, 379, 411, 428-9, 451; Roman exactions, &c., in, 404, 428, 580, &c.; outrages against foreign



## ENZIO.

- clergy, 429; complaints from at the first Council of Lyons, 414; architecture in, 619.
- Enzio, king of Sardinia, 403, 418; captures bishops at sea, 407; is sent against the Tartars, 408; his captivity and death, 419-420.
- Eon de Stella, 175.
- Eric the Good of Denmark, 159.
- IX. of Sweden, 161.
- Ernulf, bp. of Rochester, 261.
- Eskil, abp. of Lund, 78, 159, 237.
- Etampes, councils at, 13, 55-6.
- Eucharist, 258; doctrine of the Saviour's presence in, 259, 260, 377, 603-5; administration of, 260-1, 605-6; elevation and adoration of, 606; annual number of communions, 607.
- Euchites, 170.
- Eugenius III., pope, 10, 63, 71, 73-4, 140-1, 146, 154, 175; his election, 48; is driven from Rome, 49; publishes the second crusade, 51; visits France, 56; and Germany, 65; approves of St. Hildegard's prophecies, *ib.*; holds a council at Reims, *ib.*; affair of Gilbert de la Porrée, 67; Bernard's treatise 'Of Consideration' addressed to him, 68; returns to Rome, is expelled, again returns, and dies, 68-70; said to have sanctioned Gratian's 'Decretum,' 275.
- Eustace of Flai, 185, 263, 326, 367.
- of Thessalonica, 138-9.
- Euthymius Zigadenus, 138, 170.
- "Everlasting Gospel," 599; *see* Joachim.
- Everwin of Steinfeld, 185.
- Evesham, exemption of abbey, 285.
- Excommunication, neglect of, 465, 587; attempt to enforce by secular penalties, 465, 587; excommunication *latae sententiae*, 587.
- Exemptions, monastic, censured by St. Bernard, 244.

## F.

- FERENTINO, treaty of, 386.
- Ferrara, university of, 621.
- Festivals, new, 263-5.
- , burlesque, 266, 618.
- Feuda oblata*, 226.
- Feudal questions, attempt to bring within ecclesiastical jurisdiction, 223; duties of clergy, 228, 584.
- Fiesco, Sinibald, *see* Innocent IV.
- Finns, conversion of, 161.
- Fiore, order of, 207, 242.
- First fruits, 227.
- Flagellants, 454-5.
- Florence, troubles at, 453; cathedral of, 620.
- Flotte, Peter, 528-9, 531-4.
- Focarie*, 236.

## FREDERICK.

- Fodrum*, 83.
- Foix, counts of, 346-7, 360-2.
- Folemar of Triefenstein, 262.
- , *see* Volkmar.
- Folcwin, master of the Order of the Sword, 552.
- Foliot, Gilbert, 265.
- Folquet, *see* Fulk.
- Forgery of documents, &c., 247, 251, 581.
- 'Foxes and Firebrands,' 185.
- France, appointment of bishops in, 218; growth of the royal power, 221, 305, 513; effect of this on the church, *ib.*; architecture in, 618-9.
- Francis, St. of Assisi, 590, 596; early life and conversion, 367-9; his tenderness to lepers 368; the 'Liber Conformitatum,' 368; his principle of mendicancy, 366; his humility, 371; founds his order, 370; his love of animals and of personification, 373; tries to preach in Egypt, 374; receives the stigmata, 374-6, 595; his death and canonisation, 375; his opinion as to learning, 372-3, 592; as to austerities, *ib.*
- Franciscans (*see* Francis) 211, 363, 371, 590; progress of the order, 374; martyrs in Morocco, *ib.*; they get a share in the Inquisition, 438; corruption of the order, 376, 595; relaxations of the rule, 596, 600; differences with Dominicans, 595; parties in the order, 595-7, 602-3; indulgences, 609.
- Frangipani, family, 4, 5, 6, 464.
- Frascati, origin and name of, 131.
- Fratricelli, 503, 505, 600.
- Frederick I., (Barbarossa) emperor, 218, &c.; accompanies his uncle on the second crusade, 58; elected and crowned king of the Romans, 70; his character, 71; his behaviour as to an election to Magdeburg, 71; goes into Italy, 72; interview with Adrian IV., 75; rejects overtures of the Romans, 76; is crowned as emperor, 76; returns to Germany, 77; affair of Eskil of Lund, 78; scene at Besançon, 79; his divorce and second marriage, 78, 80; difference with Adrian IV., 79-80; holds a council at Pavia, 87; supports Victor as pope, 88; contest with Alexander III., 89; orders Milan to be destroyed, 90; misses an interview with Louis VII. of France, 91-2; sets up a second antipope, 93; negotiations with Henry II. of England, *ib.*; again in Italy, 95; besieges Ancona, 96; driven back from Rome by pestilence, 97-9; escapes across the Alps, 99; defeated at Legnano, 100-1; is reconciled with Alexander at Venice, 101-3; conciliates the Italians, 106-7; sixth

## FREDERICK.

visit to Italy, 107; differences with Lucius II., 108; marries his son to the heiress of Sicily, 109; takes the cross, 117; his crusade and death, 118-122; his orders against heretics, 189; as to advocates, 227; as to the *jus exuviarum*, 229; is truchsess of Bamberg, 228; forms the law-school of Bologna, 274.

Frederick II., birth of, 133, 273, 454, &c.; chosen to succeed his father, *ib.*; his boyhood, 286-8; his first marriage, 290; is set aside by the Germans, 291; invited to Germany, 302; his progress, 303; is crowned at Aix, and takes the cross, 304; his promises to the church, 304-5; his feeling towards Rome, 378; gets his son Henry elected in Germany, 384; excuses as to this, 385; excuses himself as to the crusade, 381, 384; goes to Italy and is crowned as emperor, 385; his laws against heresy, 386, 396, 399, 561; differences with Honorius III., 386; treaties of Ferentino and San Germano, 386-7; marries Iolanthe and quarrels with her father, 386-7; his encouragement of sorcery, 390, 394; sails for the crusade, returns, and is excommunicated, 391; his vindication of himself, *ib.*; again goes on crusade, 392; makes a treaty with the sultan, 393; coronation at Jerusalem, 393-4; returns from the East, 395; makes agreement with Gregory IX., and restores him to Rome, 396; his legislation, *ib.*; puts down rebellion of his son Henry, and marries Isabella of England, 398; troubles with the Lombards, 399; victory of Corte Nuova, 400; is anathematized and deposed by Gregory, 401; protests against the sentence, 401; denounces Gregory, and treats monks and clergy severely, 402; his religious opinions, 402-3; replies to Gregory's charge of infidelity, 404; successes in Italy, 405; objects to a council and intercepts bishops on their way to it, 406-7; takes measures against the Tartars, 408, 545; his relations with Innocent IV., 409-410; is excommunicated and deposed by the council of Lyons, 412-4; protests and recriminates on the pope, 415; attacks monks and clergy, 416; is examined as to his religion, 417; opposed by rival kings in Germany, 417-8; is again excommunicated, 418; besieges Parma, and is repulsed, 419; other reverses, *ib.*; fall of Peter delle Vigne, 420; death of Frederick, 390, 421; rumours of his being alive, 600; his character, 389-390, 421-3; contrast with St. Louis, 439; his love of falconry, &c.,

## GODFREY.

392; patronage of learning, 621; universities founded by him, *ib.*

Frederick of Rothenburg, 98.

— of Swabia, 2, 22.

—, son of Frederick I., 107, 117, 122, 256.

—, duke of Austria, 399.

— of Aragon, 496, 522; becomes king of Trinacria, 508, 535.

Free Spirit, sect of, 569.

Friars, *see* Mendicants; four orders of, 590.

Fulbert, uncle of Heloisa, 30-2.

Fulcodi, Guy (Clement IV.) 458, 579.

Fulk of Deuil, 32.

— of Neuilly, 263, 325-7, 329, 363.

— (Folquet) of Marseilles, bp. of Toulouse, 347, 356, 361-2, 365, 434, 438.

—, missionary in Esthonia, 552.

## G.

GAETANI, Benedict, *see* Boniface VIII.

— family, 510.

Gelasius I., pope, 606.

Gelnhausen, diet at, 110.

Genghis Khan, 142, 408, 544.

Genoa, archbishoprick of, 19; *sacro catino*, 267.

Geoffrey, bp. of Chartres, 20-1, 33-4, 39, 180.

—, abp. of Rouen, 237.

—, archdeacon of Norwich, 316.

George Acropolita, 477.

Gerard, bp. of Angoulême, 19, 20, 24.

— la Pucelle, 253.

—, Catharist, 184.

—, abp. of Mentz, 511.

— of Borgo San Donnino, 599.

Gerhoh of Reichersperg, 280.

Germano, San, treaty of, 397.

Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, 475-6.

Germany, North, conversion of, 167; German architecture, 619.

Gerold, patriarch of Jerusalem, 394.

Ghibellines, *see* Guelfs.

Gilbert of Sempringham, 242.

— de la Porrée, 66-8.

— of Nogent, *see* Guibert.

— Crusader, 60.

Gildas, St., 35.

Gille, bp. of Limerick, 149.

Giotto, 523, 620.

Giraldus Cambrensis, 213, 236, 238-9, 276-7, 284.

Glass, painting of, 620.

Glastonbury, abbey of, 248.

Gnosimachi, 137.

Godfrey, abbot of Lukna, 554.

— of Vendôme, 258.

— of Vigeois, 255.



## GODIN.

- Godin, pantheist, 343.  
 'Golden Legend,' 613.  
 Goswin, 29, 34.  
 Grado, patriarchate of, 337.  
 Gratian, 281; his 'Decretum,' 274-5, 581-2; on confession, 271; on marriage of the clergy, 238.  
 Greek church, in the 12th century, 137-141; its relations with the Latin church, 97, 119, 140-1, 324, 337, 473; reconciliation at the second Council of Lyons, 477; renewed breach, 486-7.  
 Greek, knowledge of, in the West, 30, 278, 431.  
 Gregory II., pope, 218.  
 — VII., 217; letter relating to Ireland, 151; subjects the Spanish church, 143; promises general absolution, 270; on tithes, 226; on celibacy, 234; his assumptions, 222; effects of his principles, 213; his system generally accepted, 222.  
 — VIII., 116, 214, 216, 238, 253, 283.  
 — IX. (Ugolino Conti), elected pope, 389, 438, 550, 553-4, 560, 563, 579, 596, 622-3; issues a summons to the crusade, 391; admonishes and excommunicates Frederick II., 390-1, 392, 395; is driven from Rome, 392; absolves Frederick, 395; recalled to Rome, again driven out, and restored, 396; has an interview with Frederick, *ib.*; his Decretals, 399, 582; arbitrates between Frederick and the Lombards, 399; anathematizes and deposes Frederick, 401; charges him with infidelity, 402; exhorts the Germans to set up another king, 404; institutes devotions against Frederick, 405; summons a general council, 406; alienates John Colonna, 406; protects the Franciscans, 374; canonizes Dominic, 367; and Francis, 376; interferes in an election to Canterbury, 429; enforces provisions in England, 428; his death, 407.  
 — X., 485, 590, 625, &c.; election of, 470; his interest in the crusade, 471; makes Alfonso relinquish his claim on Germany, *ib.*; desires reconciliation of the Greek church, 473; summons and opens the Second Council of Lyons, 473-4; correspondence with the Greeks, 475; confirms the election of Rudolf, and has an interview with him at Lausanne, 478-9; restrains Charles of Sicily, 480; his triumphs hollow, *ib.*; his death, 479.  
 Grey, John, bp. of Norwich, 312.  
 Grossetête, Robert, 431-3, 567, 591, 622, 629.  
 Gualo, cardinal, 321, 350, 427, 620.  
 Guelfs and Ghibellines, 300, 453; origin of, 23.

## HENRY.

- Guibert of Nogent on relics, 268.  
 Guy of Blandrata, 82, 87.  
 — of Castello (Celestine II.), 45.  
 — of Crema, antipope (Paschal III.), 93.  
 — of Lusignan, 112, 124, 126.  
 — of Montefeltro, 463, 510.  
 —, abbot of Vaux Cernay, 330.
- H.
- HAITHON, king of Armenia, 550.  
 Hales, abbey of, 468, 624.  
 Hamburg, see of, 160.  
 Harding, Stephen, 8.  
 Hartwig, abp. of Hamburg, 160.  
 Hebrew, study of, 431.  
 Helena, St., 91, 467.  
 Heloisa, 30; her learning, *ib.*; her amour and marriage with Abelard, 30-1; retires to Argenteuil, 31; to the Paraclete, 36; corresponds with Abelard, 36-7; her death, 43.  
 Henry IV., emperor, 162, 227.  
 Henry V., 162; death of, 1.  
 — VI., 107, 549; popes refuse to crown him as his father's colleague, 108-9; his marriage with Constantia, 110; cruelties against the clergy, 110-1; is crowned king of Italy, 111; seizes Richard of England, and puts him to ransom, 129-130; gives up Tusculum to the Romans, 131; is crowned as emperor, 132; overruns Apulia and Sicily, 132; his cruelties, 132-3; he is excommunicated, 133; aids the crusade, *ib.*; supposed to have assassinated a bishop of Liège, 134; further cruelties, 135; death, *ib.*; alleged will, 287-8.  
 — VII. (son of Frederick II.), crowned king of Sicily, 303, 305; elected king of the Romans, 384; his rebellion and punishment, 398-9.  
 —, emperor of Constantinople, 338-9.  
 — I., king of England, 236; joins Innocent II., 13; his laws, 319.  
 — II., 1, 109, 146, 219, 282; his marriage, 64; acknowledges Alexander III., 89; his quarrel with Abp. Becket, and negotiations with the antipope, 93, 99, 276; aids the Lombard league, 98; penance for Becket's death, 100, 157; reconciliation with Alexander, 104; conquest of Ireland, 155; his dealings as to the crusade, 115-6; treatment of heretics, 184-5, 188-9; scene at Cardiff, 262; death, 123.  
 — III., 313, 322, 338, 390, 427, 439, 580, 584, 619; intercedes between the pope and Frederick II., 392; declines to receive Innocent IV., 411; his ecclesiastical policy, 429; refers his differences with the barons to Louis

## HENRY.

- IX., 440, 457; declines to go on crusade, 442; gives up his designs on Sicily, 457; his death, 470.  
 Henry, son of Conrad III., 57, 70.  
 —, son of Frederick II., by Isabella, 423, 425.  
 — of Castille, 453, 489.  
 — the Proud, 18, 22.  
 — the Lion, 101, 167, 219.  
 — of Almayne, murder of, 468.  
 — Raspe, set up as king in Germany, 417-8.  
 — the Pious, 418.  
 —, bp. of Liège, 470.  
 —, bp. of Winchester, 65, 66, 145-6, 244.  
 —, abbot of Clairvaux and bp. of Albano, 117, 188-9.  
 — of Upsal, apostle of the Finns, 161.  
 — of Walpot, 256.  
 —, heretic, 178-181.  
 Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, 113, 115-6.  
 Herbert, abp. of Torre, 269.  
 Heresy, growth of, in the 12th century, 174; in North Italy, 396, 399; treatment of, in the 13th century, 560-1; laws of Gregory IX. against, 397; heretics burnt by Frederick II., 398.  
 Herman, bp. of Constance, 45, 54.  
 — of Salza, 256, 393-5, 413, 422.  
 Hervé of Bourc-Déols, 264.  
 Hildebert, bp. of Le Mans and abp. of Tours, 179, 209, 214.  
 Hildegard, 65, 186, 206-7, 225, 246.  
 Hildwin, abbot of St. Denys, 34.  
 Hillin, abp. of Treves, 93.  
 Hohenstaufen Family, 2, 17, &c.  
 "Holosphyrous," 138.  
 Holy Chapel of Paris, built by St. Louis, 440.  
 — Faith, order of, 435.  
 — Land, *see* Palestine.  
 Homage, 83, 219-220.  
 Honorius II., pope, 4, 17, 21.  
 — III., 209, 380, 554, 579, 589, 610, 622; proclaims a crusade, 380; favours the Franciscans, 374; crowns Frederick II., 385; has differences with him, 384, 386-8; his policy as to Languedoc, 433, 435; death, 388.  
 — IV., 493-4, 571.  
 Horse, divination by, 165, 550.  
 Hospitallers, 112, 255, &c.  
 Hubert de Burgh, 429.  
 — Walter, abp. of Canterbury, 214, 219, 233, 253, 284.  
 Hugh, bp. of Amiens, 254.  
 — Eterianus, 141.  
 — of Fleury, 220.  
 — of Lincoln, 369.  
 — (of Wells), bp. of Lincoln, 316.  
 — of Nunant, 254.  
 — of St. Cher, 598.

## INNOCENT.

- Hugh of St. Victor, 280.  
 Humbert de Romanis, 480, 561, 592.  
 Humiliati (Waldenses), 201.  
 —, order of, 242.  
 Hungary, appointment of bishops in, 218; marriage of clergy in, 237, 592; Innocent III.'s policy as to, 322; Tartar invasion, 408.  
 —, Master of, *see* Pastoureaux.  
 Hymns, 617.  
 Hyperdulia, 615.

## I.

- ICELAND, marriage of clergy in, 238.  
 Iconium, capture of, 121.  
 Immaculate conception, 265, 595.  
 Indulgences, 270-1, 608-610; for pilgrimage, 268-9; for crusade, 51, 388, 608, 610, &c.; rate of indulgence increased, 271; power of bishops in granting, limited, 610.  
 Infants, communion of, 149.  
 Ingeburga, marriage and repudiation of by Philip Augustus, 305-6; sequel of her history, 307-311.  
 Ingelram, bp. of Glasgow, 149.  
 Ingulf, 277.  
 Innocent II., pope, 39, 153, 224; his election, 4; goes to France, 6; visit to Cluny, 12; is generally acknowledged, 13-4; at Liège, 15; at Reims, *ib.*; visit to Clairvaux, 16; returns to Italy, 17; crowns Lothair, *ib.*; is driven from Rome, 18; council at Pisa, *ib.*; restored to Rome, 22; holds the second Lateran Council, *ib.*; taken by the Normans, 25; his death, 46.  
 — III., antipope, 103.  
 — III., pope, 34, 130, 215, 242, 289, 290, 551, 579, 581, 584, 586, 605, 617; his election, 282; early life, 282-3; writings, 283; idea of the papal power, *ib.*, 576; character, 284; his letters, *ib.*; reformation of the court, 285; gets control of Rome, 286; policy as to Sicily, 286, *seqq.*; as to Germany and the empire, 290, *seqq.*; "Deliberation on the Three Elect," 294; tends to reconciliation with Philip of Swabia, 298; hears of Philip's murder, 299; crowns Otho IV., 300; anathematizes him, 301-2; takes up Frederick II., 303; his guardianship of Frederick, 386; his dealings as to the divorce of Philip Augustus and Ingeburga, 305-9; orders buildings at Lambeth to be destroyed, 254; nominates an abp. of Reims, 313; nominates Stephen Langton for Canterbury, 312-3; interdicts England, 314; absolves the people from fealty, and incites Philip Augustus to invade it, 316; pronounces the



## INNOCENT.

## JOHN.

- Great Charter null, 320; supports John against his subjects, 321-2; his policy as to Hungary, Spain, Portugal, &c., 322-3; proclaims a crusade, 324, 328; his order as to trade of Venice, *ib.*, 328; anger at the taking of Zara, 330; opposes the expedition against Constantinople, 331; his letters on the conquest, 336-7; orders as to settlement of the church, 337; intercedes vainly with Joannicius, 338; attempts to get up another crusade, 340; his speech as to the children's crusade, 341; his treatment of heresy, 342, 344-5, 561; of the Waldenses, 201, 343-4; forbids vernacular translations of the Scriptures, 343, 565; takes part against Raymond of Toulouse, 349; proclaims a crusade against the heretics, 350; his policy as to the Albigenses, 355, 357, 361; holds the fourth Council of Lateran, 376; sanctions the Dominican and Franciscan orders, 365, 370, 374; his opinion as to feudal duties of bishops, 220; encourages missions, 552, 554; his death and character, 267, 377-9.
- Innocent IV., 241, 371, 577, 579, 580, 594, 596; election and character, 409; received into Rome, 410; treats with Frederick II., but runs off from Sutri, *ib.*; at Genoa, 411; settles at Lyons, *ib.*; summons a general council, 412; presides at it, 413; pronounces Frederick deposed, 414; tries to set up a king in Germany, *ib.*; charged with intending to poison Frederick, 417; again anathematizes him, 418; his arts against him, 419; his opposition to Conrad IV., 423-5; relations with Manfred, 425; exactions in England, 428; canonises Edmund of Canterbury, 430; relations with R. Grossetête, 432; his dealings as to the crusade, 442-3; interview with St. Louis, 444; writes to him in captivity, 447; sends a mission to the Tartars, 545; his overtures to the Russians, 556; dies at Naples, 426.
- V., 481.
- XII., 241.
- Inquisition, origin of, 364-5, 561-3; iniquity of its procedure, 437-8; in Southern France, 437; unpopularity of it, 437, 563-4.
- Interdict, 47, 174, 307-8, 314, 322, 587, 620-1.
- Investiture, 169, 219, 220.
- Iolanthe, queen of Jerusalem, 382.
- , daughter of John of Brienne, 386-7.
- Ireland, church of, in the 12th century, 150-8; archbishopricks erected in, 154; subjugation to Rome, *ib.*; English invasion, 155; the church assimilated to the English, 156; alleged barbarism of, 156, 158.
- Irene, wife of Philip of Swabia, 298.
- Imerius, 81, 274.
- Isaac Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, 119, 120, 328, 332, 334.
- Isabella, wife of Frederick II., 398.
- Italy, republican tendencies in, 43; state of, 72, 95; factions of, 300, 385, 453, &c.; the republics fall under tyrants, 453; architecture in, 619-620.
- Ivo of Chartres, 27, 235, 274.
- J.
- JACOBINS, 366 (*see* Dominicans).
- Jacobites, 549.
- Jacopone of Todi, 511, 617.
- James, St., order of, 234, 257.
- of Aragon, 494-5, 558.
- de Voragine, 511, 613.
- Janbert, abp. of Canterbury, 249.
- Jerome of Ascoli (*see* Nicolas IV.), 475, 600, 628.
- Jerusalem, kingdom of, 112; taken by Saladin, 114; ceded to Frederick II., 393; taken by the Chorasmiens, 442; pilgrimages to, 269; titular kingdom of, 386-7.
- Jews, cruelly treated by crusaders, 53; state of, in England, 123; subject to ecclesiastical courts, 223; feeling of St. Louis towards, 441; expelled from England and France, 514; controversies with, 567.
- Joachim, abbot of Fiore, 207-212, 225, 280, 597, 599.
- Joanna, countess of Flanders, 338.
- Joannicius, king of Bulgaria, 324, 338.
- Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, 278.
- John, St., knights of, *see* Hospitallars.
- XXI., pope, 481-2, 486.
- XXII., 602.
- , king of England, 362; his vices, 311, 319; suspected of murdering his nephew, *ib.*; his policy as to Germany, 296; his coronation, 311; loses Normandy, 312; behaviour as to election of a primate, 312, *seqq.*; expels monks, 313; his behaviour under an interdict, 314-6; submits to Pandulf, 317; alleged embassy to the Mussulmans, 316; is absolved by Abp. Langton, 318; does homage for England and Ireland, *ib.*; successes in Poitou, 319; his indignation at the battle of Bouvines, 319; is forced to sign the Great Charter, 320; tries to evade his oaths, *ib.*; his death, 322.
- of Brienne, 382, 386-7, 397.
- of Cornwall, 280.
- of Crema, 144, 216, 235.
- , cardinal of St. Paul, 309.

## JOHN.

- John of Damascus, 279.  
 — de Lugio, 191.  
 —, abp. of Lyons, 133, 188, 200.  
 — of Meda, 242.  
 — of Monte Corvino, 548-9.  
 — of Parma, 596-7.  
 — Pique-l'âne, 603.  
 — de Plano Carpini, 545.  
 — of Procida, 488-9, 492, 507.  
 — of Salisbury, 27, 71, 79, 154, 216, 220, 277, 281; studies under Abelard, 37; his acquaintance with Adrian IV., 84; amount of his learning, 278; title of his 'Polycraticus,' *ib.*; his letter on archdeacons, 224; notice of Vacarius, 277.  
 — the Saracen, 278.  
 —, abp. of Treves, 293, 296.  
 — of Vicenza, 454.  
 Joinville, 129, 466.  
 Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, 457, 475-6, 480.  
 Jubilee, 521-4.  
 Judicature, ecclesiastical claims to, 222.  
 Julin, conversion of, 164-5.  
 Jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, 586.  
*Jus Exuviarum*, 110, 228, 293, 298, 304, 384, 478.  
 — *Primarum Precum*, 583.

## K.

- KAMEEL, sultan, 374, 383-4, 392.  
 Kells, synod of, 154, 156.  
 Keraït, conversion of, 141; overthrow of the kingdom, 142, 544; further conversion, 548.  
 Kieff, siege of, 556; see of, 557.  
 Kublai Khan, 547-8.

## L.

- LAMBERT le Bègue, 567.  
 Lambeth, project of a college at, 253.  
 Lancia, marquis, 419.  
 Lanfranc, 26, 149, 251, 279.  
 Langton, Simon, 321.  
 —, Stephen, 414, 578; nominated to Canterbury, 313; residence at Pontigny, 316; goes to Rome, *ib.*; returns to England, 318; joins the barons against John, 319-320; suspended by the pope, 320-1; attends the 4th Council of Lateran, 321; encourages Dominicans, 366.  
 Languedoc, state of, 187; heresy in, 187; see Albigenes, &c.  
 Laraze, Pontius of, 246.  
 Lateran Council, I., 4.  
 —, II., 24, 187, 212.  
 —, III., 104, 146, 189, 200, 215, 226, 230, 257, 328.

## LOUIS.

- Lateran Council, IV., 201, 209, 321, 376-7, 577, 584; on annual confession, 377, 592, 611; on transubstantiation, 377, 603-4; on the Albigenian war, 361-2; on taxation of clergy, 515; on indulgences, 609.  
 Lavour, taking of, 359.  
 Law, ecclesiastical, 274-6, 581; Roman, 81, 273; popularity of the study, 622.  
 Lay abbots, 152.  
 Learning, state of, in the 12th century, 281; in the 13th century, 621, *seqq.*  
 Legates, 144-5, 215-7, 428, 580.  
 Legendary writers, 613.  
 Legnano, battle of, 101.  
 Le Moine, Cardinal John, 535-6.  
 Lent, reckoning of, 147.  
 Leo IX., pope, 215.  
 —, king of Armenia, 549.  
 Leopold, marquis of Austria, 2.  
 —, 126-7, 129, 130.  
 —, claimant of the see of Mentz, 295, 298.  
 Lepers, treatment of, 368-9.  
 Letulf, 30, 33.  
 Letters, style of papal, 82.  
 Liège, marriage of clergy at, 237.  
 Lisbon, taken from the Moors, 58; university of, 621.  
 Livonia, conversion of, 550-3.  
 Lombards, 273; form a league, 98; successes against Frederick I., 100-1; make peace with him at Constance, 107; renew their league against Frederick II., 388; their quarrels, 399; defeated at Corte Nuova, 400; fall under the dominion of petty tyrants, 453; oppose clerical immunities, 585.  
 Lombers, council of, 187.  
 Loreto, holy house at, 616-7.  
 Loria, Roger de, 491-2, 507.  
 Lothair, duke of Saxony, 2; elected king of the Romans, 3; meets Innocent II. at Liège, 15; is crowned at Rome, 17-8; picture of his homage, 79; second visit to Italy, and death, 22.  
 Louis the Pious, 578.  
 — VI., of France, 12, 16, 41, 62.  
 — VII., 16, 115; incurs an interdict, 47; marries Eleanor, 47; remorse for burning of Vitry, 47; engages in the second crusade, 51-2, 56, 58-64; acknowledges Alexander III., 89; misses an interview with Frederick I., 91-2; his last days and death, 104-5.  
 — VIII., 304; invades England, 321; expedition to Languedoc, 361; succeeds to the crown, 387; second expedition, capture of Avignon, and death, 435-6.  
 — IX., 404, 411, 415, 456, 562, 578, 581, 619, 620-1; character of, 438-441; intercedes with Frederick II. for captured bishops, 407; and with the pope



## LOUIS.

## MONTFORT.

for Frederick, 417; arbitrates in English differences, 440, 458; his ecclesiastical policy, 440, 464; Pragmatic sanction, 440, 465; treatment of religious error, 441; favours the Mendicants against the university, 595; his first crusade, 443-9; communications with the Tartars, 444, 546; his speech as to the Tartar invasion, 461; refuses Sicily for one of his sons, 457; his reign after his return, 464; second crusade and death, 466-8; canonization, 520.

Louis, landgrave of Thuringia, 391, 562.

Luceria, Saracen colony of, 390, 426.

Lucius II., pope, 47-8, 108, 145.

— III., 106, 116, 189, 234, 283.

Lully, Raymond, 557-9.

Lund, primacy of, 159.

Lyons, Poor Men of, *see* Waldenses; first Council of, 412-4, 442, 578; second Council, 476-8, 547, 625.

## M.

MAGNA Charta, 320, 517, 585.

Mahometans, controversy with, 567.

Malachy, abp. of Armagh, 152-4, 156.

Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, 146-7, 150.

Malebranche, Latino, cardinal, 499, 500, 504.

Malilosa, 193.

Maltôte, 515.

Man, Isle of, 160.

Manfred, 460, 488, 621; his parentage, 423; is governor of Sicily, *ib.*; crimes imputed to him, 425, 452; flight to Luceria and victory at Foggia, 426; his conquests, 450; assumes the crown, 451; his dealings with Alexander IV., 452; invades church property, *ib.*; discourages the Flagellants, 455; attempts to make him senator of Rome, 458; crusade against him, 460; his defeat and death, 460-1.

Mangu Khan, 546-7.

Manichæism, 181-2.

Mansel, John, 232.

Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, 46, 56-7-8, 70, 97-8, 138-9, 142, 328.

Map (Mapes) Walter, 54, 200, 225, 247.

Margaret, St., queen of Scotland, 146-7, 150.

—, queen of France, 439, 440, 443.

—, companion of Dolcino, 573-5.

Markwald, 287-9.

Marriage of clergy, *see* Celibacy.

Martin IV., pope, 485, 592; his subseriency to Charles of Sicily, *ib.*; hatred of the Germans, *ib.*; excommunicates Michael Palæologus, 486; his behaviour after the Sicilian vespers, 490-1; death, 493.

Martin, abbot of Pairis, 335.

—, papal exactor in England, 411, 580.

Martini, Raymond, 567.

Mathurins, order of, 257.

Matilda, empress, 145-6.

—, countess, inheritance of, 15, 18, 79, 82-3, 102-3, 108, 110, 268, 304, 385.

Maurice, bp. of Paris, 248.

Meinhard, missionary in Livonia, 550-1.

Melfi, Council at, 229.

Meloria, seafight off, 407.

Mendicant orders, 362, 378, 402, 572.

*See* Dominicans and Franciscans; said to have been foretold, 211; favoured by R. Grossetête, 431, 591; oppose Frederick II., 416; missionaries in Asia, 549; their influence, 392, 590; assumptions, 404, 591-2; changes in their system, 592-3; their contest with the university of Paris, 593-5; with William of St. Amour, 595-7.

Messalians, 170.

Metz, sectaries at, 343-4.

Michael Palæologus, seizes the eastern empire, 474; his affair with Arsenius, 474; negotiations with the Latins, 475; enforces conformity to the Latin church, 480; failure of his measures, 486; his dealings with John of Procida, 489.

'Micrologus,' 261.

Milan, archbishoprick of, 17-8; differences with Frederick I., 73, 81, 87; surrender and destruction of, 90; heretics at, 345, 396, 399, 560-1.

Minerve, La, taking of, 359.

Milo, legate in Languedoc, 350-1.

Minorites, 371, *see* Franciscans.

Miracles of the 12th century, 11, 19, 54.

Monasticism, 240, *seqq.*; 590, *seqq.*; in Greece, 137; growth of in England, 247; quarrels with bishops, 254; with secular and regular canons, 247-8, 254; attempts to reform, 255; multiplication of orders checked, 365.

Moneta, 181.

Mongols, *see* Tartars.

Montferrat, marquis of, 72; *see* Boniface, Conrad.

Monte Cassino, 22.

Montfort, Amaury de, 435.

—, Simon, 604; joins the crusade, and leaves it on its change of object, 326, 330; his character, 350-1; commands in the Albigensian war, 351, *seqq.*; gets the viscounty of Béziers, 354; victory at Muret, 358; cruelties, 359; quarrel with abp. of Narbonne, 360; capture of Toulouse, 361; is confirmed in his conquests by the Lateran Council, 362; triumphant progress, *ib.*; continuation of the war, 433-4; death, 434.

## MONTFORT.

Montfort, Simon, Earl of Leicester (son of the preceding) 432, 448, 457-8; avenged by his sons, 468.  
 Montpellier, medical school of, 277.  
 Moran, Peter, Catharist, 189.  
 Morena, Acerbus, 98.  
 Morosini, Thomas, patriarch of Constantinople, 336-7.  
 Mortmain, statutes of, 588.  
 Morville, Hugh de, 525.  
 Moscow, see of, 567.  
 Mozarabic liturgy, 143.  
 Muret, battle of, 358.  
 Murzufus (Alexius Ducas) 334, 339.

## N.

NAPLES, university of, 621.  
 Navas de Tolosa, battle of, 323, 357.  
 Nectarius, abbot, 146.  
 Nestorians, 141, 543 547-9.  
 Nicephorus Blemmydas, 476.  
 Nicetas, bp. of Nicomedia, 141.  
 —, historian, 138, 335.  
 Nicolas I., pope, 82.  
 — III., 482-3, 489, 600; his policy, 483-4; attempts to get up a crusade, 496; death, 485.  
 — IV. (Jerome of Ascoli), 475, 571, 601; elected, 494; supports Charles II. of Sicily, 495; his subserviency to the Colonnas, 497; taxation of England, 514; death, 498.  
 —, cardinal of Tusculum, 318-321.  
 — Cannabus, 334.  
 — de Sigillo, 224.  
 —, leader of children's crusade, 341.  
 Ninfa, 86.  
 Niquinta, Catharist pope, 188.  
 'Noble Lesson,' 199.  
 Nogaret, William of, 521, 536-540, 543.  
 Nominalism, 25-6, 595.  
*Non obstantibus*, 580.  
 Nonjurors, present to, 170.  
 Norbert, 16, 35-6, 38, 168, 175, 270.  
 Normandy, lost by John, 312.  
 Norway, 159, 263.  
 Noureddin, 50, 113.

## O.

OBSERVANTS, 241.  
 Octavian, cardinal, *see* Victor IV.  
 —, cardinal of Ostia, 282, 308-9.  
 Officials, 224, 587.  
 Olave, St., 263.  
 Old Man of the Mountain, 341.  
 Olivi, Peter John, 600-3.  
 Omnibonus, 275.  
*Opus operatum*, 608.  
 Ordeals, 143, 226.  
 Ordination without title, 231.  
 Oriflamme, 56.

## PARENZIO.

Orsini family, 497, 499, 542.  
 Orvieto, heresy at, 497, 499.  
 Otho IV., emperor, 201, 315, 378, 590; set up as rival of Philip of Swabia, 291-2; becomes king by Philip's death, 299; betrothed to Beatrice, 300; crowned by Innocent III., *ib.*; quarrels with the pope, and is anathematized, 301-2; unpopular in Germany, 302; is defeated at Bouvines, 304, 319; his last years, 304; death, 384.  
 Otho, cardinal, legate in England, 407, 428.  
 —, bp. of Bamberg, apostle of Pomerania, 162-7, 259.  
 — of Freising, 55, 66.  
 — of Wittelsbach, 79, 87.  
 —, of Wittelsbach, murderer of Philip of Swabia, 299.  
 Ottobuoni Fiesco, cardinal (*see* Adrian V.) 580; his constitutions for England, 481, 612.  
 Ottocar I., king of Bohemia, 297, 302.  
 — II., 472, 483, 555.  
 Oxford, heretics at, 184; university of, 272, 277-8, 431.

## P.

PADUA, university of, 621.  
 Paganism revived at Constantinople, 137.  
 Painting, 620.  
 Palencia, university of, 364.  
 Palestine, troubles of the Latins in, 49-50; loss of, 496.  
 Palestrina, siege and destruction of, 510.  
 Paley's 'Horæ Paulinæ,' 178.  
 Pamiers, *see* of, 527.  
 Pandects, 273.  
 Pandulf, 317-8, 321, 427.  
 Pantheism, 342, 569.  
 Papacy, exaltation of, 213-4; decrees for election of popes, 104, 478; they confirm election of emperors, 213; appeals to them complained of, 214; they tax the clergy, 230; claim sole decision of "greater causes," 215; interfere with discipline, 231; claim the right of disposing of all islands, 154-5; interfere with patronage, 220, 578-580; question whether they could be guilty of simony, 232; infallibility claimed for them, 217, 578; their claims as to councils, 217, 577; claim secular power, 415, 577; growth of their pretensions in the 13th century, 576-8; corruption of the *curia*, 232, 253, 285, &c.; exactions, 404, &c.  
 Paraclete, convent of, 35-6, 43.  
 Pardoners, 612-3.  
 Parenzio, Peter, 344-5.



## PARIS.

- Paris, holy chapel of, 440, 443, 619;  
 university of, 33, 272, 276-7, 342, 603,  
 622; division into nations, 276; into  
 faculties, 622; contest with the mendi-  
 cants, 593-5.
- Parliament, 51.
- Parma, troubles at, 385; siege of, 419.
- Pasagini, 197.
- Paschal II., pope, 162, 214, 217, 234.  
 — III., antipope, 95, 97, 99.
- Paschasius Radbert, 259.
- Passelewe, Robert, 432.
- Pastoureaux, 447-8.
- Patarenes, *see* Cathari, 182, 189, 386, &c.
- Patronage, 231, 247.
- Patrick, St., Purgatory of, 269.
- Paulicians, 170.
- Pavia, council of, 87-8.
- Pecche, Richard, bp. of Coventry, 235.
- Peckham, abp. of Canterbury, 592, 595,  
 616, 618.
- Peers of France, court of, 311.
- Penance, 270-1; overthrow of discipline  
 by popes, 214; interference of friars  
 with, 592.
- Penitentiaries, 587.
- Perigueux, sectaries at, 184.
- Peter II., king of Aragon, 323, 353, 355,  
 357-8, 361.  
 — III., king of Aragon, 450, 488-9,  
 491, 494.  
 — of Benevento, 360-1.  
 — of Blois, 225, 248, 252-3.  
 — of Bruis, 176-7.  
 — of Castelnau, 347, 349, 355.  
 — of La Celle, 265.  
 — the Chanter, 186, 326-7.  
 —, abbot of Cluny, 20-1; refuses  
 Cluny, 246; adheres to Innocent II.,  
 12; his kindness to Abelard, 42-3;  
 opinions on miracles, 54, 269; on pil-  
 grimages, 269; on Jews and Saracens,  
 53; on Cluniacs and Cistercians, 243-5;  
 writes against the Petrobrusians,  
 177-8, 181.  
 — Comestor, 238, 565.  
 — Damiani, 259.  
 — Lombard, 208, 259, 271, 275, 279,  
 281, 481, 605, 611.  
 — martyr, 564.  
 — of Montreuil, 440.  
 — of Murrone, *see* Celestine V.  
 — of Pisa, 23.  
 — of Vaux-Cernay, 346.  
 — delle Vigne, 390, 396, 401, 414,  
 429.  
 — of Wakefield, 317-8.
- Peter's pence, 428.
- Philip of Swabia, 121, 298, 331, 378,  
 551, 589; elected king of the Ro-  
 mans, 291-2; question of his excom-  
 munication, 292; is crowned, *ib.*;  
 again crowned, 298; murdered, 299.  
 — II. of France, 105, 133-4, 208, 218,

## PSELLUS.

- 223, 297, 341, 362, 381, 387, 584; in  
 the second crusade, 124-8; intrigues  
 against Richard of England, 130; his  
 policy as to Germany, 294; affair of  
 his divorce and re-marriage, 305-9;  
 gets Normandy, 311-2; is invited and  
 forbidden by the pope to invade  
 England, 316-7; defeats Otho IV.,  
 304; extends the territories and  
 power of the crown, 221, 297; his  
 policy as to heretics, 188-9, 350, 435.
- Philip III., 467-8, 487, 489, 493-4, 496.  
 — IV., 496, 511, 584; his accession,  
 494; character and policy, 513-4;  
 forbids exportation of corn, &c., 517;  
 letter to Boniface VIII., 519, &c.; will  
 not allow him to arbitrate as pope,  
 520; forms alliances against him, 511,  
 521; affair of the bp. of Pamiers, 527,  
*seqq.*; further discords with Boniface,  
 529, *seqq.*; burns a papal bull, 531;  
 holds assemblies of his states-general,  
 531, 537; reverses in Flanders, 534;  
 negotiations with cardinal Lemoine,  
 535; peace with England, 535; ap-  
 peals to a future pope and council,  
 537.  
 —, bp. of Beauvais, 233, 319.  
 —, abp. of Cologne, 107, 110-1, 229,  
 233.  
 — of Harveng, 255.  
 —, abp. of Ravenna, 454.
- Piacenza, university of, 621.
- Pierleoni, family, 2-4, 48, 472.
- Pilgrimages, 268-9.
- Piphles, 181.
- Pisa, council at, 18; *see* of, 19.
- Pius V., pope, 242.
- Plasian, William of, 537.
- Plays, religious, 552, 617-8.
- Plenitudo potestatis*, 580.
- Pluralities, 231.
- Podestàs, 81, 87, 91, 95, 107.
- Poetry, Italian, 390.
- Poland, 323; marriage of clergy in, 237,  
 589.
- Polo, family, 547-8.
- Pomerania, conversion of, 161, *seqq.*
- Pontigny, 316, 430.
- Portiuncula, indulgence of, 609.
- Portugal, 143, 323, 382.
- Potho, 265.
- Poulains, 50.
- Πούτζη Ἀλαμάνε, 59.
- Pragmatic Sanction, 440, 465, 578-9,  
 581.
- Preaching, disuse of, 363; revived by  
 friars, *ib.*
- Precistæ, 220-1.
- Prestor John, 141-2, 544.
- Prophecies, currency of, in the 13th  
 century, 212, 597, 599.
- Prussia, 381, 554-6.
- Psellus, Michael, 138.

## PUBLICANI.

Publicani, 182.  
 Pulleyn, Robert, 277.  
 Pungilup, Armano, 197, 603.

## R.

RABAN Maur, 257.  
 Ralph, abp. of Canterbury, 148.  
 Rathbreasil, synod of, 149.  
 Raymond, prince of Antioch, 61, 63-4.  
 — of Peñaforte, 582.  
 — of Rabastens, 348.  
 — VI., count of Toulouse, 188, 196, 346, 349, 351-2, 355-7, 360-2, 435.  
 — VII., 361-2, 433, 436-8.  
 —, Roger, viscount of Béziers, 189, 201, 352-4.  
 Realism, 25, 595.  
*Regale*, 228, 384, 526, 583-4.  
*Regalia*, 81-3.  
 Reginald, bp. of Bath, abp. elect of Canterbury, 189, 219, 253.  
 —, subprior of Canterbury, 312.  
 —, abp. of Cologne, 79, 87, 91, 93-4, 96, 98, 233.  
 Regino, 274.  
 Reims, council of, A.D. 1148, 15, 65, 146, 178.  
 Relics, 91, 266-8, 288-9, 295, 334-5, 406, 440, 612-3.  
 'Reynard the Fox,' 230.  
 Rich, Edmund, abp. of Canterbury, 413, 429, 430, 578.  
 Richard I., king of England, 134, 208, 218-9, 221, 233, 253, 291, 293, 326; his crusade, 123-9; captivity, 129; release, 130.  
 —, abp. of Canterbury (A.D. 1174), 149, 251, 581.  
 — of Cornwall, king of the Romans, 441, 452-3, 468, 471, 583.  
 — of Cornwall, schoolman, 625.  
 — of St. Victor, 271, 280.  
 Riga, city and see of, 552-3.  
 Robert, emperor of Constantinople, 381.  
 —, bp. of St. Andrew's, 149.  
 —, Count of Artois (brother of St. Louis), 445.  
 —, Count of Artois (brother of Philip IV.), 521, 531, 534.  
 — of Dreux, 63.  
 — of Melun, 277.  
 — of Twenge, 428.  
 — "malleus hæreticorum," 345.  
 Roches, Peter des, bp. of Winchester, 315.  
 Roffrid, abp. of Benevento, 392.  
 Roger, king of Sicily, 21-5, 56, 109.  
 —, son of Tancred, 133.  
 —, abbot of Le Bec, 277.  
 —, abp. of York, 149, 150, 232.  
 Roland Paparo, cardinal, *see* Alexander III.  
 Roman, Russian prince, 324.

## SCRIPTURE.

Rome, republicanism at, 46-7; heretics burnt at, 560; Gothic art in, 620; university founded, 621-2.  
 Roncaglia, assemblies at, 73, 81.  
 Rosary, 609.  
 Roscellin, 25-7, 30, 33.  
 Rostand, 451.  
 Roswitha, 618.  
 Rubruquis, William of, 546-7.  
 Rudolf of Hapsburg, 561, 576; elected king of the Romans, 472; negotiations and interview with Gregory X., 478-9; increase of his power, 483, 496; his cessions to Nicolas III., 484; death, 497.  
 —, monk, preaches against Jews, 53.  
 Rügen, 167.  
 Rupert of Deutz, 254, 260.  
 Russia, 324, 408, 556-7.  
 Ruys, abbey of, 35.

## S.

SACCHONI, Reinerius, 181.  
 Sacred Palace, Mastership of, 366.  
*Sachsenspiegel*, 578.  
 Sacraments, definition of, 258; number of, 259, 608.  
 Saisset, Bernard de, bp. of Pamiers, 527-9, 530.  
 Saladin, 126; rise of, 113; his conquest of Palestine, 114-5; correspondence with Frederick I., 118; relations with the Greeks, 119; truce with Richard I., 129; death, 131; "Saladin's tithe," 117, 124, 230.  
 Salamanca, university of, 364.  
 Salerno, medical school of, 277, 488.  
 Salimbene, 593, 597, 599, &c.  
 Salisbury cathedral, 619.  
 Samson, abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, 220, 228.  
 Saracens at Luceria, &c., 341.  
 Sarracinesco, indulgence of, 610.  
 Saturday, consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, 264.  
 Savelli, Cencio, 288 (*see* Honorius III.).  
 Scandinavia, 159, 323, 589.  
 Scapulary, 592.  
 Schoolmen, 279, 622-630.  
 Scotland, 323; legendary history of, 527; did not favour Anacletus II., 14; church of, in the 12th century, 146-150; state of, after the death of Alexander III., 524; English and papal claims to the suzerainty, 524-7; the Scots abandoned by Philip of France, 535.  
 Scots, *i.e.* Irish, 156; "Scottish work," 157.  
 Scott, Michael, 390, 629.  
 Scotus, John Duns, 589, 611-2, 627.  
 —, John, Erigena, 342-3.  
 Scripture, interpretation of, 279, 283;



SCULPTURE.

VARANGIAN.

reading of in the vernacular forbidden, 343, 437, 564-5.  
 Sculpture, 620.  
 Secular arm, delivery of heretics to, 345, 561.  
 Segarello, Gerard, 570-1.  
 Sempringham, order of, 242.  
 Sentences, 279.  
 Sententiaries, 279.  
 Sibylla, queen of Jerusalem, 112.  
 Sicily, dukedom and kingdom of, 21, 77-8; appointment of bishops in, 218; affairs of, 77, 109, 390; oppressions under Charles of Anjou, 489; revolt of ("Sicilian Vespers"), 489, *seqq.*; war in, 504; kingdom of Trinacria, 508.  
 Sifrid, abp. of Mentz, 298, 416, 625.  
 Simony, 232.  
 Slaves, English, sold into Ireland, 155.  
 Soissons, councils at, 26, 308.  
 Sorbonne, foundation of the, 622.  
 Spain, church of, subjected to Rome, 143; introduction of Roman liturgy, *ib.*; appointment of bishops, 218; marriage of clergy, 237; defeat of the Moors in, 323; architecture in, 619.  
 Stedingers, 565-6.  
 Stephen, king of England, 144-6, 230, 237.  
 —, abbot of Obaize, 271.  
 Stettin, 164-5.  
 Stigmata, self-inflicted, 375; *see* Francis.  
 Stock, Simon, 592.  
*Stratoris officium*, 75, 213.  
 Stylites, 137.  
 Suger, abbot of St. Denys, 34-6, 58, 61-2, 244; building of his church, 619; is regent of France, 56, 63; tries to get up a crusade, 63; death, 64.  
 Sunday, observance of, 164, 223, 262-3.  
 Swantevit, 167.  
 Sweden, 159-160, 218, 228.  
 Sword, order of the, 551-3.  
 Sylvester I., pope, 198, 572.  
 Symeon Metaphrastes, 613.

T.

TANCHELM, 175, 185.  
 Tancred, king of Sicily, 125, 132-3, 289, 293.  
 Tartars, invade Europe, 408; communications with St. Louis, 444; mission to, 545-6; their religion, 545, 547; ambassadors at the council of Lyons, 477; reports of their conversion, 544.  
 Taxation of clergy, 229, 230, 517, 519, *seqq.*; 584.  
 Temple, knights of the, 112, 114, 255.  
 Tertiaries, 367, 371, 591.  
*Testes Synodales*, 437.

Teutonic order, origin of, 256; conquests in the Baltic, 550, 553.  
 Thaddeus of Sessa, 412-5, 419, 422.  
 Theobald of Acerra, *see* Diephold.  
 —, abp. of Canterbury, 65, 145-6, 250, 277.  
 — II., count of Champagne, 35.  
 — III., 326, 329.  
 — IV., 436.  
 — II., king of Navarre, 466-8.  
 Theodisius, 356, 361.  
 Theodosius, patriarch of Constantinople, 139.  
 Theophylact, 138.  
 Thiofrid of Epternach, 266.  
 Third estate in France, 531.  
 Thomas of Aquino, 238, 477, 561, 578, 589, 595, 598, 605, 611, 612, 615, 623, 625-6-7.  
 — of Celano, 617.  
 —, St., order of at Acre, 256.  
 Thurstan, abp. of York, 149.  
 Tiara, papal, 504.  
*Tisserands*, 181.  
 Tithes, 224, 226, 244.  
 Toledo, primacy of, 143.  
 Toulouse, heresy at, 187; factions of, 356; taken by S. de Montfort, 361, 434; university founded, 437, 621; council of, A.D. 1229, 437, 565.  
 Tours, council of, 92, 187, 248.  
 Trade with infidels condemned, 328.  
 Translation, R. Bacon's opinions on, 622.  
 Transubstantiation, 260, 377, 603-4; *see* Eucharist.  
 Trèves, holy coat at, 267.  
 Triglav, 165.  
 Trinitarians, order of, 257.  
 Trinity Sunday, 263, 265.  
*Trivium and Quadrivium*, 273.  
 Truce of God, 24.  
 Truchsesses, 228.  
 Turgot, abp. of St. Andrew's, 146, 150.  
 Tusculum, destruction of, 131.  
 Tyre, *see* of, 49.

U.

UGOLINO, Cardinal (Gregory IX.) 367, 385, 389.  
*Ungehabt und ungestabt*, 226, 589.  
 Universities, derivation of the name, 272-3; rise of, 272; foundation of in the 13th century, 621-2.  
 Upsal, *see* of, 159-160.  
 Urban II., pope, 143, 159, 217, 229.  
 — III., 108-9, 111, 116, 227, 253.  
 — IV., 456-8, 607, 617.  
 Ursula, St., 206-7.  
 Usury, 223.

V.

VACARIUS, 277.  
 Varangian guard, 332.

## VATATZES.

## ZENGHIS.

Vatatzes, 413, 473.  
 Vatican palace, 483.  
 Veccus, John, patriarch of Constantinople, 475, 480, 486-7.  
 Venice, 326-8, 339; treaty of, 101-2; horses of St. Mark's, 335.  
 Vercelli, church of St. Andrew at, 427, 620.  
 Veronica, 267.  
 Vicars of bishops, 224.  
 Victor III., pope, 270.  
 — IV., antipope, 24.  
 — IV., 85-6, 88-9, 92.  
 — St., school of at Paris, 28, 280-1.  
 Vienne, university of, 621.  
 Villehardouin, Geoffrey de, 325-6, 328, 332-3.  
 Virgin, the Blessed, 206, 264-5, 595, 600, 614-7.  
 Visionaries, 206-212.  
 Viterbo, heretics at, 345.  
 Vivian, legate, 150.  
 Volkmar, abp. of Trèves, 108-9, 111, 131.

## W.

WALDEMAR, king of Denmark, 167.  
 Waldenses, 198-206, 343, 348, 359, 560; doctrines of, 203; become more remote from the church, 561; date of their oldest MSS., 199.  
 Waldo, Peter, 199, 200.  
 Wales, 149, 236.  
 Wallace, William, 525.  
 Walter of Brienne, 289-290.  
 — of Mortagne, 35, 67.  
 — Hubert, abp. of Canterbury, 311-2.  
 —, abp. of Palermo, 110.  
 —, bp. of Troia, 288-9, 384.  
 — of St. Victor, 68.  
 — von der Vogelweide, 230, 280.  
 Wartislav, duke of Poland, 165-6.  
 Wax, privilege of sealing with white, 538.  
 Welf VI. of Bavaria, 82.  
 Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, 497, 511.  
 Westminster abbey, 619.

Wetzel, 72.  
 White Hoods, 257-8.  
 Wibald, abbot of Stablo, 64, 255.  
 Wichmann, abp. of Magdeburg, 71-2.  
 Wilhelmina, heretic, 569-570.  
 William IX., count of Aquitaine, 20.  
 — of Auvergne, bp. of Paris, 443, 612, 624.  
 — of Champeaux, 9, 27-9.  
 — of Corboyl, abp. of Canterbury, 144.  
 —, abbot of Cluny, 244.  
 — II., king of England, 229.  
 — of Gainsborough, bp. of Lincoln, 584.  
 — of Holland, rival king of the Romans, 418, 427, 452, 624.  
 — of Longchamp, bp. of Ely, 124.  
 — of Modena, 553, 556.  
 — of Puy-Laurens, 362.  
 — of Rubruquis, 546-7.  
 —, king of Scotland, 117, 149, 524.  
 — of St. Amour, 591, 597-9.  
 — of Sicily (the Good), 109, 132.  
 — of Sicily (the Bad), 77, 109, 116, 123.  
 — of St. Thierry, 39, 243.  
 —, abp. of Tyre, 112-3.  
 —, St., abp. of York, 65-6.  
 Will-making, 588-9; *see* Bequests, Mortmain.  
 Winchelsey, Robert, abp. of Canterbury, 516-7, 526, 578.  
 Worms, concordat of, 1, 3, 15.  
 Würzburg, diets at, 15, 93-4.

## Y.

YORK, *see* of, claims jurisdiction over Scotland, &c., 148-150, 160.  
 Yxküll, *see* of, 550-1.

## Z.

ZARA, taken by crusaders, 329-331; *see* of, 331.  
 Zenghis (*Sanguineus*), 50.  
 — Khan, *see* Genghis.

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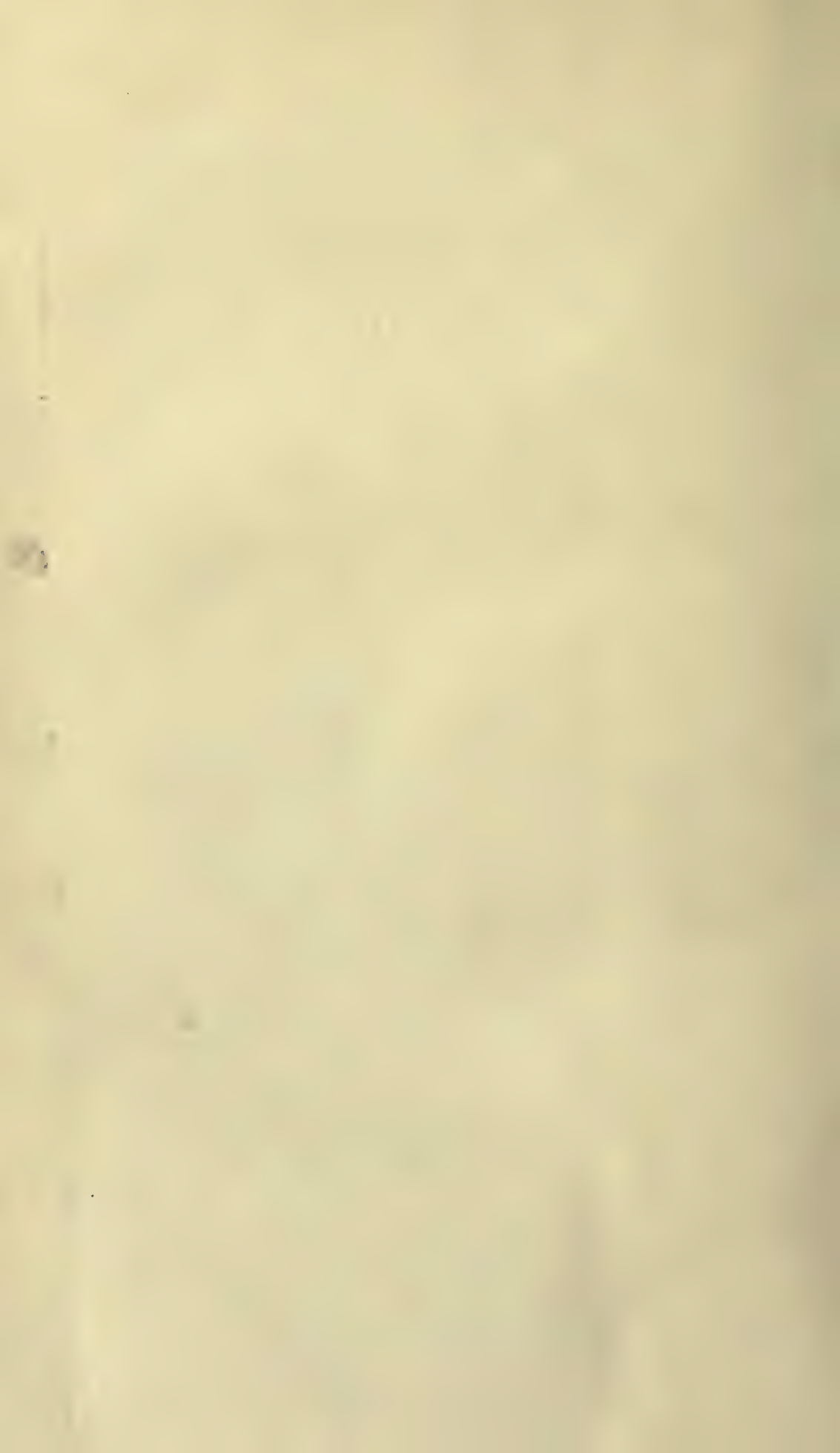




















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